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[NEW SERIES.]

## THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

OCTOBER, 1869.

TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

A PAPER under the above heading has appeared in the last number of "Macmillan's Magazine." This periodical, as our readers may be aware, is published by the respectable firm, whose name it bears, in Cambridge as well as in London. On the cover we also find the name of J. H. and J. Parker, the eminent Oxford publishers. The article in question is from the pen of the Rev. J. P. Mahaffy, Fellow and Tutor, Trinity College, Dublin. It is evidently intended for the information of persons connected with, or interested in, the English Universities. It is, we hope, equally intended *not* to be seen or noticed by the great majority of the writer's fellow-countrymen, for we cannot attribute to the Rev. Fellow a wish to offer gratuitously a number of insults to the Catholics of Ireland.

But whatever Mr. Mahaffy's intention or wish, we deem it our duty to allow our readers to form their own opinion of the merits of the article. We do not mean of its literary merits, or of the elegant taste displayed in it. We do not want to draw attention to the good feeling which could prompt the following allusion to a Church of which the writer calls himself an ordained minister:—"So persistently have they (the Irish, who, like flies, are for ever annoying John Bull) been vexing him, that he is now anxiously providing them *with a carcass*

in their own country, if perchance they will feed upon it, even although he ought to be perfectly assured that this carcase, when sufficiently decomposed, will become the nurse and support of new myriads of persecutors." Had these words been written by a priest, or, indeed, by any Catholic, we should hear enough about them. But a Rev. Fellow of, "*perhaps, the only English institution that ever really succeeded in Ireland,*" may use any language he pleases, no matter how gross, provided, "*it is an illustration of Homer!*" and serves to show forth the glory of the University of Dublin, which alone is silent, while "*all other bodies in the country, whether religious, or political, or educational, are for ever clamouring, and annoying the English nation.*" Nor do we wish to dwell on the phrase in which allusion is made to one who is recognised throughout the civilized world as a prince of the oldest and most venerable court in christendom, and who was received as such by our future sovereign. We have to deal with the statements and views of the essayist respecting the University question.

And even with respect to these statements and opinions, it is not our intention to discuss them as far as they regard Protestants and the education of Protestants. But we must protest against Mr. Mahaffy speaking in the name and on behalf of the Catholic people of Ireland. He will ask, "What people?" We answer, in the name of none of our Catholic people has he, above all men, a right to speak.

Not in the name of those whom he calls the "ignorant masses who have no voice or utterance save through Cardinal Cullen and his priests, and who neither ought to have, nor have, any opinion whatever on the matter of University education." As if the great mass of a nation has no right to form an opinion of the manner in which the physicians, and the judges, and the representatives, who are to be charged with their dearest interests, are educated; and as if every British subject has not a constitutional right to express his opinion on so vital a question. Thank God, our "ignorant masses" are not so ignorant as not to know their rights in this momentous matter. They know, moreover, that they have a right to give utterance to their opinion in any legal way they please. But it is not through Rev. Mr. Mahaffy they choose to speak!

Neither may he speak, we are sure he will be the first himself to admit it, in the name of "the priests and the Ultramontane press," whom he sets down as another great section of the Catholic people of Ireland.

There remains, according to him, only "the educated



Catholics." Whom does he mean by educated Catholics? And whomsoever he means, has he any right to speak in their name? Most certainly not. He says: "they have declared themselves (so far as they dare) perfectly satisfied" with the proposal to change Trinity College into a mixed College. Who have declared themselves? *The educated Catholics.* What educated Catholics? What are their names, their position, their right to speak as representative men? We are aware that a letter in favour of opening Trinity College was written to Mr. Fawcett, M.P., by *two* Catholic gentlemen. Several *anonymous* letters in favour of the proposal have appeared in the *Times*. *Some of these letters are said to have been written by one of the two petitioners.* Verily, we are reminded of the old story of the three tailors of Tooley street, speaking in the name of the people of England! For we have two gentlemen, and (if they be not the same persons) some anonymous writers in newspapers, declaring themselves "perfectly satisfied." These are the "educated Catholics" of Ireland, at least no other educated Catholic has dared to speak! "*Risum teneatis amici.*"

But, perchance, Rev. Mr. Mahaffy may remember, that about six or seven years ago, some 200 Catholics, whose position gave them good right to be looked on as representative men among the "educated Catholics" of Ireland, *did* declare themselves *perfectly dissatisfied* with a proposal which was not unlike Mr. Fawcett's and was then put forward by Sir Robert Peel, at that time Chief Secretary for Ireland, viz.—to establish in Dublin a mixed college, such as Trinity College would become were Mr. Mahaffy's views realised. At the same time not more than six or seven Catholics, besides a few connected with the existing mixed colleges, were found to advocate the scheme for extending the mixed system to the metropolis. Are we to take the 200 representative men, or the six or seven as speaking the sentiments of the "*educated Catholics*" of Ireland? Are the two gentlemen who have put themselves forward, or the 200 who gave their opinion some time ago, and have never withdrawn their declarations, to be looked upon as the true exponents of the views of our people? And as to the saying that "educated Catholics" dare not speak out their sentiments, or that those 200 who have spoken belong to some separate party, called "*Ultramontanes*," and distinct from their fellows, we cannot recal the names of those who then declared their sentiments in language most clear, without at once seeing the absurdity of either assertion. The vast majority of the people of Ireland of all classes, clerical and lay, have declared unmistakeably their wish to have for

Catholics Catholic education, and none other. That we shall be able to assert with success these claims, if we are but true to ourselves, there is no doubt.

Mr. Mahaffy appeals to "the Liberal party in England to help" him and those who feel with him, "to fight the battle, and to support them in the hour of danger. For the danger is near and great." The likelihood of the downfall of the mixed system in Ireland is "near and great." What, then, means the appeal of the Rev. essayist? It means that no effort is to be spared in inducing England to turn away from the path on which she entered so nobly last session. That the majority of the House of Commons is, if possible, to be persuaded not to regard the wishes of Ireland; but when legislating for this country to be guided by the views, or principles, or prejudices of English parties, which, although often most sincere in their desire to serve Ireland, are unacquainted with our wants, our feelings, and our convictions, or disregard them. This appeal, in fine, is made in order to get the Legislature to discard the principle it accepted a few months ago to the great joy of all good people, viz.—that Ireland is no longer to be governed for the benefit of a small fraction of its people, and in accordance with the views of that small minority; but that henceforth in this country, as elsewhere, the golden rule of government is to be the greater good of the greater number, and attention to the wishes of the nation when legislating for the nation.

But we have been betrayed into details, instead of considering the chief purport of the Rev. Mr. Mahaffy's article. That purport is to show that in Trinity College there exist excellent arrangements for higher education in Ireland; and to prove that all that is necessary for their perfection is to allow Trinity College to carry out to completion the plans it has devised.

On the other hand we assert that the existing arrangements are most unsatisfactory to Catholics, and that no modification of Trinity College can be such as to give satisfaction to Catholics, to make it a fit place for the education of their sons, or to establish the great principle of equality in education, religious equality in other respects being now proclaimed by the Legislature. And we maintain that the truth of these assertions is manifest from the very statements advanced by Rev. Mr. Mahaffy.

"The college was founded," he tells us, "by Queen Elizabeth, in 1591, and though some attempts were made, two centuries ago, to establish separate halls, these attempts failed, and we have now the University and its single college co-existing, and in many respects in a state of fusion." He might have added,



that the Royal foundress intended Trinity College to be the bulwark of Protestantism in Ireland ; that it has faithfully discharged its trust, and that it still continues in all essential particulars, a Protestant Anglican institution. These truths Rev. Mr. Mahaffy does not call in question, nay more, he expressly or implicitly admits them. Hence, in several parts of the article he speaks of Trinity College as a "Protestant institution," as an "English institution," as "the only flourishing specimen of English plantations in Ireland." And as to the fidelity with which it has discharged its task of maintaining Anglican Protestantism in Ireland, we need only refer to the list of notabilities produced by Trinity College, and enumerated by Mr. Mahaffy in the first page of his article. "With the names of William Archer Butler, of Todd, and of Reeves, of Lloyd, and of Magee, of Salmon, of Rosse, and of Hamilton, of Cairns and" (though last not least, our readers are acquainted with the name) "of Lecky. With these before our eyes, we cannot doubt but that the education she provided has developed genius, and that her (*Protestant*) sons have extended the bounds of science and adorned the fields of literature." But where is the list of her *Catholic* alumni of distinction ; and, above all, of Catholics who remained faithful to the principles of their holy religion ? Such a list, proportionate to the position Catholics ought to occupy, cannot be found, although the names of a few highly respectable Catholics may be mentioned who received some part of their education in Trinity College. And the very fact of such a goodly array of distinguished Protestants, students of Trinity College, clearly proves that the Protestant University has faithfully discharged its trust and maintained in Ireland the intellectual supremacy of Protestants, bringing them forward, while Catholics remained in obscurity. And why should it not be so ? Despite the declarations made by Mr. Mahaffy and others respecting the liberality of the institution, let us see the facts as given in the article before us. They clearly establish that the spirit of ascendancy pervades the place. "The Provost," we are told, "and seven Senior Fellows, who are the heads of the College, also legislate for the University. In the affairs of the College, the decision of this Board of Senior Fellows can only be reversed by an appeal to the visitors. The Board attain their position by seniority among the Fellows, and the Fellows are elected by a severe competitive examination." None but Anglicans are eligible to be Fellows, nay more, "originally they were all compelled to be clerics, save three, and this rule was rigidly enforced. Within the last generation, a habit gradually crept in of obtaining the leave of the Board to

dispense with Holy Orders, by means of a Queen's letter. This privilege, though always granted with reluctance, has been repeatedly extorted by men who felt indisposed to the restraint of the clerical profession ; and since the agitation on the Irish Church question, all the Fellows elected have remained laymen. There are at present eleven lay Fellows among thirty-five. These men take no part in religious instruction whatever. *They might be Calvinists or Atheists*, as far as their college duties are concerned." We commend the last sentence especially to the consideration of our readers. For it is to these gentlemen the education of the students is entrusted. "There are twenty tutorships, to which they (the Junior Fellows) may succeed by seniority. To them is entrusted the teaching of the undergraduates, a part of whose fees are divided among the tutors. The income of the tutors depends accordingly upon the number of students on the books ; in other words, upon the efficiency of their own teaching, and at present may be stated roughly as commencing at £300 and rising to £700 per annum." This is the system of higher education, which Rev. Mr. Mahaffy deems such an admirable one. It is true he wishes "these valuable prizes" to be opened "as all the other prizes in Trinity College now are, to Roman Catholics and Dissenters ; and then," he says, "it will be *possible* for any man in the world to obtain them by the force of pure intellect." *It will be possible to obtain them* ; but how many Catholics will obtain them ? Every prize, Professorship, &c., established since 1793 has been left open to them. But how many have obtained them ? And of the Catholics who have striven for them, successfully or not, how few have transmitted to their sons a name honourable at once in the annals of their faith, of their country, and of learning ? Alas ! alas ! can Mr. Mahaffy give us ten, *aye even five*, such honoured names among those who have gone before us ? And this in *Catholic* Ireland ! We may judge of the probable future result from what has happened in the past. And hence there is one phrase of Mr. Mahaffy's with which we fully agree : "in no case would the Roman Catholics for generations become a real majority" (he might have said : attain equality with Protestants) "in the University." He adds : "This will, perhaps, be an encouragement to Irish Protestants when the question of removing religious disabilities comes to be discussed." But we doubt if it will be an encouragement to Irish Catholics !!

For it must never be forgotten there is question of the chief seat of lay education in an essentially Catholic country. And from Mr. Mahaffy's showing, the proportion of Catholics



among the lay students in Trinity College at the last census was only about 6 per cent.: viz., 76 out of 1,172. Is this a fair representation of a people in which Catholics are over 77 per cent., while Anglicans are only 7 in every hundred? Is it even in keeping with the relative numbers of classical students of either religion? Far from it, for the last census shows a majority of Catholic boys, as compared with Anglicans, studying classics in Ireland. As far as the number of students is concerned, Trinity College is, therefore, from Mr. Mahaffy's own showing, not only a Protestant institution, but an institution which even to this day maintains as far as it can the educational ascendancy of Anglicans. It is still more clear that Protestant ascendancy is maintained by the teaching staff, of which the thirty-five Fellows are all Anglicans, twenty-four of them being clergymen, while of the professorships, to which non-Anglicans are eligible, only *one* is filled by a Catholic, and *one* by a Mahomedan. Most of all, it is evident that Anglican ascendancy exists, and cannot but exist, in the governing body, since the Provost and seven senior Fellows, who are the heads of the College, also govern the University; and not only must all of them be Anglicans, and, generally speaking, clergymen, but moreover, as if to preclude the possibility of the introduction of any extraneous material into this board of direction, it is only, we are told, "after about *thirty years of weary waiting*, a man may succeed in his turn to a Senior Fellowship." For "the Board attain their position by seniority among the Fellows."

In our next number we shall consider whether the education imparted by these Protestant teachers, and under the direction of these Protestant authorities, even as shown by Rev. Mr. Mahaffy, is fit for Catholic youth, and whether the modifications he and his friends suggest, or, indeed, any modifications of such an institution, as a place of education, can make it satisfactory to Catholics, or establish within its halls the great principle of educational equality.

For the present we conclude by recommending to the consideration of all who have charge of the education of youth, indeed to the consideration of all who are interested in the training of the rising generations of Irish Catholics, the following words, written last year by another Fellow of Trinity College, Rev. Dr. Haughton, who, of course, speaks with the experience of many years: "The Roman Catholic clergy warn their flocks against Trinity College as a Protestant institution, *necessarily dangerous to the principles* of Catholic students; and *in thus warning them they are practically wise*, for it is *simply impossible* for seventy Catholics to associate

with 1,100 Protestants, as equals and fellow-students, without renouncing, more or less, the narrow views respecting Protestants that prevail among the higher circles of their hierarchy;" that is to say, without surrendering to some extent their religious principles.

(*To be continued.*)

## CIVILIZATION AND ARTS IN ANCIENT IRELAND.

(*Concluded from page 360, vol. v.*)

WE have already observed that forty years ago there was no national feeling amongst the upper classes in Ireland. This calamity, for such it may truly be called, is again and again deplored by Petrie. In the preface to his "Ancient Music of Ireland," he tells us that he was startled at the proposal made to him, of collecting for publication the Melodies of Ireland which had not been given to the public by Bunting. There were several reasons which made him hesitate to undertake so formidable a project:—first, a doubt of his own competency. Second, it would necessarily require for its production the exclusive devotion of many years of a life now drawing towards its close. And lastly, "as I cannot but confess, I could not suppress a misgiving, that, let a work of this nature possess whatever amount of interest or value it may, there no longer existed amongst my countrymen such a sufficient amount of a *racy feeling of nationality* and cultivation of mind—qualities so honorable to the Scottish character, as would secure for it the steady support necessary for its success. In short, I could not but fear that I might be vainly labouring to cultivate mental fruit, which, however indigenous to the soil, was yet of too refined and delicate a flavour to be relished or appreciated by a people who had been, from adversities, long accustomed only to the use of food of a coarser and more exciting nature."

Thus the want of a "racy feeling of nationality" retarded all efforts to nurture a love of our native music. Hence it shared the fate of the other Fine Arts in Ireland—neglect and decline. "The Fine Arts, properly so called," says Petrie ("Dublin Penny Journal," vol. i. p. 83), "or the arts of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture, have never hitherto in Ireland had their chronicle, or indeed, received the slightest

aid from the literature of their country. It would be easy to assign probable and sufficient causes for such neglect, but in this place it is enough to state the fact, coupled, as it is, with its melancholy consequence, that whenever genius of a higher order has appeared among us, and such instances have not been uncommon, we have rarely discovered how it should have been appreciated, till it had fled for ever from our shores. But brighter prospects appear to be at length opening; great changes have at length taken place in the political world, and if the expected result be realized, the Fine Arts must participate in the blessing, and their amiable professors see better days. Our minds, no longer engaged in the harrowing broils of political and religious strife, will seek the soft and harmonizing enjoyment which the cultivation of the taste can alone impart; and we shall find our reward in the acquisition of a new sense more ennobling to our nature, and more closely allied to the Divinity than those already enjoyed in common with the lower animals. 'A green field will be no longer a green field,' and 'nothing more' to us, for we shall have acquired the power of seeing the unspeakable beauty, as well as wisdom, exhibited in all the works of the Creator; and that beauty cannot fail of entering deep into our souls, and of aiding our exertions to become worthy of a higher state of existence."

These words, written thirty-seven years ago, have a singular significance at the present day. Amongst the causes of our want of national spirit stands pre-eminently the garrison church. The money which kept it a slave to England, and which made all its selfish instincts smother the nobler emotions of liberty and country, is, we trust, soon to be applied to a better purpose than to corrupt the national mind, and to secure that worthless allegiance which can be purchased by pelf. Then may we hope that Irishmen of all classes and denominations will band together to develop the national genius and guard the national honour.

"And oh! it were a gallant deed  
To show before mankind.  
How every race and every creed  
Might be by love combined—  
Might be combined—yet not forget  
The fountains whence they rose,  
As, filled by many a rivulet  
The stately Shannon flows."

Our native music, that has been so long sadly impugned, is



one of our greatest glories. Of it Davis has written soul-stirring words, that go straight to the heart:—

“The greatest achievement of the Irish people is their music. It tells their history, climate, and character; but it too much loves to weep. Let us, when so many of our chains have been broken—when our strength is great, and our hopes high, cultivate its bolder strains—its raging and rejoicing: if we weep, let it be like men whose eyes are lifted though their tears fall. Music is the first faculty of the Irish; and scarcely anything has such power for good over them. The use of this faculty and this power, publicly and constantly, to keep up their spirits, refine their tastes, warm their courage, increase their union, and renew their zeal—is the duty of every patriot.”—(Davis’s *Essays*.)

The race of our Irish harpists is gone. The traditions of their wondrous acquirements are treasured only by a few. The power of the instrument which so deeply moved the feelings of our Celtic forefathers are unknown. In the fashionable drawingrooms of the upper classes the native melodies are pooh-poohed, and give place to the last fandango that is called a waltz or a polka. The high civilization and exquisite refinement of the aristocracy look down from their lofty position with contempt, or chilling neglect upon all efforts to keep alive a love of our native music. We have preserved our faith and our nationality notwithstanding their defection and hostility. So shall we continue to value every good gift that God has bestowed upon us—“the mere Irish.”

Bunting, in the preface to his “*Ancient Music of Ireland*,” writes:—

“Whatever differences of opinion may exist, as to the high degree of early civilization and national glory laid claim to by the Irish people, it has never been questioned, that in the most remote times they had, at least, a national music peculiar to themselves, and that their bards and harpers were eminently successful in its performance.” How great that success was six hundred years ago, we learn from Giraldus Cambrensis, the persistent reviler of everything connected with our country, wherein he could find a flaw:—

“It is in musical instruments alone that the industry of this nation has attained a laudable degree of refinement, surpassing immeasurably the skill of all other nations. Bold and rapid, yet sweet and agreeable; the notes of the Irish harp are quite unlike the slow and drawling melody of the British instruments to which we are accustomed. It is amazing how correct musical time can be observed in so bold and hurried sweeping of the fingers; and how, amid all those quavers and



the mazy multitude of chords the master-hand combines this sweet rapidity, this uneven smoothness, this discordant concord, into a glowing strain of harmonious melody."

Alas! that such music can no longer be heard. The last meeting of the Irish harpers took place at Belfast, in 1792. Since that time the voice of the harp may be said to have been completely hushed, and its echoes no longer linger in the public ear. It is an interesting fact that ecclesiastics, even of the highest order, were not merely patrons of the harp, but were also, in many cases, proficient on that instrument. An extract from Petrie's "*Ancient Music of Ireland*" gives an account of the celebrated Irish harp preserved in the museum of Trinity College, Dublin:—

"This harp is not only the most ancient instrument of the kind known to exist in Ireland, but is in all probability the oldest harp now remaining in Europe."

That harps of this description were in common use among the Irish ecclesiastics from the very introduction of Christianity into this country is sufficiently apparent from the lives of the most distinguished of the Irish Saints, as well as from the testimony of Cambrensis, in the 12th century;—"Huic accedit ut episcopi et abbates et sancti in Hibernia viri citharas circumferre et in eis modulando pie delectari consueverunt."—(*Cambriae Descrip.* p. 739).

Petrie goes on to say, "If these conjectures were allowed, it would not, perhaps, be altogether an improbable surmise that this harp (referring to the one in the Museum, T.C.D.) was made for one of those two O'Neills who flourished in the fourteenth century; the first as bishop of Clogher, the second as bishop of Derry.<sup>1</sup> If we have not spirit enough to restore the practice of the Irish harp, we should, at all events, feel proud of the fact that its music was cherished for ages in the halls of our Irish princes, and was made the vehicle, by zealous bishop and sainted abbot, of

"Soul-animating strains, alas! too fair."

The Rev. Dr. Reeves writes as follows in the "*Ulster Journal of Archæology*," 1860:—

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Ferguson thus describes this famous harp:—"From recent examination it appears that this harp had but one row of strings and that these were thirty in number. It is thirty-two inches high, and of exquisite workmanship; the extremity of the forearm is capped in part with silver, extremely well wrought and chiselled; it also contains a large crystal, set in silver, under which was another stone, now lost; the whole bears evidence of having been the work of a very expert artist, and it is unquestionably the most ancient harp in existence." Quoted in Sir W. Wilde's learned Catalogue of the Royal Irish Academy Museum, Part I., p. 246.

"Performance on stringed instruments, and especially on the harp, was, in fact, the very kind of music which, from the earliest times, was practised in Ireland, where, in Moengal's day (ninth century) every freeman seems to have possessed a certain degree of skill in the art, as is proved by many statements in the Irish Chronicles. . . . Music was cultivated by them (the Irish monks), as an art intimately connected with public worship; and they seem to have promoted the practice of it as much as possible in their colonies."

Our melodies, at least we can presume, form a distinct part of our national individuality. There is little danger of the loss of those which have been wedded to immortal verse by Moore. But many others remain. To procure them free from all alloy was the closing work of Petrie's life. In company with Eugene O'Curry, Dr. Stokes, and other friends, Petrie sought them amidst the Celts of the Arran Isles, and picked them up wherever his keen eye could detect a trace of them throughout the land. Why are they not appreciated in our Irish homes? Have we no sensibility of the refining influence of music? Have we no desire to hear those mystic sounds that alternately braved the arm in battle's array, soothed the couch in the hour of sickness, and supported the stricken amidst persecutions, treasons, and grinding poverty? With what a facile pen and graceful diction, does not Petrie describe the pleasures he drew from the study of our national music:—

"A passionate lover of music from my childhood, and of melody especially—that divine essence without which music is but a soulless body—the indulgence of this passion has been one of the great, if not the greatest, sources of happiness of my life. Coupled with a never-failing love of nature, and its consequent attendant, an appreciation of the good and beautiful, it has refreshed and re-invigorated my spirits when depressed by the fatigues of mental labour. In the hours of worldly trials, of cares and sorrows, I have felt its power to soothe and console; to restrain from the pursuit of worthless and debasing pleasures—of soul-corrupting worldly ambitions, destructive of mental peace—and to give contentment in a humble station." Happily this love of our melodies which Petrie pronounces to be "the most beautiful national melodies in the world," was the means of preserving to our Irish race many airs that were on the eve of being for ever lost. They are printed with letterpress in a quarto volume of 196 pages, and should be found in the hands of all those who profess to cherish our native music, and to retain a living evidence of our earliest civilization.

As the memories of our most highly-born princes and most dignified ecclesiastics are linked with a love of our old music, so in modern times true Irishmen have shown a predilection for the Irish airs. Two interesting anecdotes will relieve the dreary pages we have strung together. Bunting was present at the celebrated meeting of the Irish harpers in Belfast. One of the most famous of these was Arthur O'Neill. In the following terms he describes an evening spent at the house of a real old Irish gentleman, James Irwin, of Streamstown:—

"I am totally at a loss to describe that gentleman's manner of living, at his own house and amongst his tenantry. He had an ample fortune, and was passionately fond of music. He had four sons and three daughters, who were all proficient. No instrument was unknown to them. There was at one time a meeting in his house of forty-six musicians, who played in the following order:—the three Miss Irwins at the piano; myself at the harp; gentlemen flutes, six; gentlemen violoncellos, two; common pipers, ten; gentlemen fiddlers, twenty; gentlemen clarionets, four." (Notes to Bunting's *Ancient Irish Music*.)

The next anecdote refers to Curran. It is narrated by Dr. Stokes in his "*Life of Petrie*." We shall give it in the words of that accomplished biographer:—

"In his selections for the Irish melodies Moore<sup>1</sup> seems to have been less intimate with the structure of this class of Irish airs than his celebrated contemporary John Philpot Curran. How deeply the old music of his country was loved by Curran; how much he felt its power and pathos, the following anecdote, given to the writer by an intimate friend of the great orator, will show. On occasions, when he felt he would have next day to make one of his most impressive speeches, he was in the habit, during the stillness of evening, of walking up and down, and alone, in one of the shady alleys of his old-fashioned garden, always carrying his violin in his hands, crossed behind him, while his head was bent in meditation. He would now and then pause, and, as if to assist his thoughts, bring the instrument forward, and play a few bars of some old Irish air, when he would replace it and resume his walk. Those who look at music as a source of sensuous enjoyment only, have but a narrow view of its uses and its value."

Thus sanctioned by every association dear to Irishmen—by

<sup>1</sup> "In the Moore Library adjoining the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, may be seen the small modern harp belonging to the bard, made by Egan, of Dublin, which was presented to the Academy, along with his books, by Mrs. Moore." (Sir W. Wilde's Catalogue.)



antiquity, civilization, religion, and patriotism, let us keep alive the highly characteristic music of this old land, remembering the pregnant words of Dr. Stokes, that its study has higher and more noble aims than to minister merely to passing emotions of *dilletante* gratification.

As to the Irish proficiency in architecture, we shall content ourselves with one passage from the writings of Rev. Dr. Reeves. In a Paper on Early Irish Caligraphy, published in "*Ulster Journal of Archæology*" (1860), that highly accomplished Irish scholar observes:—

"We are unable to determine, with accuracy, what progress in architecture had been made by the Irish monks, because during the foreign invasions, and the long period of intestine struggles at home, their oldest buildings had most gone to ruin. But those which still exist, as, for example, the numerous round towers, erected, according to Petrie, in the Merovingian and Carlovingian periods, with their groups of churches (seven churches), the extensive ruins of the oldest abbeys, the subterranean vaults, dating from an unknown period, the royal tombs, as those in the island of Iona, are sufficient evidences that in this country architecture had attained, at least in a technical point of view, to a high degree of cultivation."

We have so far endeavoured to bring together witnesses of undoubted learning, and evidences of undeniable authority, to prove our ancient civilization from the excellence attained in illumination, painting, sculpture, architecture, working in gold and silver, and finally in music. To these must be added the comparatively high state of learning in the schools of Ireland, after the introduction of Christianity. The fact is admitted by Hallam, Muratori, and a host of writers whom we could name, that the Irish monasteries, were, in the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, centres of intellectual light for the rest of Europe. When Alfred the Great founded or restored the University of Oxford, he sent to the monastic schools of Ireland for professors to fill its chairs. St. Columbanus was educated in the monastery of Bangor, near Belfast; his writings show an intimate acquaintance with the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages, as also with Ecclesiastical History. These he must have learned from the monks who taught him in Ireland.

Dr. Wattenbach has published a very learned paper on the Irish monasteries. It is translated and edited with notes by Rev. Dr. Reeves, and will be found in "*Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. 7.

Wattenbach says—

"Along with the Christian religion there was brought in



by the numerously immigrating British, Gaulish, and Roman, nay, perhaps, even Egyptian clergy, the learning of the Latin church, and various new arts among this already somewhat advanced and accomplished people. They learned how to build with more elegance and durability, how to use lime and mortar; how to turn arches; likewise how to manufacture costly vessels for the service of the church. In particular, they also learned the Greek and Latin languages, and letters."

The reader will naturally ask, to what period we trace back the civilization of ancient Erin? We answer—as far back certainly as the date of Ireland's becoming Christian. To what extent a knowledge of letters or civilization prevailed before the advent of St. Patrick, is a subject upon which we have not been able to form a very definite opinion. We shall merely bring under the notice of those who favour this paper with a perusal what has fallen in our way in our search for reliable information.<sup>1</sup>

Eugene O'Curry, in those invaluable lectures of his, delivered at the Catholic University, and patriotically published at its expense, says:—

"At what period in Irish history written records began to be kept, it is, perhaps, impossible to determine at present with precision. However the national traditions assign a very remote antiquity, and a high degree of cultivation to the civilization of our Pagan ancestors. Without granting to such traditions a greater degree of credulity than they are strictly entitled to, it must, I think, be admitted, that the immense quantity of historical, legendary, and genealogical matter, relating to the Pagan age of ancient Erin, and which we can trace to the very oldest written documents, of which we yet retain any account, could only have been transmitted to our times by some form of written record.

"There is abundant evidence in the MSS. relating to this period (the introduction of Christianity), to show that St. Patrick found, on his coming to Erin, a regularly defined system of law and policy, and a fixed classification of the people according to various grades and ranks, under the sway of a single monarch, presiding over certain subordinate provincial kings. We find, likewise, mention of books in the possession of the Druids before the arrival of St. Patrick; and it is repeatedly stated (in the Tripartite Life of the Saint), that he placed primers or lessons, in the Latin language, in the hands of those whom he wished to take into his University. We

<sup>1</sup> See a very interesting discussion on "Writing in Pre-Christian Erin" in the "Illustrated History of Ireland," p. 148.

have also several remarkable examples of the literary eminence which was rapidly attained by many of his disciples, amongst whom may be particularly mentioned, Benen, or Benignus ; Mochoe ; and Fiac, of Slebh  , or Sletty."

The Right Rev. Dr. Graves, Protestant bishop of Limerick, in a paper upon oghamic writing, says:—"Whether the ancient Irish, before the Christian era, possessed a primitive alphabet, differing essentially from that in use in the other parts of Europe, is a question which has been debated by scholars with great earnestness. . . . . This controversy cannot be brought to a satisfactory termination until the MSS. authorities bearing upon the subject have been discussed, and the inscriptions on the monuments carefully deciphered."

We are thus, it would seem, according to most learned authorities, without any certain data to decide the question of the knowledge of letters in Ireland, at the advent of Christianity. The opinions of O'Curry and Dr. Graves are supported by the concurring testimony of the late John O'Donovan, and that of Petrie. O'Donovan says:—"At what period it became the practice in Ireland to record public events, in the shape of Annals, has not yet been accurately determined ; but it will not be too much to assume that the practice began with the first introduction of Christianity into the country." And Dr. Petrie, in his learned essay on "The History and Antiquities of Tara Hill," writes, "Without conceding the use of letters to the Irish generally, before the establishment of Christianity in Ireland, there is nothing impossible in the supposition that their use might have been known to a few." Quoted in a very learned Dissertation on Irish Annals. (Census Report, 1851, p. 3.)

If, then, it be uncertain whether the Irish generally had any knowledge of letters before Christianity, are we to conclude that there is no evidence of any civilization before that date ? Petrie, in the "Dublin Penny Journal," gave a very natural solution to this difficulty, by observing that "the bloodless conversion of a people to a new mode of faith gives strong evidence of their being at the time far removed from utter barbarism." However, other and abundant proofs are supplied by the same writer in the numerous dissertations on Irish ornaments, furniture, and utensils, with which he enriched the pages of the "Dublin Penny Journal." The conclusion to be drawn from these writings of Petrie's are thus summarised calmly, and with judicial impartiality, by Dr. Stokes :—

"It is true that Ireland, though abounding in remains of remote antiquity, cannot adduce them as proving any high civilization among her earlier colonists. . . . . That some of



the tribes of almost pre-historic times carried with them a certain, and even a high degree of knowledge, the urns of excellent form and ornamentation, the weapons of bronze, and ornaments of gold, which may be seen in our museums, abundantly prove; and that some of these, at all events, were of native manufacture, appears from the discovery of the stone moulds for the casting of the bronze swords, so numerous and varied, and so beautiful in form; nor is this ancient skill shown in the manufacture of weapons only. The forms of the great trumpets found near Emania, with their admirably executed rivetings throughout, must be seen to be appreciated; while the specimen of the divergent spiral in bronze implements of unknown use, in the Petrie Museum, which Mr. Kemble declared to be the most striking in all Europe for beauty of execution and design, shows, not only the greatest skill in casting, but the possession of an instinctive taste of the highest quality. Still, such a knowledge of art is compatible with a low state of civilization, as regards the habits and manners of the race."

In this admirable passage the truth is set forth with candour and precision, and we should think it folly in the face of such authorities to antedate our literature, or to estimate more highly the civilization of our forefathers. Whatever disappointment the over-sanguine Irishman may feel at this conclusion, is more than counterbalanced by the value and antiquity of our historic annals.

Sir James Mackintosh, in his notice of the "Annals of the Four Masters," writes:—"The Irish nation, though they are robbed of their legends by this authentic publication, are yet by it enabled to boast that they possess genuine history several centuries more ancient than any other European nation possesses; in its present spoken language they have exchanged their legendary antiquity for historical fame. Indeed, no other nation possesses any monument of its literature, in its present spoken language, which goes back within several centuries of these chronicles." Finally, adds the Census Report, to which we are indebted for these quotations, "Dr. O'Connor, in criticising with his wonted energy and research, the 'Annals of Tighernach,' (written in the eleventh century), says:—'No chronicle more ancient than Tighernach's can be produced by the Northern nations; Hestor, the father of Russian history, died in 1113; Snorro, the father of Icelandic history, did not appear until a century after Nestor; Kaldubeck, the first historian of Poland, died in 1223; and Stierman could not discover a scrap of writing in all Sweden older than 1159. Now Tigernach quotes the ancient



*Scealuidhes*, or poets of Ireland, whose poems he declares to contain genuine history, from the foundation of Emania, 300 years before the Christian era."

Flann of Monasterboice, who died in 1056, was another famous annalist. O'Curry, in his "MS. Materials," p. 57, writes of him :—

"It is to be observed that Flann was the predecessor of Tighernach; and without in the least degree derogating from the well-earned reputation of that distinguished annalist, enough of the works of Flann remain to show that he was a scholar of fully equal learning, and a historic investigator of the greatest merit."

We have now come to the close of an effort to throw into a popular form a few facts about our ancient literature and civilization.

We have not ventured to put forward any statement, save such as is supported by the testimony of able, impartial, and conscientious writers. We have read from time to time a good deal of rhapsody in portly quarto, as well as in less pretentious octavo; but we have not allowed any quotations from such authorities to lead us astray. There is more than enough of sound substantial fact about our country's history to gratify honest patriotism. We pray the reader's kind indulgence in our attempt to indicate the plain truth. We have endeavoured to avoid being a "will-o'-the-wisp" that would mislead and deceive: and we trust that our feeble efforts shall be leniently dealt with, because of the spirit in which they were undertaken.

## QUESTIONS REGARDING THE JUBILEE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD."

"St. Patrick's College, Maynooth,  
"27th September, 1869.

"VERY REV. DEAR SIR—In accordance with your suggestion that an exposition of some theological and canonical questions connected with the Jubilee would not be without interest for the readers of the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, I enclose a paper on the nature of the fast which is required as a condition for gaining the indulgence.

"Considering the practical importance of this subject, and the great difference of opinion to which it has given rise in

those parts of Ireland where the Jubilee has been for some time promulgated, it is, I think, not unlikely that some questions in reference to it may have been sent to you by your readers throughout the country. Hence, although I have no reason to suppose that you will dissent from the conclusions at which I have arrived, I think it right to give you an opportunity of letting your readers know that the enclosed paper is not published as your answer to any such questions, and that it ought not to be regarded as necessarily expressing the views either of yourself or of the clergymen who so ably assist you in conducting the *Record*. Probably you will consider the insertion of this letter as the best means of making that announcement. I shall, therefore, avail myself of this opportunity to add a few remarks which are, I think, rendered necessary by what has occurred since my paper was written.

“No doubt, the Rescript which has just arrived takes away, as far as regards your readers in this country, a good deal of the practical importance of the question to the examination of which my paper is almost exclusively devoted. Granted, in accordance with the terms of the petition, without any restriction as to time, it completely removes all necessity for observing the abstinence from eggs and lacticinia, and for making use of only Lenten fare. So far, then, as those persons are concerned who have not as yet undertaken the performance of the works required as conditions for gaining the Jubilee, no difficulty can arise as to the nature of the fast which is required.

“But, viewed under another aspect, the question which I have discussed is still a question of practical importance. For in several parts of Ireland, where the Jubilee was promulgated in July and August, very many of the faithful had, before the publication of the decree of the Sacred Congregation, observed the fasts and performed the other conditions enjoined in the Bull. At that time the question whether it was necessary to abstain from eggs and lacticinia had not been raised, so that in those cases the fasts observed were such as in Ireland we are accustomed to observe on ordinary fasting days occurring throughout the year, for instance on the fasting days of the Ember Weeks. Hence, the publication of the decree which, as many persons supposed, required the observance of the more rigorous form of fast, gave rise to a question of great practical difficulty, viz.:—should any steps be taken in reference to the case of those who, in performing the works enjoined as conditions for the Jubilee, had observed the fast in its less rigorous form, the sufficiency of which was called in question?

“As regards the great majority of such cases, the Rescript, since it was not granted until after they had occurred, cannot be of any assistance. And, in fact, the only method of meeting the difficulty is to ascertain whether, in the absence of any rescript or dispensation, abstinence from eggs and lacticinia is required either by the Bull of the Jubilee or by the explanatory decree of the Sacred Congregation. In the accompanying paper I have endeavoured to show that such abstinence is not required. If this view be established it follows, of course, that in the very numerous cases to which I have referred, there is no reason for doubting that the requirements of the Bull, as far as regards this condition, have been complied with.

“These remarks will, I trust, suffice to show that notwithstanding the concession of the Rescript, the question which I have discussed is one of not merely speculative interest, but also of practical importance.

“I remain, Very Rev. Dear Sir,

“Most faithfully yours,

“WILLIAM J. WALSH.”

## I.—ON THE FASTS REQUIRED FOR GAINING THE JUBILEE.

THE decree recently issued by the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences,<sup>1</sup> in reference to the present Jubilee, has given rise to considerable difference of opinion regarding a question of very great practical importance, viz. :—Whether the fast which is prescribed as a necessary condition for gaining the indulgence excludes the use of eggs and the whitemeats (*lacticinia*) such as butter, cheese, and milk. In this decree the Sacred Congregation announces that, by a special favour granted by the Holy Father, the requirements of the Bull, as far as regards this condition, will be satisfied by those who fast in compliance with the law of the Church on three days in Lent. It adds, however, that those who take advantage of this privilege, must on the three days which they select for their Jubilee fast, make use only of fasting fare, and that consequently they cannot on those days avail themselves of any dispensation which they may have received, exempting them from any portion of the obligation imposed by the general law of the Church. “*Permittitur ex speciali Sanctitatis Suae indulto*,” are the words of

<sup>1</sup> See *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, No. LX., Vol. 5, September 1869, page 585.



the Congregation, "*dummodo esurialibus tantum cibis pro dictis tribus Jubilaei jejuniis utantur, quamvis fortasse ab usu ciborum esurialium dispensationem obtinuerint.*"

The reason for inserting some proviso of this nature is obvious. Any such dispensation removes a part of the obligation which is imposed by the common law of fasting. Consequently, those who avail themselves of it do not, strictly speaking, observe the ecclesiastical fast; and, therefore, they do not comply with the requirements of the Bull, in which the observance of this fast is set forth as one of the necessary conditions for gaining the indulgence. But the precise meaning of the clause is not, perhaps, so clear. In fact, from the various interpretations that have been assigned to it, arises the practical question which I purpose to examine in this paper.

What, then, is the precise nature of the fast which His Holiness requires to be observed on this occasion? Is it necessary to observe three days of rigorous fast—abstaining, not only from meat, but also from eggs and lacticinia—such as in Ireland is observed on Ash-Wednesday and on Wednesday and Friday in Holy Week? Or is it sufficient to observe three days of the ordinary fast—abstaining from meat only—such as in Ireland we observe on ordinary fasting days which occur throughout the year? In my opinion, the view indicated in the latter question is the only tenable one. But before stating the arguments which convince me of its truth, I shall place before your readers an outline of the reasoning which, probably, has influenced the judgment of those who regard the decree of the Sacred Congregation as proving the necessity of observing the fast in its more rigorous form.

Their case may be fairly stated thus. The decree declares that in order to gain the Jubilee, it is necessary to eat only fasting fare (*cibi esuriales*), in other words, those sorts of food which, by the law of the Church, the faithful are allowed to make use of on fasting days. Now, eggs and lacticinia cannot be regarded as coming under this designation. In Ireland, indeed, their use is allowed on almost every fasting day; but in this respect the discipline of the Irish Church differs very notably from the strict requirements of the law. Take, for instance, the fast of Lent. By referring to any theological treatise it will be seen that the common law of the Church prohibits the use of eggs and lacticinia, not merely on three days, but throughout the whole of Lent.<sup>1</sup> Again, if we

<sup>1</sup> "Ex dictis habetur, omnes utriusque sexus fideles tam Saeculares, quam Regulares teneri omnibus diebus quadragesimae, etiam Dominicis, abstinere ab ovis et lacticiniis nisi per Bullam aut Pontificis privilegium a dicta obligatione excusentur." SALMANTICENSES, *Cursus Theologiae Moralis*. Tract. xxiii., cap. ii., n. 37.

examine the practice of the faithful in Rome and other parts of Italy, where the rigour of the law has not been tempered, either by usage or by indult, to such an extent as in Ireland, we shall find that the use of eggs and lacticinia is prohibited on every fasting day throughout the year. It would seem, then, that according to the provisions of the strict law of fasting we cannot regard eggs and lacticinia as included under the designation of *cibi esuriales*, or fasting fare. But, as we have seen, the observance of the fast which is prescribed as a condition for gaining the Jubilee, requires us to make use of fasting fare only. Therefore, in order to satisfy the requirements of the Bull, we must abstain from eggs and lacticinia.

This, in substance, is the reasoning which is advanced in support of the more rigorous interpretation of the Bull. To estimate its value we must examine how far the statements on which it rests, regarding the extent of the obligations imposed by the strict law of fasting, are in accordance with the doctrine which is laid down by approved writers on this subject.

The law of fasting may, in accordance with the usual practice of such writers, be considered as comprising two distinct obligations. Of these, the first and principal one regards the quantity of food which is allowed on a fasting day; the other regards its quality. The former forbids us to eat more than one full meal and a collation; the latter restricts us to the use of certain kinds of food, which are therefore known as *cibi esuriales*, or fasting fare.

Frequently indeed, the term Fast is employed to designate only the former of these obligations, which is thus distinguished from the latter, usually known as the law of abstinence. But there can be no doubt as to the sense in which the word is to be understood in the Bull of the Jubilee. The decree of the Sacred Congregation defines that the fasts required are fasts in the strict sense of the word—“*etiam quoad qualitatem ciborum sicuti ea quae ex Ecclesiae praecepto adimplenda sunt.*”

This being so, it is obvious that in order to ascertain whether the use of eggs and lacticinia is allowed on the fasting days required for the Jubilee, we must know the nature of the *abstinence* which on ordinary fasting days of obligation is imposed by the common law of the Church. Let us see, then, whether it is true to say that the use of eggs and lacticinia is inconsistent with the strict observance of this law, and that consequently they cannot be included under the designation of fasting fare.

Instead of answering this question in my own words, I shall appeal to the authority of those writers who are by common consent accepted as standard authorities on this subject. From



the extracts which I shall cite, it will clearly appear that a broad line of distinction must be drawn between the obligations imposed by the common law of fasting and the exceptional obligations imposed by the special law which regulates the Lenten Fast so that while the use of eggs and lacticinia is forbidden in Lent, on ordinary fasting days occurring throughout the year, the law of abstinence prohibits the use of meat alone.

St. Thomas shall be my first witness :—"Inter alia jejunia," says the Angelic Doctor,<sup>1</sup> "solemnius est quadragesimale jejunium . . . . . et ideo in quolibet jejunio interdicuntur esus carnum, in jejunio vero quadragesimali interdicuntur universaliter etiam ova et lacticinia." Billuart expresses the same view in almost the same words :—"In jejunio quadragesimae," he says<sup>2</sup> "quod est solemnus. . . . . praeter carnes prohibentur ova et lacticinia, quae non prohibentur in aliis jejuniis. *Haec intellige de jure communi.*" "In jejuniis extraquadragesimalibus," says Henno,<sup>3</sup> "*nec ovorum nec lacticiniorum comestionem prohibet jus commune, ut docet S. Thomas.*"

Suarez does not formally explain the law of fasting ; but in his treatise on the Virtue of Religion, alluding incidentally to the obligation of fasting, he says<sup>4</sup> :—"Non est illa abstinence [a lacticiniis] *de ratione jejunii nisi quadragesimalis.*" "Constat," say the authors of the Salamanca Course,<sup>5</sup> "dari in Ecclesia praeceptum abstinendi in quadragesima ab ovis et lacticiniis : *in aliis vero jejuniis non dari*" Lessius is equally distinct :—"Lacticinia," he says,<sup>6</sup> "*jure communi solum tempore quadragesimae vetantur : extra illud permittuntur.*" And Laymann<sup>7</sup> teaches, "Discrimen illud quod esus carnum omnibus diebus jejuniorum et abstinence, ovorum vero et lacticiniorum *in sola quadragesima* prohibetur est *secundum legem communem Ecclesiae.*" Azor, a Jesuit theologian, whose works, though little known in this country, are highly esteemed by the members of the Society, says<sup>8</sup> :—"Ex communi omnium sententia in jejunio quadragesimae carnum et caeterorum ex carne originem ducentium usum nobis interdicti . . . . . *in aliis jejuniorum diebus praeterquam jejunii quadragenarii jure communi permittitur esus ovorum, lactis, casei, &c.*" He then

<sup>1</sup> *Summa*. In 2. 2. Quaest. 147, art. 8, ad 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Cursus Theologiae*. De Virtutibus Justitiae Annexis. Diss. ii. art. vii.

<sup>3</sup> *Theologia*. Tract i. de Vitiis, Appendix, quaest. i. concl. ii.

<sup>4</sup> *De Virtute Religionis*, Tract. vi. lib. 4, cap. vii. n. 9.

<sup>5</sup> *Cursus Theologiae Moralis*. Tract xxiii. cap. ii. n. 33.

<sup>6</sup> *Theologia Moralis*. Lib. 4, cap. ii. dub. 2, n. 8.

<sup>7</sup> *Theologia Moralis*. Lib. 4, Tract. viii., cap. i., n. 3.

<sup>8</sup> *Institutiones Morales*. Lib. 7, cap. 10, quaest. 1.



objects to expressions used in reference to this question by some previous writer, whose language implied that the use of lacticinia out of Lent was lawful only by virtue of the local usage of many countries. He asserts, says Azor, "in aliis jejuniis posse nos uti his cibis si id fuerit usu receptum, *quasi tunc etiam hi cibi jure vetentur.*" "Abstinentiam ab ovis et lacticiniis," says Sporer,<sup>1</sup> "*de jure communi pro solo tempore quadragesimae, non item pro aliis diebus jejuniorum obligare advertunt doctores communissime.*" In his treatise on the Jubilee, Bossius<sup>2</sup> says:—"Extra quadragesimam jure communi in jejuniis de praecepto Ecclesiae non interduntur ova et lacticinia." Busembaum<sup>3</sup> writes:—"Ova et lacticinia intra quadragesimam jure communi prohibentur; extra eam permittuntur." Viva,<sup>4</sup> in explaining the condemnation of a proposition which denied the existence of any obligation to abstain from eggs and lacticinia in the case of the Lenten fast, asks, "utrum in jejuniis extra quadragesimam, ova et lacticinia interduntur." And he answers the question thus:—"Communis sententia negat ea jure communi prohiberi."

In fine, St. Liguori tells us that this is the common opinion of Theologians. "Sententia communis," he says,<sup>5</sup> "quam sequimur docet *de jure communi non vetari lacticinia et ova extra quadragesimam.*" In support of it, he quotes in addition to some of those writers whom I have already mentioned, St. Antoninus, Navarre, Henriquez, Concina, Holzmann, and Elbel.

I trust that I have now brought forward satisfactory evidence that according to the doctrine laid down by the standard authorities on this subject, a very clear distinction exists between the obligations of the fast of Lent and those of ordinary fasts which occur throughout the year—that only in the former case is the use of eggs and lacticinia forbidden—that, in other words, eggs and lacticinia are to be regarded as strictly speaking *cibi esuriales*, outside the special case of the Lenten fast, and that in fine this distinction is to be ascribed not to any modifications introduced by dispensation or by local usage, but to the provisions of the common law of the Church.

Hence it will be seen that the obligation of abstaining, not only in Lent but also on all fasting days throughout the year, from eggs and lacticinia, which, as I have said, exists in Rome and some other parts of Italy, cannot be regarded as the result

<sup>1</sup> *Theologia Moralis*. Tract. iii. Appendix. sect. i. n. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Tractatus de Jubilaeo*, Sect. 4, cas. 18, n. 19.

<sup>3</sup> *Medulla Theologiae Moralis*. De Praeceptis Ecclesiae. Dub. i.

<sup>4</sup> *Damnatæ Theses*. In prop. Alex. 32, VII. n. 10.

<sup>5</sup> *Theologia Moralis*, Lib. vi., tract vi. De Praeceptis Ecclesiae n. 1009.

merely of a strict observance of the common ecclesiastical law of fasting. The writers whose expositions of the provisions of that law I have just quoted, whenever they refer to the existence of such an obligation invariably ascribe it to the long established usage of the churches in which it exists. Thus St. Thomas, after explaining that the common law does not prohibit the use of eggs and lacticinia, except in Lent, adds, "*circa quorum abstinentiam in aliis jejuniis diversae consuetudines existunt apud diversos, quas quisque observare debet, secundum morem eorum inter quos conversatur.*" The same view is taken by all the other writers already referred to. It is hardly necessary to add that any local usage of this nature cannot interfere with the operations of the common law of fasting in countries where no such usage exists.

Having now ascertained the nature of the abstinence which is imposed by the ecclesiastical law of fasting, we may proceed to the examination of the question regarding the abstinence which is required as a condition for gaining the Jubilee. In considering this question it is necessary to distinguish between two cases—first, that of a person who selects for his Jubilee fast, three days out of Lent; secondly, that of a person who availing himself of the privilege granted by the Papal indult, observes for the purposes of the Jubilee, on three days in Lent, the fast prescribed by the Church.

It seems to me absolutely certain that the person contemplated in the first of these cases is not obliged to abstain from eggs and lacticinia. And for this reason. In this case nothing more is required by the Bull of the Pope or by the decree of the Sacred Congregation than the observance on three days—Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday—of the ecclesiastical fast, properly so called, "*jejunia stricte sumpta etiam quoad qualitatem ciborum sicuti ea quae ex Ecclesia praecepto adimplenda sunt.*" Now it is obvious that the fasts which the common law of the Church orders the faithful to observe, for instance, on the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday of Ember Week in September, are fasts to which this description is perfectly applicable as far as regards the nature of the obligations imposed. Consequently, in order to comply with the condition of fasting required by the Jubilee, it will suffice to observe three days of fast, such as is enjoined to be observed on the Ember days. But we have already seen that on those days abstinence from eggs and lacticinia is not required by the common law of the Church. Therefore, in the case of a person who selects as the days of his Jubilee fast, three days out of Lent, this abstinence is not required.

Before passing from this branch of the subject, I should,



perhaps, observe that in examining this case I have not considered it necessary to take into account the clause in which the Congregation insists on the necessity of using only fasting fare, and to which, it seems, great importance has been attached by those who consider that under all circumstances, the use of eggs and lacticinia is inconsistent with the observance of the fast required for the Jubilee. In the first place, it clearly follows from the principles already established that, as far as regards the case which we are now examining, such a clause could not suffice to prove the necessity of abstaining from eggs and lacticinia. For undoubtedly, it allows the use of fasting fare; and I have shown that, except in the special case of the Lenten fast, eggs and lacticinia are included under that designation. But, moreover, the clause, whatever be its meaning, has no reference to the case before us, for it merely expresses a rule laid down by the Sacred Congregation for the guidance of those who, availing themselves of the Papal indult, select three days in Lent for their Jubilee fast. It cannot therefore impose any obligation on those who do not avail themselves of that privilege. We may then conclude that this clause contains nothing at variance with the conclusion at which we have arrived, regarding the case of a person who observes the fast required for the Jubilee, on three days out of Lent.

Let us now examine how far this conclusion is sustained by the express authority of theologians. The question indeed seems to have escaped the attention of many amongst our most distinguished writers. But the unanimity with which those writers who have examined it, record their opinions gives their testimony such weight that it would be difficult to take exception to their authority.

"*Existimo*," says Sanchez,<sup>1</sup> "*satisfieri omnibus his jejuniis [ratione voti aut Jubilaei observandis] extra quadragesimam factis, edendo lacticinia.*" And he quotes in support of this opinion the authority of Henriquez, Manuel, Metina, Angles, Azor, and several writers of lesser note. Cardinal De Lugo,<sup>2</sup> after stating the opinion of Sanchez, adopts it in these words:—"Quae sententia mihi placet: et ita usus communis habet." Azor,<sup>3</sup> is still more explicit. "*Quid dicendum*," he asks, "*quum jejunia Romani Pontificis Jubilaeum concedentis auctoritate indicta sunt? Respondeo: hujusmodi jejunia servari debere eo ritu et more quo juxta...gentis consuetudinem servantur jejunia caetera ecclesiastica quae in Quatuor*

<sup>1</sup> *De Decalogò*, Lib. 4, cap. xi. n. 52.

<sup>2</sup> *De Sacramento Penitentiae*, Disp. 27, sect. vii., n. 108.

<sup>3</sup> *Institutiones Morales*, Lib. vii., cap. x., quest. 2da.



Temporibus Anni et in pervigiliis sanctorum dierum festorum coli et celebrari solent." The casuist, Gobat,<sup>1</sup> also adopts it, and states with admirable clearness the argument on which it rests:—"Jejunium," he writes, "pro Jubilaeo exigitur tale quale Ecclesia praecipit fidelibus extra Jubilaeum. Ita Sanchez, ex communi. . . . Et quia in jejuniis extra Quadragesimam non solet imperari abstinencia ab ovis et lacticiniis; Bulla autem Jubilaei *non exigit jejunium quadragesimale sed commune*, idcirco non est opus ab iis abstinere pro Jubilaeo." Busembaum also supports this opinion:—"Extra Quadragesimam," he says,<sup>2</sup> "licite vescitur ovis, qui debet jejunare v. g. ob Jubilaeum. And La Croix says<sup>3</sup>:—"Modus servandi [jejunium pro Jubilaeo lucrando injunctum] est, quem singulae Provinciae tunc tenent in aliis jejuniis."

Hitherto I have quoted the opinions of the great Jesuit theologians, I shall now appeal to the leading members of other schools. The Thomist Billuart<sup>4</sup> in answering the question "Quibus cibis uti debeat, qui tenetur jejunare sive ex voto...sive jubilaе, lucrandi causa," says "Debere et posse uti iis cibis quibus concives communiter utuntur *in jejuniis ecclesiae tunc occurrentibus*, ita ut si utantur ovis et lacticiniis, possit iis uti." His adversary Henno, the great champion of the Scotist school, is perfectly at one with him on this point. In answering the same question he says,<sup>5</sup> "Cibis illis [vesci potest] quibus utuntur fideles suae ecclesiae *in jejuniis tunc occurrentibus*: ita ut...debeat abstinere ab ovis si sit quadragesima *et a solis carnibus si non sit*." Bonacina,<sup>6</sup> in answer to the question, "Quibus cibis vesci possit.....cui indictum est jejunium a Papa in Jubilaeo?" says:—"Extra quadragesimam *posse vesci lacticiniis* aut aliis cibis qui...permittuntur in temporibus anni et pervigiliis sanctorum..... nam ita est intelligendum et observandum sicut intelliguntur et observantur praecepta Ecclesiae." Ferraris<sup>7</sup> also adopts this view, adding that it is the common opinion of theologians, "Jejunium," he says, "pro Jubilaeo exigitur tale quale ecclesiae praecipit fidelibus extra Jubilaeum. *Communis*." In fine, M. Loiseaux, in his exhaustive treatise on the Jubilee,<sup>8</sup> tells us, "Le principe généralement admis par les auteurs est que le jeûne prescrit pour le Jubilé est le jeûne tel qu'il est

<sup>1</sup> *Opera Moralia*, Tom i. tract. iii. cap. xxviii. n. 205.

<sup>2</sup> *Medulla Theologiae Moralis*. De Praeceptis Ecclesiae. Dub. i.

<sup>3</sup> *Theologia Moralis*, lib. vi. part ii. n. 1424.

<sup>4</sup> *Cursus Theologiae*. De Virtutibus Justitiae Annexis. Diss. ii, art. ix, Petes 8°.

<sup>5</sup> *Theologia*, Tract i. de Vitiis, appendix, quaest. ii. Petes 9°.

<sup>6</sup> *In Decalogum*. De Praeceptis Ecclesiae. Disp. xi. punct 2. Quaest i., n. 6.

<sup>7</sup> *Biblio-theca* in verb. Jubilaeum, art. iii., n. 34.

<sup>8</sup> *Traité Canonique et Pratique du Jubilé*, p. 274. Ed. Paris, 1859.

imposé par l'Eglise hors du temps du Jubilé." And he adds "*Ce principe n'est pas contesté.*"

The authority of writers so eminent and so numerous is, no doubt, almost sufficient in itself to place beyond all controversy the truth of the opinion which they so clearly teach. But it may be useful to remark, as a circumstance which enhances to a very great degree the value of their testimony, that, as far as I have been able to ascertain, the extracts I have quoted present the whole teaching of theologians upon this point. So that amongst the writers who have considered the question, no difference of opinion exists in reference to it. Of such unanimity I venture to say, few examples can be found in the whole field of theological inquiry.

But it may, perhaps, be objected that the authority of these writers cannot be regarded as of much value in reference to the fast required for the present Jubilee, inasmuch as they speak only of what is required by virtue of the clause usually inserted in the Bull of Jubilee setting forth the observance of three fasting days as a condition necessary for gaining the indulgence. While, in the present case, in addition to the Bull of His Holiness, we must take into account the recent decree of the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences explaining the nature of the fast, and, perhaps, imposing some additional obligations which were not required in the case of the earlier Jubilees of which theologians treat.

This difficulty vanishes when we reflect that in reality there is not in the decree referred to, any passage which can be regarded as implying the necessity of any new conditions in the case of the present Jubilee. From the decree of the Congregation it follows, indeed, that the fast required on this occasion is a fast in the strict sense of the word, including the obligations which regard the quality as well as those which regard the quantity of food which may be eaten. But, as may be seen by examining the extracts which I have quoted,<sup>1</sup> the truth of this view of the nature of the Jubilee fast is assumed, if not expressly affirmed, by the theologians on whose authority I have relied. There is, then, no reason for regarding their testimony as, in any way, inapplicable to the case of the present Jubilee.

Coming, now, to the consideration of the second case, viz.:—that of a person who, availing himself of the privilege granted by the Holy Father, selects three days in Lent for the observance of the fast required for the Jubilee, we shall find much

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 26-7, especially the passages from Azor, Gobat, La Croix, Billuart, Henno, Bonacina, and Ferraris.



less difficulty in ascertaining the nature of the fast which is required. From the principles already laid down, it clearly follows that in this case abstinence from eggs and lacticinia is necessary. For, as appears from the decree of the Sacred Congregation so frequently referred to, it is necessary to observe all these restrictions which on fasting days of obligation are imposed by the law of the Church in reference to the quality of the food that may be eaten. Now, in Lent, that law imposes an obligation of abstaining from eggs and lacticinia; they are not included under the designation of *cibi esuriales* in reference to the Lenten fast. Hence, abstinence from their use is necessary for all who wish, in gaining the Jubilee, to avail themselves of the privilege granted by His Holiness.

This being the case, it seems by no means improbable that, as the *cibi Quadragesimales* cannot be procured in Ireland without the greatest difficulty, large numbers of the faithful in this country will be unable to avail themselves of this privilege unless, indeed, an extension of it be obtained, removing the necessity of observing the strict Lenten fast. In connexion with this subject it may not be out of place to remark that during the Jubilee of 1858, under somewhat similar circumstances, several applications for some modifications of the strict requirements of the Bull of Jubilee were successfully made at Rome. It is not unlikely that a representation of the difficulty attendant in this country on the observance of the strict Lenten fast would be favourably considered on the present occasion also.

In conclusion, I may observe that the privilege by virtue of which we are allowed to select three days of Lent for the observance of the Jubilee fast, does not extend to other fasting days of obligation, such as the Vigil of the Feast of the Assumption, of All Saints Day, and the fasting days of Advent. For, although, it would at first sight appear to be implied by the words of the Bull, "*Qui...praeter consueta quatuor anni tempora, tribus diebus...jejunaverint*," that the observance of any fasting day except those of the Ember weeks, would suffice for the fulfilment of this condition, the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences has decided<sup>1</sup> that, with the sole exception of the time of Lent, the fasts to be observed for the purpose of gaining the Jubilee must be distinct from those which are imposed by the precept of the Church.

W. J. W.

<sup>1</sup> See *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, No. lx., Vol. v., September, 1869, page 585.



## LETTERS OF BALMEZ.

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[An able Spanish scholar has, with the permission of the friends of the illustrious deceased author, favoured us with a translation of the *Letters to a Skeptic* by the late John Balmez, which is one of the most remarkable works with which the literature of Spain has been enriched in modern times.]

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### I.—SKEPTICISM, RELIGIOUS AND PHILOSOPHICAL.

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MY ESTEEMED FRIEND,

You have marked out a difficult task for me in your letter when you speak to me of Skepticism. This is the problem of the age, the capital, the dominating question, which rises above all others, like the lofty cypress among the lowly brushwood. What do I think of Skepticism; what conception do I form of the actual situation of the human mind, touched as it is so deeply by this disease? What are the probable results it must entail on the cause of religion? All this do you desire I would tell you; to all these questions you require a formal and satisfactory answer, adding, "that, perhaps, in this way the darkness of your intellect may be somewhat dissipated, and you may be disposed to enter anew under the rule of faith."

You give me to understand you have some objections to my answers being too dogmatical and decisive; throwing out a charitable hint that "it is right for one to divest himself for a moment of his own convictions, and to endeavour to make philosophical discussion partake as little as possible of the immobility of religious doctrines." I could not help smiling when I read these words, seeing how mistaken you are as regards the true state of my mind, for you thought you should find me as dogmatical in philosophy as you did in religion. I think that through sheer force of declamation against the slavery of the Catholic's intellect, the Incredulists and Protestants have attained, in a great measure, their wicked object, persuading the incautious that our submission to the authority of the church, in matters of faith, impedes the flight of the mind in such a way, and destroys so completely the liberty of examination, even in branches unconnected with religion, that we are incapable of embracing an elevated and independent philosophy. Thus we have generally the misfortune of being judged without being known, and condemned without being heard. The authority exercised by the Catholic church over the intellect of the faithful by no means curtails the just and reasonable liberty expressed in those words of the sacred text:—*He delivered up the world to the disputes of men.*

I will even venture to add that Catholics, certain of the truth in the matter of most importance to them, can engage in purely philosophical questions with a more calm and tranquil mind than Incredulists and Skeptics, as there exists between them the same difference as between an observer who contemplates the terrestrial and celestial phenomena, from a position secure from all danger, and another who is compelled to make his observations from a fragile plank abandoned to the mercy of the waves. When will the enemies of religion comprehend that submission to legitimate authority has nothing of servility in it, and that the homage paid to dogmas revealed by God is not a base slavery, but the most noble exercise we can make of our freedom? We, too, examine—we, too, doubt—we, too, launch forth on the sea of investigations; but we never lose sight of the compass, which is our faith; because by night and by day we continually desire to know where the polar star lies, that we may direct our course properly.

You speak of the weakness of our mind, of the uncertainty of human knowledge,

of the necessity of discussing with that modest reserve inspired by the feeling of one's own debility; but what—really are not those reflections the most eloquent apology of our conduct? Is not this the very thing we are continually insisting on when we establish and prove that it is useful, that it is prudent, that it is discreet, that is, indispensable to live subject to a rule? Now, as the opportunity presents itself, and as straight-forwardness requires us to speak with all sincerity and frankness, I must tell you, my esteemed friend, that, except in religious matters, I am inclined to believe you did not carry your Skepticism as far as he whom you considered so dogmatical.

There was a time when the prestige of certain names, the hallucination produced by the brilliant aureola that encircled their brows, my want of experience of the scientific world, and, above all, the fire of youth eager to devour any noble and seducing fuel, had given me a lively faith in science, and made me anxiously look forward to the happy day, when I should be introduced into her temple to be initiated in her profound secrets, even if it were only as the last of her adepts. Oh! that was the most beautiful illusion the human soul could labour under. The life of the learned appeared to me to be that of semi-gods on earth; and I recollect that more than once I fixed my eyes with infantile envy on the roof that sheltered a man of moderate talents, but whom I, in my inexperience, looked on as a giant. To penetrate the principles of all things, to raise the thick veil that covers the secrets of nature, to ascend to superior regions, discovering new worlds that escape the view of the profane, to breathe in an atmosphere of purest light, where the spirit could divest itself of the body, anticipating the enjoyment of the delights of a new and glorious future; these I believed to be the advantages to be reaped from science. I looked on the learned as wading in this felicity; the applause and glory with which they were surrounded coming in at the end to solace them during the fleeting moments in which, descending from their celestial excursions, they deigned to again set foot on earth.

Their investigations, I said to myself, about the beautiful, the sublime, good taste, and the passions, will supply them with infallible rules for producing in the minds of their audience or their readers the effect they desire; their studies in logic and ideology will give them a most clear knowledge of the operations of the mind, and of the manner of combining and guiding them to come at the truth in every class of subjects; mathematical and physical sciences should rend asunder the veil that covers the secrets of nature, and the entire creation, with all her mysteries and wonders, will be displayed to the eyes of the learned, as a rare and precious picture is unfolded to the gaze of favoured spectators; psychology will give them a complete idea of the human soul, of its nature, of its relations with the body, of how its action is exercised on it, and how it receives the various impressions from it; the moral, social, and political sciences will display to them in a vast picture the admirable harmony of the moral world, the laws of the progress and perfection of society, and will supply them with infallible rules for governing well; in a word, I imagined science was a talisman that wrought marvels without number, and that whoever was so fortunate as to possess it was raised to an immense height above the vulgar herd of miserable humanity. Vain illusion, which very soon began to fade, and which in the end became divested of its foliage, like a flowret dried up by the ardent rays of the sun!

The more golden my dreams had been, and consequently the more eager I was to know what reality they contained, the more bitter was the lesson I received, and the sooner came the hour of discovering my mistake. Scarcely had I entered on those subjects, in which some important questions are examined, when my mind began to feel an undefinable restlessness, because I did not find myself sufficiently enlightened for what I read or heard. I smothered in the depth of my soul those thoughts, which would incessantly rise, without my being able to prevent them; and I endeavoured to silence my discontent by flattering myself with the hope that it was reserved for the future to have my desires entirely satisfied. "It must be necessary," I said to myself, "to see first the whole body of doctrine, of which you know but the first rudiments at present, and then, undoubtedly, you will discover the light and certainty you feel the want of now."

With difficulty could I have been persuaded at the time that men, whose lives were consumed in immense labours, and who offered to the world the fruit of their



toil with such security, had learned, in the serious subjects in which they employed themselves, little more than the art of speaking with facility for or against an opinion, creating a great noise with hollow words, and pompous discourses. I attributed all my difficulties, all my doubts, and all my scruples, to my dulness in comprehending the sense of what such respectable authors told me, and, for this reason, the desire of knowing the art of learning took possession of me. The ancient chemists did not employ more pains in search of the philosopher's stone, nor modern politicians, in the discovery of the equilibrium of power, than I, in pursuit of that wonderful art; and Aristotle, with his infinite sectaries, and Raymond Lullus, and Descartes, and Malabranche, and Locke, and Condillac, and I know not how many others, did not suffice to satisfy my ardour. One occupied and confounded me with a thousand rules about syllogisms; another looked on *judgments* and *propositions* of more importance; another preferred clearness and exactness of perception; another overwhelmed me with precepts about method; another led me by the hand to the investigation of the origin of ideas, but was sure to leave me in greater darkness than ever; in fine, I was not long in remarking that each one moved in his favourite path, and that they would surely turn the head of whoever should persist in following them.

These gentlemen, who call themselves directors of the human intellect, I said to myself, do not understand each other. This is the tower of Babel, in which each one speaks his own tongue; with this difference that *there* pride entailed the confusion as a punishment, whilst here the very confusion serves to increase the pride; each one establishing himself as the only legitimate master, and pretending that all the rest present but apocryphal titles to the right of teaching. At the same time I remarked that the same, with very little difference, took place in all the other branches of human learning: from all which I found it was urgently necessary to banish the beautiful illusion I had formed about the sciences. These disenchantments had prepared my mind for a real revolution; and though vacillating at first, I decided in the end on declaring against the scientific rulers, and raising a banner in my intellect, I inscribed on it—*Down with scientific authority.*

I had nothing wherewith to substitute the rule I was after destroying, for if those respectable philosophers knew little about the deep questions, whose solution I was in search of, I knew less than they, for I knew nothing at all. You may imagine it was somewhat painful to me to consummate such a revolution; and that I sometimes accused myself even of ingratitude, when carrying out the principle of destruction to its ultimate consequences, I was forced to exile such respectable parties as Plato, Aristotle, Descartes, Malebranche, Leibnitz, Locke, and Condillac. Anarchy was the necessary result of such a step; but I willingly resigned myself to it, sooner than summon again to the government of my intellect those gentlemen who had deceived me so. Besides having once experienced the pleasure of liberty I had no desire to stain my triumph by passing through the Caudine-forks.

My mind, pressed, as it was, by the thirst after truth, could not remain in a state of complete inactivity, and so I began to seek for truth with greater pains, as I could not believe that man, while in this world, is condemned to be ignorant of it. Undoubtedly, you will believe that a universal skepticism was the immediate result of my revolution, and that, concentrating myself within my own interior, I doubted of the existence of the surrounding world, and even of my own body, and, that fearing least my whole being should escape from me, and I should, as it were, by enchantment, find myself reduced to nothing, I grasped hastily at the reasoning of Descartes:—*Ego cogito, ergo sum: I think, therefore I exist.* But nothing of the sort, my esteemed friend; for though I had some inclination for his philosophy; yet I was not a fanatical admirer of the philosopher; and without much reflection I became convinced that to doubt of everything was to deprive oneself of the most precious part of human reason, which is common sense. I had some knowledge of the axiom or enthymema of Descartes, and of other similar propositions or principles; but I was always under the impression that I was just as certain that I existed as that I thought, and my conviction of the existence of motion of my own body, of the impressions of the senses, of the world which surrounded me, could not be stronger; and consequently, reserving to myself the right of feigning that doubt for a few moments, when leisure and humour should permit, I remained in quiet possession of all my former convictions and beliefs, save the so-called philosophical



ones. As regards these, I was then, I have been, and I will be, inexorable. Philosophy unceasingly proclaims examination, evidence, demonstration : be it so ; but let her know, at least, that as long as we are men, and nothing more, we will regulate our convictions as we should, by following the inspirations of common sense ; but in the moments when we become philosophers, which in every man's case are few and far between, we will incessantly claim the right of examination ; we will require evidence ; we will demand dry demonstration. Whoever reigns in the name of a principle must inevitably resign himself to suffer all the irreverence that springs from the consequences.

It is clear, that in this universal shipwreck of my philosophical convictions, my religious ones rode safely at anchor ; I had acquired them by other means ; they presented themselves to me with other titles, and above all, they tended of themselves to direct my conduct, to make me not wise but good ; consequently, my pyrrhonic susceptibility did not become excited against them. Even more, far from feeling any inclination to separate myself from the belief and convictions, with which I had been inspired in my infancy, I became convinced of their necessity, and even of the interest I had in preserving them ; for I began to regard them as the only plank of salvation in this boisterous sea of human cavillations. The desire of clinging to the Catholic faith increased, when occupying myself sometime with a spirit of complete independence, in the examination of the transcendent questions which philosophy proposes for solution, I found myself surrounded on all sides by dense darkness, without being able to discover more light than a few doubtful rays, which, instead of illumining my path, but served to render visible the profundity of the abyss on whose brink I was standing.

For this reason did I preserve the Catholic faith in the depth of my soul as a treasure of inestimable value ; for this reason, on finding myself tortured in sight of the nothingness of the science of man, and when doubt appeared to be taking possession of my whole mind, causing the entire universe to disappear from before my eyes, as fade from the view of the spectators the false illusions with which a clever juggler might have entertained them for a few moments, would I cast a glance at my faith, and the sole recollection of it was sufficient to comfort and sustain me.

On running over the questions, which, like unfathomable seas, surround the principles of morality ; on examining the incomprehensible problems of ideology and metaphysics ; on casting a glance over the mysteries of history, and the scruples of the art of criticism ; on contemplating humanity in its actual existence, and in the dark secrets of its future, melancholy thoughts would sometimes flit through my brain, like unknown monsters which poke out their heads, and frighten the traveller on solitary shores ; but I had faith in Providence and Providence saved me. Here is how I reasoned to fortify myself, trusting to grace that my weak efforts might not be sterile. " If you cease to be a Catholic, you will not certainly become a Protestant, or Jew, or Mussulman, or idolator ; you will then be into Deism in one spring. Then you will find yourself with one God, but you will know nothing about your origin or destiny ; nothing about the incomprehensible mysteries which, from experience, you see and feel within yourself and all humanity ; nothing about the existence of rewards and punishments in the other world ; about the other life ; about the immortality of the soul ; nothing about the motives Providence could have in condemning his creatures to so many sufferings on earth, without giving them any knowledge which could console them, or any hope of a better fate ; you will know nothing of the great catastrophes which the human lineage has suffered, suffers, and will yet suffer ; in a word, you will nowhere find the action of Providence, consequently you will not find God, and so you must doubt of his existence, if you do not decidedly embrace Atheism. Without the God of the universe the world is the offspring of chance, and chance is a word without meaning, and nature is an enigma, and the human soul is an illusion, and moral relations are nothing, and morality itself is a lie. Logical, necessary, inflexible consequence ; fatal term which man cannot contemplate without shuddering ; dark and unfathomable abyss, which cannot be approached without horror and dread."

In this way did I measure the road I should inevitably pursue, once separated from the Catholic faith, if I should attempt to continue in the philosophical

examination, deducing consequences from the principles I would have established at the moment of my defection. I had no wish to reach such stupidity, I had no wish to commit suicide in any such way by destroying my intellectual and moral existence, and extinguishing at a blast the only lamp that could illumine me through the short course of life. Thus have I a great want of confidence in the science of man, but profound religious faith; you may call it pusillanimity or by what other name you please, but I do not believe I will be sorry for my resolution when I shall find myself on the brink of the grave.

There are in the regions of science, as well as in the paths of practice, certain rules of sound judgment and prudence from which a man should never wander. Everything that struggles with the cry of common sense, with the voice of nature itself, for the purpose of indulging in vain cavillations, is foreign to the prudence, as it is contrary to the principles of sound reason. On this account a system of universal skepticism even in purely philosophical matters, should be condemned; without its being necessary for all that to blindly embrace the opinions of this or that school. But where sobriety in the use of reason particularly suits is in religious matters; for, these being of a very high order, and galling in many points, the irregular inclinations of the heart, as soon as reason commences to cavil and subtilize too much, a man finds himself in a labyrinth in which he pays dearly for his presumption and pride. The intellect falls into a weariness and indescribable prostration from the moment it rises up against heaven; as history tells us of that arm which on the instant it was extended to a sacred object felt itself struck with paralysis. And mark it well! religious skepticism is found in the midst of earthly prosperity alone; it takes up its residence tranquilly in man only when full of life and health, when he regards as a distant eventuality the supreme instant when it will be imperative on the spirit to divest itself of this mental body and pass to another life. But the moment this existence is in danger, when sickness comes as the herald of death, to announce to him that the terrible passage is not far distant, when an unforeseen risk warns us we are hanging from a thread over the abyss of eternity, then Skepticism ceases to be at all satisfactory; the false security it produced a little before turns into an uncertainty cruel, torturing, full of remorse, of horror, of dread. Then skepticism ceases to be pleasant, and becomes terrible; and in this mortal prostration a man seeks the light and he discovers it not; he calls on faith, and faith answers not; he invokes God, and God attends not to his tardy invocations.

And to experience what a cruel torment of the soul Skepticism is, it is not necessary to find oneself in these formidable moments when man fixes his fearful gaze on the darkness of an uncertain future; in the ordinary course of life, in the midst of the most common events, he feels how the poison of the viper he is nourishing in his bosom falls drop by drop on his afflicted heart. There are moments in which pleasures weary, the world disgusts, life becomes heavy, existence trails along over a time that advances with sluggish step. A profound weariness takes possession of the soul; an indescribable ill-humour tortures and torments him. It is not overpowering grief corroding the heart; it is not a sadness subduing the spirit, and forcing from it painful sighs, through means of torturing recollections; it is a passion which has in it nothing lively or sharp; it is a mortal languor, it is a disgust of everything that surrounds us; it is a painful stupidity of all the faculties, like that restless stupor which in certain ailments announces a dangerous crisis. For what purpose am I in the world, man says, to himself? What advantages do I derive from my having emerged from the state of nothingness? What can I lose by departing from the sight of a world which is parched up for me; of a sun which shines not for me? To-day is insipid as yesterday was, and to-morrow will be more so than to-day; my soul seeks after enjoyment, and it enjoys not; it is avaricious of happiness, and it does not attain it; exhausting itself like a lamp that dies out for want of sustenance. Have you not often felt, my esteemed friend, this torment of the fortunate ones of the world—this gnawing worm of those who pretend to be superior to all others?—did that movement of desperation which presents itself to man as the only remedy for so insupportable an evil, never raise its head in your breast? Well, believe me, one of its sad causes is Skepticism—that vacuum of the soul which disturbs and torments her—that dreadful absence of all faith, of all hope—that uncertainty regarding God, regarding



nature, regarding the origin and end of man. A vacuum, all the more sensible as it seizes on souls exercised in the art of reasoning through the study of the sciences, excited in all their mental faculties by a moral literature, which only aims at producing effects, though that effect be an electric shock or a galvanic convulsion; souls which feel all their passions kindled and sharpened by a crafty world, which speaks to them in all languages, and excites them in a thousand ways, as it commands an infinity of resources.

Here you have, my esteemed friend, what I think of Skepticism and its effects on the human mind. I regard it as one of the characteristic plagues of the epoch, and one of the most terrible chastisements God has inflicted on the human race.

How can an evil of such magnitude be remedied? I know not; but what I *will* presume to say is, that its progress can be retarded; and I am inclined to believe that this will be done, at least for the interest of society, for the order and well-being of the family, for the repose and quiet of the individual. Skepticism has not fallen on a sudden on the civilized world: it is a gangrene which has spread slowly; slowly, too, must it be remedied; and it would be one of the most stupendous prodigies of the right hand of the Omnipotent, if the course of many generations should not be necessary to effect its cure.

From this you will perceive, my esteemed friend, that I do not form illusions regarding the true state of things, and that whilst I float in the midst of the waves, on the plank that will bring me to a port of safety, I do not lose sight of the destruction that exists around me; I do not forget the dreadful catastrophe that has befallen the mind of man through a fatal concurrence of circumstances during the last three centuries.

How is it, you say, that God permits humanity to fluctuate in the midst of so many errors, and to err as it does regarding the very points that interest it most? This difficulty is not limited to the divine permission with regard to the dissenting sects, but extends to all other religions; and as these have been many and very extravagant since the human race wandered from the purity of the primitive traditions, the objection embraces universal history, and to require its solution is nothing less than to demand the key to the explanation of the secrets which are found in such abundance in the history of the children of Adam.

This is not a subject that lends itself to a brief explanation. if the little which weak man can reach in so profound a mystery can be called an explanation; be this as it may, I shall endeavour to do it in another letter, now that the present has assumed greater proportions than were desirable.

You have now my opinion on religious skepticism, and on the compatibility of Catholic faith, with a prudent distrust in the systems of philosophers. Many, perhaps, will not be pleased with this way of regarding things; nevertheless experience shows that the mind is perfectly at home in this state, and that a certain degree of scientific skepticism renders religious faith more light and tolerable. If I were not detained in that faith by the authority of a Church that counts more than eighteen centuries of duration; that faith which has in confirmation of its divinity its preservation through so many storms, the blood of innumerable martyrs, the fulfilment of the prophecies, infinite miracles, the sanctity of its doctrine, the elevation of its dogmas, the purity of its morals, its admirable harmony with everything that participates of the beautiful, the grand, the sublime; the ineffable benefits it has showered on the family and society, the fundamental change it has realised in favour of humanity in all places where it has been established, and the degradation, the debasement I see ruling without exception where it does not hold sway; if, I say, I had not this imposing collection of motives to preserve me addicted to my faith, I would yet make an effort to avoid separating from it, if it were for no other reason than that I might not lose my peace of soul.

Cast a glance around, my esteemed friend, and you will behold nothing on any side but horrid shoals, desert regions, inhospitable shores. This is the only asylum for sad humanity; let whoever wishes surrender himself to the fury of the waves, I will not leave this blessed dry land on which Providence placed me.

If some day or other, fatigued and wearied with contending with the tempest, you approach this fortunate shore, happy shall your humble servant consider himself if he can be of any service to you by reaching you a friendly hand. Till then he has the honour of subscribing himself your fond and attached friend,

J. B.



## THE LIFE OF ST. PATRICK, APOSTLE OF IRELAND.

BY M. F. CUSACK.

WE are happy to announce that Part the First of the long-expected "Life of St. Patrick," by the gifted authoress of the "Illustrated History of Ireland," and of other interesting works, has at length been published. It was, indeed, a disgrace to our Catholic nation for the past that there was no Life of our great Apostle accessible to the generality of readers. Now, thanks to the Convent of Kenmare, this reproach can no longer be made to us; and, to judge from the Part just published, we may safely pronounce not only that due honour will at length be shown to the hallowed memory of the great saint, who brought the gladsome tidings of redemption to our shores, but that few countries of the world can boast of a nobler literary monument to their first missionaries than will be here presented through devotion to St. Patrick. It is not only the matter of the work that we have to praise. All its details—its title-page, its rich, artistic borders, its highly-ornamented initial letters, its beautiful engravings, are all deserving of the highest commendation.

The present Part consists of a *Preface*, in which the efforts of Dr. Todd, and others in the same field, are briefly reviewed, and *four* chapters. A few passages from the fourth chapter will suffice to give our readers some idea of the manner in which the saint's history will be found illustrated in the present valuable work.

Having described at great length the circumstances connected with the captivity of St. Patrick with Milcho, the Life thus commemorates the various sites which were sanctified by our saint's presence at this period:—

"The writer in the Scholiast on St. Fiacc's Hymn states that Milcho dwelt in Arcuil, a valley in the north of Dalara, near Mount Mis, now Slemish. Hence, the very place where St. Patrick spent his years of lonely servitude can be accurately identified even at the present day.

"This district is now called the valley of the Braid, from a river of that name which flows through it. The site where St. Patrick had the vision in which he was commanded to fly from his master is still marked by the ruins of an ancient church. The valley through which the Braid flows divides the parishes of Skerry and Rathcavan, and the whole district, as might be expected, is rich in memorials of the saint. It

should be visited by the pilgrim, after a previous noting down of each site, and the subject which it commemorates.

“Skerry was anciently called *Sciric* (rocky). Tradition assigns the foundation of this church to St. Patrick. The present ruins are not of very great antiquity, but close beside them there are traces of a smaller building, which was probably erected at an earlier date. Such, at least, is the opinion of Dr. Reeves, a high authority on all matters of antiquarian investigation. The present ruin measures 64 feet by 18 feet 10 inches. There is a rock close to the north-east angle of the church, where a faint impression of a footmark may be seen. This is called St. Patrick’s footmark, but it should be more properly termed St. Victor’s, since all tradition avers that the angel left this mark when he visited St. Patrick. Colgan informs us that when he wrote (in 1647) this place was a famous pilgrimage.

“There is a holy well in the neighbourhood, a little to the south of the hill of Skerig. It is mentioned on the Ordnance Map as Tubernacool holy well. There is a townland called Ballytigpatrick, in the valley of the Braid, between Slemish and Skerry.

“While St. Patrick was with Milcho, this king had a dream or vision, in which he saw his servant come into the house where he was, and flames of fire appeared to issue from his head. Milcho thought that “the flame broke upon him to burn him,” but he drove it from him and it did him no harm. His son and daughter were with him, and it seemed as if it consumed them entirely, and their ashes were scattered all over Erinn. Milcho called Patrick at once and told him his vision, which the saint interpreted to him thus: The fire which thou sawest on me is the faith of the Trinity which burns within me, and it is this faith which I shall hereafter preach unto thee, but thou wilt not believe. Thy son, however, and thy daughter, they will believe, and the fire of grace shall consume them.”

The vision which summoned our saint from captivity, and the circumstances of his flight, are next described; and then the spot whence he set sail for Gaul is thus accurately defined:—

“The Bollandists read *veni ad Benum* in the place where the Book of Armagh reads *Dirigabar ad bonum*. It will be observed that St. Patrick avoids all mention of places in his Confession either intentionally, or more probably by accident, hence the only localities named there were those where his family resided. Dr. Lanigan considers the Bollandist version correct, and says, indeed, what is obviously true, that a transcriber

meeting with the word *benum*, which he did not understand, would be more likely to write 'bonum,' than to write the former word for the latter. The Bollandists, therefore, make the saint embark at the mouth of the Boyne. But both Dr. Lanigan and Dr. Todd have shown that this argument is untenable. The Boyne is always Latinized *Boindus*, or, according to Ptolemy, *Bovinda*. If the word is a proper name it may more correctly be referred to Bantry. The ancient name of the district was Bentraighe, the shore of the Ben, so that Ben, Latinized into Benum, was the Bay. If this theory be correct it agrees with the almost universal reading, that St. Patrick journeyed two hundred miles to the ship.

"The saint informs us himself that he arrived at land after a three days' sail. This is exactly the time which would be required in those days for a voyage from a southern Irish port to the northern part of Gaul. It must be conjectured from St. Patrick's own narrative that the place where he landed was some considerable distance from the place where his family then resided. He writes thus: After three days we landed, and for twenty days we wandered through a desert."

Whilst, however, we give a hearty welcome to the "Life of St. Patrick", there is one short passage at page ix. of the Preface which we would wish to see unwritten. It seems, perhaps contrary to the intention of the writer, to cast a slur on an eminent Catholic publisher of this city, and we cannot at all concur in the sentiments expressed there. On the contrary, we feel convinced that the publisher referred to has laboured well and successfully in the cause of Catholic Ireland, and we know of no man at the present day who has done so much to present an untainted Catholic and National literature to our people.

## DOCUMENTS.

### I.—RESCRIPT FROM THE HOLY SEE GRANTING PERMISSION FOR THE USE OF WHITEMEATS IN IRELAND ON THE FASTING DAYS FOR GAINING THE PRESENT JUBILEE.

BEATISSIME PATER,

Paulus Cardinalis Cullen, Archiepiscopus Dublinensis, Beatitudini Vestrae eo quo par est obsequio exponit, quod, ob defectum olei, fructuum, et etiam leguminum, in Hibernia,



difficile omnino esset ac fere impossibile ut maxima pars populi adimplere posset conditionem jejunandi solis cibis quadragesimalibus (*di magro stretto*) ad effectum Jubilaeum lucrandi. Orator igitur humillime petit ut B. V. benigne indulgere dignetur ut praedicta conditio jejunii pro Jubilaeo in Hibernia lucrando cum sola abstinencia a carnibus, servato caeteroquin ipso jejunio quoad quantitatem, adimpleri possit.

*“Ex Audientia Sanctissimi, diei 29 Augusti, 1869:—*

*“Sanctissimus D. N. Pius Divina Providentia Papa IX., referente me infrascripto Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Secretario benigne annuit pro gratia juxta preces.”*

*Datum Romae ex Aedibus dictae Sacrae Congregationis. Die et anno praedictis.*

*Gratis sine ulla solutione quocumque titulo.*

JOANNES SIMEONI, Secretarius.

Concordat cum originali.

✠ PAULUS CARDINALIS CULLEN,  
Archiep. Dublinensis.

## II.—DECRETUM.

QUO FACULTAS CONCEDITUR EPISCOPIS LATINI RITUS EORUMDEMQUE SACERDOTIBUS ROMAM PRO CONCILIO OECUMENICO VATICANO CONVENIENTIBUS SESE CONFORMANDI KALENDARIO ET PROPRIO CLERI ROMANI.

“Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Pius Papa IX., ad enixas preces Rmi D. Josephi Fessler Episcopi Sancti Hippolyti ac proximi Concilii Oecumenici Vaticani a Secretis ab infrascripto Substituto Secretario SS. Rituum Congregationis relatas, de speciali gratia benigne annuit, ut Sacrorum Antistites Ritus Latini, qui Roman venient ad praedictum Concilium, eorum in Urbe commoratione durante, in Sacrosancti Missae Sacrificii celebratione et in Horarum Canoniarum recitatione pro eorum lubitu conformare se valeant Kalendario et Proprio Cleri ipsius Urbis: quo quidem privilegio, indulsit, ut frui possint Sacerdotes eorumdem servitio addicti vel tamquam Consultores vel tamquam Capellani.

Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque. Die 19 Aug. 1869.

C. Episcopus Portuens. et S. Rufinae

Card. PATRIZI S. R. C., Praefectus.

R. P. D. BARTOLINI, Secretarius.

JOSEPHUS CICCOLINI, Substitut.

### III.—LETTER OF OUR MOST HOLY FATHER PIUS IX., TO HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL CULLEN, ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.

#### PIUS PAPA IX.

Dilecte Fili Noster, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Multae clarae et illustres singularis Tui et istius Diaecesis fidelium erga Nos et hanc Apostolicam Sedem amoris significationes quotidie magis elucet. Siquidem, Dilecte Fili Noster, non mediocris pecuniae summa a Te et ab eisdem fidelibus denuo hisce diebus fuit missa ad Nostras et ejusdem Sedis sublevandas angustias. Itaque maximas Tibi et ipsis fidelibus agimus grates, ac Deum adprecamur, ut Te et fideles Tuae vigilantiae concreditos uberrimis divinae suae gratiae donis abunde remunerare velit. Iam vero nec novi, nec inexpectati Nobis esse poterant sinceri, et egregii Tui sensus, et vota, quibus prae laetitia gestiens amantissime Nobis grularis quinquagesimum anniversarium diem, quo primitus Hostiam Sanctam Immaculatam omnipotenti Deo immolavimus. Iamdiu enim probe noscimus quanta Nos dilectione et observantia prosequaris. Per Te autem vel facile intelligere potes, Dilecte Fili Noster, quanta perfundamur consolatione, quantasque in humilitate cordis nostri gratias Deo agamus pro felici sanctissimae nostrae religionis rerum conversione, quae in ista Dublinensi Diaecesi locum habuit. Ne desinas una cum Tuo Clero, Populoque fideli ferventissimas misericordiarum Patri offerre preces, ut omnipotenti sua virtute efficiat ut ex Oecumenico Concilio a Nobis indicto ac die 8, futuri mensis Decembris Immaculae Deiparae Virginis Mariae Conceptioni sacro inchoando maxima et optata in catholicam Ecclesiam, et humanam societatem bona redundent, ut omnes dissipentur errores, ac scelera, et vitia eliminentur, omnesque miseri errantes ad justitiae, veritatis, ac salutis semitas reducantur. Demum non dubitamus, quin persuasissimum Tibi sit, praecipuam prorsus esse, qua Te merito prosequimur, benevolentiam. Cujus quoque pignus accipe Apostolicam Benedictionem, quam ex intimo corde profectam Tibi, Dilecte Fili Noster, et gregi Tuae curae commisso peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum die 23 Augusti anno 1869. Pontificatus Nostri anno Vicesimoquarto.

PIUS PAPA IX.

# MONASTICON HIBERNICUM;

OR,

## A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE ANCIENT MONASTERIES OF IRELAND.

[N.B.—The text of the “Monasticon” is taken *verbatim* from Archdall: the notes marked with numbers are added by the Editors.]

### COUNTY OF ARMAGH.

#### PRIORY OF THE CULDEI.<sup>36</sup>

The Culdei, or Colidei, were secular priests, and served in the choir of the cathedral of Armagh; their president was called the prior of the college of the Culdei, and was as a precentor to the said church; upon a vacancy a prior was elected by the whole college of the Culdei, but he received his confirmation from the archbishop.<sup>y</sup>

A.D. 779. Died Kernach, called the prior of Armagh; he seems to have been brother to St. Feardachrich, the abbot of the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul, who died in the year 768.<sup>z</sup>

863. Died the prior Kethernach, the son of Farnech.<sup>a</sup>

919. On the 10th of November, Godfred Hua Himhair, King of the Danes of Dublin, plundered this town, but he spared the college of the Colidei.<sup>b</sup>

982. Died the prior Muredach, he was the son of Muregan.<sup>c</sup>

1001. Died the prior Trener.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>y</sup>Wan. Works, vol. ii. p. 265. <sup>z</sup>Tr. Th. p. 294. O'Flaherty sup. <sup>a</sup>Tr. Th. p. 295. <sup>b</sup>Id. <sup>c</sup>Id. <sup>d</sup>Id. p. 297.

<sup>36</sup>The word *Culdaeus*, whence the English *Culdee*, was first used by Hector Boece, as an equivalent for the Irish word *Célé-De*, which is composed of *Célé*—friend, servant—and *De*, the genitive of *Dia*, *God*. It represents the Latin expression *servus Dei*, which was in general use to designate a person who followed the monastic life. According to Dr. Reeves it was not a distinctive name borne uniformly by any one order, but was a term of various application borne both by regulars and by seculars. There were establishments of Culdees at Clonmacnoise, Clondalkin, Monahincha, Devenish, Clones, Pubble, and Scatterry. The Culdees passed from Ireland into Scotland, then into York, and to the Isle of Bardsey in Wales. At Armagh they served in the cathedral at the choir and altar, until the introduction of the canons regular in 1126 diminished their influence and importance. It was at that date that their prior became precentor in the cathedral. He was generally beneficed, and there exists in primate Mey's register an account of a decision of the year 1448, to the effect that the priory of the Colidei, being a simple office, and without cure, was not incompatible with a benefice.



1052. Died the prior Gilda Patrick, he was the son of Domnald.<sup>e</sup>

1063. Died the prior Madagan Hua Kelechain.<sup>f</sup>

1089. Died the prior Gilda Patrich Hua Kelechain.<sup>g</sup>

By an inquisition taken in the 33rd year of King Henry VIII., it appears that this house was called the priory of the Colidei of Armagh, and that the religious therein were incorporated by the name of the prior and Colidei of Armagh; that the prior was then seized of seven ballyboes or townlands in the county, viz., Cannadisse, Lisleagh, Ennogsegurt, Aghavillic, Lisvonnowe, Killenure, and Maghocarrell.

ACRES.	ACRES.	ACRES.
Fennenoaghan ... 5	Lissegall ... ..	Brughnesegart ... .. 3
Rosmore ... 3	Molloghdromgallon ... 20	lying in the townland of Mullaghmore
Mulloghchonghan 20	lying in Ballone-honarmore	Brodonaghan ... .. 20
		lying in Ballynchonebeg

ACRES.	IN ARMAGH.
Aghtern, alias Clarragh ... 4	house in possession of James Berkeley.
Lannigley, alias Giltmeglogh, lying in the townland of Farene-koogan ... ..	4 " " Robert Jordan.
Lissaghkerrell, near Monaskellig ... 3	" " Donald Savage.
Lackmullack ... 4	A messuage " Pat. Oge O'Heyre.
Golworth, near Cavanakagh ... 60	" " Elis Crawley.
Tawnaghvillen, lying in Mullagh-nocrovagh ... 20	A shop adjacent " Thady Crawley.
In le Bend, in Ballyhurclain ... 20	A stable " Same.
Rectory of Mullaghbrack ...	A messuage " Robert Moore.
Rectory and vicarage of 24 townlands of the church of Toaghy, alias Derenoose ... ..	Messuage " B. M'Rory.
Rectory of Tynan ... ..	" " Manus M'Garrey.
Rectory of Mounterkenny, alias Tannagbie ... ..	" " Cael O'Monaghan.
Vicarage of Leballyeglisce ...	A cowhouse, &c. " Thady Crawley.
Rectory of Donaghmore, in the county of Tyrone ... ..	A tenement, &c. " H. Oge M'Codden
Rectory of Clonfeacle, in said county ... ..	A messuage " John Davis.
Rectory of Spoctane, in county of Armagh ... ..	A messuage with a curtilage ... } D. M'Crawley.
All the tithes in the seven townlands of Kilnefegart, alias Fieghth ... ..	" " John Rudworth.
Rectory of Tomachbryn ...	" " Percy Williams.
	Three messuages near the Franciscan friary.

Within the precincts of the priory, an hall, unum magnum atrium, Anglicè, a great backside, and a messuage built therein, and another backside and messuage.<sup>h</sup>

By another inquisition, taken March 24th, 1625, it appears that the prior, with his brethren, had totally forsaken the priory, and were all dead about twenty-five years before the holding of this inquisition; that Sir Toby Caulfield, Lord Charlemount, had, about the year 1620 received, as seneschal to Henry, then archbishop of Armagh, the rents of the said Ballyboes, and that John Symons, clerk, had, from the feast of All Saints, 1623, to the day of the taking of this inquisition, received the profits of the said ballyboes, and of the tenements in the town of Armagh; that the rent of the seven townlands was £46, and that Symons had expended part thereof in erecting some stalls in the choir of the cathedral.<sup>137</sup>

#### TEMPLE BRIGID<sup>38</sup>

Is said to have been founded in this town by St. Patrick.<sup>k</sup>

#### TEMPLE FARTAGH,<sup>39</sup>

Or the church of the Miracles, was founded without the town by the same saint, for St. Lupita, his eldest sister, who was buried here;<sup>l</sup> and in the beginning of the last century, her body was

<sup>h</sup>King p. 133. <sup>i</sup>King, p. 134. <sup>k</sup>War. Mon. <sup>l</sup>Usher. Tr. Th. p. 19. War. Mon.

<sup>37</sup> In 1619, August 1st, there was a royal letter to grant these lands for a choir at Armagh. On 7th April, 1627, King Charles granted a charter founding the college of King Charles in the cathedral church of Armagh; and this body of vicars choral adopted the old name and called themselves *Collideans*. In 1634, a new charter was granted to remedy some defects in the former one; and, in 1722, George I. issued a supplemental charter in their favour. The vicars holdings in the city of Armagh represent the original site of the old Culdee priory. They are near the cathedral ground on the south-east.

<sup>38</sup> This little abbey church of St. Brigid is a very ancient foundation. It stood outside the rath, and quite close to the site of the present Catholic church. The "Annals of Ulster" and the "Four Masters," at 1085, record the death of Gormgaél Loighseagh, coarb of the Regles Brighde at Armagh. In 1179 the "Annals" record a wide-spread conflagration which spared the church of St. Brigid, though it consumed the greater part of the city. In 1189, Armagh was burned from St. Brigid's cross to the Regles Brighde. At the time of the dissolution of religious houses St. Brigid's was a nunnery, and in inquisitions and patents it is always coupled with Temple-Fertagh. An inquisition of 1612 finds that it was a nunnery, and that after the dissolution it was occupied by a certain singer who resided in said monastery, place, or house called *Templebreed*. (Ul. Inq. Armagh, No. 3, Jac. 1.) In 1616, it was granted to Francis Edgeworth, assignee of John Eyres. In 1619, it was passed by patent to Sir Francis Annesley, in whose family, as Earls of Anglesey, it was transmitted, till in 1799 the assignment of a lease was converted into a fee by Leonard Dobbin.

<sup>39</sup> *Na Ferta*, or the graves, was the first spot granted by Daire to St. Patrick on his arrival in Armagh, and was the site of the first church there erected by the

found buried deeply under the rubbish of her ancient nunnery, in a standing posture; two crosses were also discovered closely guarding the body before and behind.<sup>m</sup>

January 9, 1618, King James granted the monasteries of Temple Fartagh, and Temple Breed, to Francis Annesley, Esq.<sup>n</sup>

#### DOMINICAN FRIARY.<sup>40</sup>

Porter, in his annals tells us, that there was one at Armagh; which is more than probable, otherwise the primate Scanlain, who was of that order, would not have made his foundation for the friar's minor.<sup>o</sup>

#### FRANCISCAN FRIARY.<sup>41</sup>

The friars of the order of St. Francis were brought into this town A.D. 1261,<sup>p</sup> and Patrick Scanlain, who was then primate, built a house for them two years after;<sup>q</sup> though Wadding, the Franciscan, as quoted by Allemande, assures us, that it was founded in the year 1291, by O'Donnell.<sup>r</sup>

Michael, the divinity lecturer, was elected archbishop in 1303.<sup>s</sup>

<sup>m</sup>Vard. p. 184. <sup>n</sup>Lodge, vol. ii. p. 274 n. <sup>o</sup>Burke, p. 339. <sup>p</sup>Ann. Ulton. <sup>q</sup>War. Mss. vol. 34. <sup>r</sup>Allemande. <sup>s</sup>War. Bishops, p. 71.

saint. The word *Ferta* of itself signifies *sepulchres* or *miracles*; but that it has the former meaning here is plain from a passage in the "Book of Armagh." Jocelin renders this name *Festum Miraculorum*, which interpretation, adopted by Ussher and Colgan, has passed into our author's text. The designation *Ferta Martyrum* is derived from the relics of the holy martyrs placed there by St. Patrick. At 1078 the "Annals of Innisfallen" record the death of "Dubtach Na Sochaid, sage priest of Na Ferta, at Armagh." On September 25, 1430, Primate Swayne wrote from Termonfechin to David M'Gillade, Prior of the Culdees of Armagh, directing him to procure redress for the Abbess of Na Ferta, whose rights had been invaded by certain persons. At the dissolution of religious houses the possessions of this convent passed, with so much other ecclesiastical property, to the Annesley family, and in the last century, by purchase, into other hands. The place where this nunnery stood is now traversed by Dobbin-street.

<sup>40</sup> In Dr. Reeves' opinion there is not a shadow of authority for the existence of a Dominican friary at Armagh. "The Four Masters," he observes (Op. Cit. p. 32.) "At the year 1264, relate that the archbishop of Armagh, Maelpatrick O'Scannail, brought the friars minors to Armagh; and, according to tradition, it was MacDonnell Gallogleg that commenced the erection of the monastery. Here probably lies the secret of this preference. This MacDonnell was chief of O'Neill's gallowglasses, and the building of the house being his work, it is likely that his choice, or the will of O'Neill, whose family was always attached to the Franciscans, turned the scale in their favour."

<sup>41</sup> At 1266, the "Annalists" record "Maelpatrick O'Scannail, primate of Armagh, brought the friars minor to Armagh, and afterwards cut a broad and deep trench around the church." In 1357, the guardian of this house appealed to the Pope at Avignon against the acts of the primate, Richard Fitz-Ralph. In 1442, Nimeas O'Lochlen received from the primate permission to preach indulgences throughout Ireland. In 1450, primate Mey sojourned in this house. In 1455, the diocese



A.D. 1353. Gormlagh, the daughter of J. O'Donnell, and formerly wife of Donald O'Neil prince of Ulster, dying on the 14th of April, was buried in this monastery.<sup>t</sup>

The Franciscans of the strict observance began to reform this friary in 1518,<sup>u</sup> but it was not then perfected. In 1580, Walter M'Cuard was guardian,<sup>w</sup> and in 1583, Solomon M'Conny was guardian, in whose time the reformation was completed.<sup>x</sup>

#### CLONFEAKLE.

St. Lugud, or Lugaid,<sup>42</sup> the son of Tailchan, was abbot of Cluain-fiachul, that is, the church of the Tooth, so named from a tooth of St. Patrick which was said to have been preserved here. St. Lugud was a very aged man in the year 580.<sup>y</sup>

Clonfeakle is now a parish church, about five miles from Armagh.<sup>z</sup>

#### KILMORE.

St. Mochtee, who afterwards built Louth, founded Kilmo-

<sup>t</sup>King, p. 309. <sup>u</sup>War. Mss. vol. xxxiv. <sup>w</sup>King, p. 309. <sup>\*Id.</sup> <sup>y</sup>Tr. Th. p. 8. Act. SS. p. 453. <sup>Usher</sup>, p. 496. <sup>z</sup>Liber visit.

was laid under an interdict, but a relaxation was granted by the primate, in favour of McCrener, the guardian. In 1518, the convent was obtained for the Franciscans of the strict observance. In 1565, the convent was destroyed, and the friars retired to places of security. They were discovered by one Donald, and the consequence was that friars Roger M'Congail, Conatus Macuarta, and Fergal Bardeus, were stripped and flogged through the principal streets.

On the 3rd July, 1620, the pseudo-primate, Hampton, received a patent in which the site and precinct of the Franciscan monastery was granted to the see. The ruins of the building may yet be traced within the demesne.

The author makes no mention of the church dedicated to St. Columba, which stood in Armagh. Dr. Reeves gives the following particulars connected with it. The "Annals of Ulster," at 1010, state that "Donadhach, of the church of Columcille, in Armagh, fell asleep in Christ." The "Four Masters," at 1152, record the death of "Ferghall Ha Fercubhais, lecturer of Armagh for a time, and of the regles (or abbey church) of Columkille, in Armagh, for a time. In 1614, temple Columkilly is mentioned as in the street called Bore-netrian-Sassenach, and a northern limit of the premises of St. Peter and St. Paul's abbey. In Bogue's map of 1760, the site of St. Columba's church is laid down as due north of the meeting-house, at the opposite side of Abbey-street.

<sup>42</sup> The St. Lugaid referred to in the text is mentioned in "Adamnan's Life of St. Columba," as residing, at the time of that saint's death, in the monastery of Cluain-finchoil, "meadow of the white-hazel." Colgan identified this place with Cluain-fiachul, Clonfeakle. But Clonfeakle is called in the "Annals" Cluain-fiachna, meadow or plain of St. Fiachna. Jocelin calls this church *Cluain-fiachail* in his "Life of St. Patrick;" but in the taxation of 1306, and in the registries of the archbishops Sweteman, Swayne, Mey, Octavianian, and Dowdall it is called by various forms of the name Cluain-Fiachna. The "Annals of the Four Masters," at 1003, record the death of "Eochaidh da Flannagain, airchinneach of the Lis-aeidheadh of Ardmacha. and of Cluan-Fiachna, the most distinguished historian of the Irish." And at 1069, the death of Aedh, son of Dubhghall, vice-abbot of Cluan-Fiachna. It is also mentioned at 1252. The ancient parish church stood in the townland of Tullydowey, in a curve of the river Blackwater, on the Tyrone side.

reaedhain, in the territory of Huadmeth; the church is dedicated to St. Aedan.<sup>a</sup>

Kilmore is now a parish church, three miles east of Armagh.<sup>b</sup>

#### KILSLERE.

Wadding, the Franciscan, calls this Killare, and says it was the principal monastery belonging to the third order of Franciscans in Ireland. Thomas Ornay, was made perpetual commissary of it in the year 1457.<sup>c</sup>

#### KILLEVY.

At the foot of the mountain of Slieu Gullen,<sup>43</sup> in the barony of Orior.

St. Darerca,<sup>45</sup> otherwise called Monenna, sister to St. Patrick, was abbess of Kilsleve, or Belsleibhe; he died A.D. 517, or 518, and her feast is held on the 6th of July.<sup>d</sup> Others say, that this nunnery was built by St. Monenna about the year 630, after she had quitted Faugher, in the county of Louth.<sup>e</sup>

St. Conchenna, sister to St. Lugad of Clonfeacle, was abbess of this nunnery; she died A.D. 654.<sup>f</sup>

Kilsleve is now a parish church in the diocese of Armagh.<sup>g</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Act. SS. p. 731.* <sup>b</sup> *Lib. visit.* <sup>c</sup> *Allemande.* <sup>d</sup> *Usher, p. 526.* *Act. SS. p. 190, 606, 718.* <sup>e</sup> *Usher.* <sup>f</sup> *Act. SS. p. 606.* <sup>g</sup> *Visitation Book.*

<sup>43</sup> This mountain took its name from Cuileam, an artificer, who lived in the reign of Conchobhar Mac Nessa, King of Ulster, and by whom the celebrated Cuchellain was fostered.

<sup>44</sup> Colgan, in his "Life of St. Darerca" (22nd March), remarks that Ussher (De Primordiis Ecclesiar. Britannar, p. 705-6), confounds the St. Darerca who was St. Patrick's sister, with St. Darerca, otherwise St. Moninna, abbess of Kilsleve. The former is honoured on the 22nd March, the latter on the 6th of July. St. Moninna, according to the ancient Life, written by Conchubhranus, and used by Ussher, founded seven churches in Scotland: one called Chilneacae, in Galloway; another on the summit of the mountain of Dundenal, in Landonia; the third on the mountains of Dunbreten; the fourth at the Castle of Strivelin; the fifth at Dun-Eden, now Edinburgh; the sixth on the mountain of Dun-Pelder; and the seventh at Lanfortin, near Dundee, where she died. The ruins of the church at Killevy are still visible. The "Four Masters" have the following entries regarding this establishment: In A.D. 654 "Coineann, of Cill-Sleighththe, died." A.D. 921, "Dinbhleter, of Cill-Sleibhthe, priest of Ard-Macha was martyred by the foreigners of Snamh-Aighneach" (now Carlingford Lough). "A.D. 1029, Donn-Chadh Na Donnagain, Lord of Fearnmhagh; and Cinaedh, son of Angeirre, Lord of Cernailli, mutually fell by each other at Cill-Sleibhe." "A.D. 1146, a great wind-storm occurred on the 3rd day of December, which caused a great destruction of woods throughout Ireland; it prostrated sixty trees at Doire-Choluim-Chille, and killed and smothered many persons in the Church: it also killed other people at Cill-Sleibhe." "A.D. 1150, Cailleach, of Cill-Sleiphe, a pious good senior, died, after good penance, at an advanced age."

Inquisition 4th November, 3rd King James, finds, that Alicia Nigen M'Donchey O'Hanlon was the last prioress, and 10th March, 34th King Henry VIII. she was seized of the townlands and the tithes of Agheyelloge, alias Aghyloge, Ballytolloche, Clonynlym, alias Clonelome, Ballylurgakeill, Aghetidy and Aghedemoyll, alias Aghadavell; also of the tithes of the twelve townlands of Camlogh (Dromeherime and Tollyvonney only excepted); also of the four townlands of the Moyry, the four townlands of Faddum; also the six townlands of Cohill; the seven townlands of Killin; and the townlands or places known by the name of Ballinageragh, Ballinlat, Ballynedowlargoegh, Carrickbraddagh, Dromenty, Teucrome, Carricksticken, Clogh O'Cominslawnohill, Corregillereen, Moyfanner, Maucławne, Latebrigett, Aghadonoman, Ballekeill, Charchill, Leballimore, Coricégallyogh, the two Sturgans, Lisliagh, Aghnuckshane, and Carigedilane. All the said lands were in this county, and of the annual value besides reprises, of 40s. Irish money.

#### STRADHAILLOUSE.

Wadding says, that it is in the diocess of Armagh, and that a monastery for conventual franciscans was founded there, A.D., 1282, and that a provincial chapter of the order was held therein in the year 1315.<sup>1</sup>

#### TAHELLEN.<sup>45</sup>

In Hy-meith-tire<sup>k</sup> St. Patrick founded Teg-talain, and made St. Killian bishop of it;<sup>1</sup> his feast is held on May 27th.<sup>m</sup> This church was burnt A.D. 670.<sup>n</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Wadding, quoted by Allemande. <sup>k</sup>Now the barony of Orior. <sup>1</sup>Tr. Th. p. 184. <sup>m</sup>Act. SS. p. 331. <sup>n</sup>Tr. Th. 633.

<sup>45</sup>Teg-Talain, or Tigh-Talain, i.e. *domus Talani*, derives its name from S. Telanus, son of Legan, son of Colgan, chief of that region, or from S. Tolanus, son of Donnchadh. The "Martyrology of Donegal" mentions, under the 27th May, "Cillin, Bishop of Tigh-Talain in Oirghialla."



COUNTY OF CARLOW.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>From the period of the Norman invasion to the days of Henry the Eighth, Carlow was, in a military point of view, perhaps, the most important county in Ireland. Through its rich vallies lay the main road which connected the English settlements in Munster with the seat of the Government in Dublin. The bridge at Leighlin in the centre of the county was the only passage across the river Barrow, enabling the Norman colony around the capital to communicate with the counties of Kilkenny, Waterford, Cork, Limerick, and Kerry : even Wexford in those days could not be approached through any other route, so terrible were the fastnesses of the Dublin and Wicklow mountains, and so warlike were the tribes of the O'Tooles and the O'Byrnes that inhabited them. Hence many of the early records speak of Carlow as the key of the English pale, and a letter from the Parliament of Ireland to Henry the Sixth, in 1435, informs us that, in addition to the castles of the towns of Carlow and Tullow, there were in the fourteenth century no fewer than one hundred and forty eight smaller castles in this county, all "well bataylled and inhabited."

Nevertheless, matters were not always so cheering for the new colonists. The survivors of the Mac Murrough race had been allowed to retain the greater part of the barony of Idrone, and when the Kavanagh, who towards the middle of the thirteenth century appropriated to himself the greater parts of the counties of Carlow and Wexford, assumed the name of Mac Murrough, he easily rallied all the branches of that family under his standard, whilst he at the same time strengthened himself by a close alliance with the O'Byrnes and the O'Tooles. From that day he was in reality the King of the greater part of Leinster, and it was only by his toleration that the colonists could enjoy even a comparative calm. He entrenched himself in the hills around Leighlin, and thence commanded the passage of the Barrow at Leighlin Bridge, and it is curious to find that from the days of Edward the Third to the end of the reign of Henry the Eighth, the *Mac Murrough* received a yearly stipend of eighty marks from the King's Exchequer, this sum being, in fact so much "black mail" levied by him for permission to the English settlers to journey on in peace towards Leighlin-bridge. A curious statement of grievances, forwarded by the Parliament of Ireland in 1421 to King Henry the Fifth, proves that the Kavanaghs had become even less loyal than the other rebels, and prays his Majesty to induce the Pope to proclaim "*a crusade against the said Irish enemies*" (See this important document in Sir W. Betham's "*Origin of the Constitution of England*," &c., p. 337). We need not add that no such crusade was ever proclaimed by the Holy See, and the imperilled colonists were left alone to struggle with the native chieftains.

We have entered into these details that the reader may understand why so few religious houses were established in this county by the early Anglo-Norman families. It was particularly rich, however, in its religious foundations of an earlier date, although most of these are passed over in silence by Archdall. The limits of a note will not permit us to treat of this subject as we would wish. Suffice it for the present to mention Kellistown, where the modern church occupies the site of an old church supposed to have been erected by St. Patrick, and which in later times bore the name of this great apostle. There was a Round Tower where the steeple now stands ; and about half a mile distant *St. Patrick's Well* may still be seen. In the same neighbourhood is the townland of *Kyle*, formerly called *Killenora*, i.e., "the Venerable Church," where the ruins of the old church still remain, measuring thirty-nine feet in length and eighteen in breadth. *Nurney* in Irish *Urnaighe*, and marked on the old map of Mercator as *Urney*, was formerly a famous place of pilgrimage. The name itself implies that it was specially devoted to prayer. O'Curry writes "*Urnaighe*" in this instance, and on all other occasions, when applied to a church as its name, is the same as *Cill-nahurnaighe*, "cella orationis," or "*the church of prayer*." Within the modern

(To be continued.)

[NEW SERIES.]

# THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

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NOVEMBER, 1869.

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## RELIGION IN EDUCATION.

INAUGURAL DISCOURSE OF VERY REV. MONSIGNOR WOODLOCK, D.D., ETC.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

It is now just fifteen years since the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland opened this University, under the presidency of the great man whose unworthy successor I am. In doing so, they declared their practical conviction of the necessity of uniting religion with education: they proclaimed that principle as Bishops in the Catholic Church, whose Supreme Head has since authoritatively condemned, from the Chair of Truth, the assertion that "Catholics may approve of a system of educating youth, unconnected with Catholic faith and the power of the Church, and which regards the knowledge of merely natural things, and only, or at least primarily, the ends of earthly social life." (Syllabus, Prop. 48).

The Bishops founded the Catholic University of Ireland also as pastors of the Irish people, proclaiming in their name that they held the same truth, and their faithful flocks, by contributions within these fifteen years of about £100,000, have declared in language which this century will not misunderstand, that their opinion is the opinion of their Prelates; that they, as well as their Bishops wish for none other than Catholic education for their children; that they feel within

them the wish with which reason as well as faith has filled the heart of every Catholic parent, to have his son brought up in accordance with the principles of the religion which he believes to be the true one, that is of the Catholic Religion. Now, the Church teaches that education to be fruitful of good to individuals and to society, must be based upon religion, animated by it, perfected by it. This is the conscientious conviction of the Catholic people of Ireland, as well as of their pastors; and I challenge those who would deny the fact, to produce the names of even *twenty* Catholics not connected now or heretofore with the Protestant University or mixed Colleges, who are of the opposite opinion. Nay more, not only is this the sentiment of the Catholic masses, but it is also the publicly avowed opinion of our representatives in Parliament, of whom scarcely one was returned at the general election last year, who had not unequivocally declared in favour of Catholic education for Catholics, and educational equality for all. And those who are disposed either to reject these claims of ours, or to treat them with contempt, ought not to forget that of the sixty Liberal members or more who represent Irish constituencies in Parliament, not six, perhaps not two, would be returned, were they to avow themselves favorable to mixed education, and opposed to the principle of giving to Catholics the advantages of Catholic education on terms of perfect educational equality.

Permit me, my Lords and Gentlemen, briefly to explain to-day how just are our claims, while I endeavour to show what it is precisely that we mean by Catholic education as distinguished from merely secular instruction, and how great are the advantages of which it is calculated to be the bearer to the youth of our nation.

And first of all, permit me to say, that I speak not of the spiritual and supernatural advantages of Catholic education—they are above all price, and beyond adequate estimation by man—but I speak of the intellectual and educational advantages of the system, inasmuch as it qualifies a Catholic youth to take his place as a Christian man in the community. I speak of the advantages of Catholic education for a Catholic youth, inasmuch as it fits him all the better than any other system to enter life as the equal of his educated fellow men; inasmuch as it enables him to win, in the battle of life, the distinction which his talents, his position, or other circumstances hold prepared for him; inasmuch, in fine, as it moulds his mind and soul to the attainment of that excellence even on this earth for which the Creator and Sovereign Ruler of the world has destined him.

Treating of it, then, in this sense, what do we mean by



Catholic education, as distinguished from merely secular instruction? In what way ought religion to form part of the course of teaching for Catholic youth?

Through the kind permission of Dr. Newman, I draw largely on an unpublished letter of his, in which he treats of the place which religious instruction may be considered to hold in University Education.

"In the first place, then," says Dr. Newman, "it is *congruous* certainly that youths, who are prepared in a Catholic University for the general duties of a secular life, or for the secular professions, should not leave it without some knowledge of their religion; and, on the other hand, it does, in matter of fact, act, in the world and in the judgment of men of the world, to the disadvantage of a Christian place of education, and is a reproach to its conductors, and even a scandal, if it sends out its pupils accomplished in all knowledge except Christian knowledge.

"And next considering that, as the mind is enlarged and cultivated generally, it is capable, or rather is desirous and has need, of fuller religious information, it is difficult to maintain that the knowledge of Christianity which is sufficient for entrance at the University, is all that is incumbent on students who have been submitted to the academical course. So that we are unavoidably led on to the further question, viz., shall we sharpen and refine the youthful intellect, and then leave it to exercise its new powers upon the most sacred of subjects, as it will, and with the chance of its exercising them wrongly; or shall we proceed to feed it with divine truth, as it gains an appetite for knowledge?

"Religious teaching, then, is urged upon us in the case of University students, first, by its evident propriety; secondly, by the force of public opinion; thirdly, from the great inconveniences of neglecting it. . . .

"I would treat the subject of religion in the school of Philosophy and Letters (Dr. Newman continues), simply as a branch of knowledge. If the University student is bound to have a knowledge of history generally, he is bound to have inclusively a knowledge of sacred history as well as profane; if he ought to be well instructed in ancient literature, Biblical literature comes under that general description as well as classical; if he knows the philosophy of men, he will not be extravagating from his general subject, if he cultivate also the philosophy of God. . . .

"If a Catholic youth mixes with educated Protestants of his own age, he will find them conversant with the outlines and the characteristics of sacred and ecclesiastical history as

well as profane : it is desirable that he should be on a par with them, and able to keep up a conversation with them. It is desirable, if he has left our University with honours or prizes, that he should know as well as they, the great primitive divisions of Christianity, its polity, its luminaries, its acts, and its fortunes ; its great eras, and its course to this day. He should have some idea of its propagation, and the order in which the nations, which have submitted to it, entered its pale ; and the list of its Fathers, and of its writers generally, and the subjects of their works. . . . He should know who St. Justin, Martyr, was, and when he lived ; who were the Nestorians ; what was the religion of the barbarian nations who took possession of the Roman Empire : who was Eutyches, or Berengarius, who the Albigenses. He should know something about the Benedictines, Dominicans, or Franciscans, about the Crusades, and the chief movers in them. He should be able to say what the Holy See has done for learning and science ; the place which these islands hold in the literary history of the dark age ; what part the Church had, and how its highest interests fared, in the revival of letters ; who Bessarion was, or Ximenes, or William of Wykeham, or Cardinal Allen. I do not say that we can insure all this knowledge in every accomplished student who goes from us, but at least we can admit such knowledge, we can encourage it, in our lecture and examination halls.

“And so in like manner, as regards Biblical knowledge, it is desirable that, while our students are encouraged to pursue the history of classical literature, they should also be invited to acquaint themselves with some general facts about the canon of Holy Scripture, its history, &c.”

As to dogmatic teaching he says:—“I would content myself with enforcing such a broad knowledge of doctrinal subjects as is contained in the catechisms of the Church, or the actual writings of her laity. I would have students apply their minds to such religious topics as laymen actually do treat, and are thought praiseworthy in treating.”

Dr. Newman then proceeds to give some practical illustrations of these principles, and continues:—“I am professing to contemplate Christian knowledge in what may be called its secular aspect, as it is practically useful in the intercourse of life and in general conversation ; and I would encourage it as it bears upon the history, literature, and philosophy of Christianity.

“It is to be considered, that our students are to go out into the world, and a world not of professed Catholics, but of inveterate, often bitter, commonly contemptuous Protestants ;



may of Protestants who, so far as they come from Protestant Universities and public schools, do know their own system, do know, in proportion to their general attainments, the doctrines and arguments of Protestantism. I should desire, then, to encourage in our students an intelligent apprehension of the relations, as I may call them, between the Church and society at large; for instance, the difference between the Church and a religious sect; between the Church and the civil power; what the Church claims of necessity, what it cannot dispense with, what it can; what it can grant, what it cannot. A Catholic hears the celibacy of the clergy discussed; is that usage of faith, or is it not of faith? He hears the Pope accused of interfering with the prerogatives of her Majesty, because he appoints an hierarchy. What is he to answer? What principle is to guide him in the remarks which he cannot escape from the necessity of making? He fills a station of importance, and he is addressed by some friend who has political reasons for wishing to know what is the difference between Canon and Civil Law, whether the Council of Trent has been received in France, whether a Priest cannot in certain cases absolve prospectively, what is meant by his *intention*, what by the *opus operatum*; whether, and in what sense we consider Protestants to be heretics; whether any one can be saved without sacramental confession; whether we deny the reality of natural virtue, and what worth we assign to it.

“Questions may be multiplied without limit, which occur in conversation between friends, in social intercourse, or in the business of life, where no argument is needed, no subtle and delicate disquisition, but a few direct words stating the fact. Half the controversies which go on in the world arise from ignorance of the facts of the case; half the prejudices against Catholicity lie in the misinformation of the prejudiced parties. Candid persons are set right, and enemies silenced, by the mere statement of what it is that we believe. It will not answer the purpose for a Catholic to say, “I leave it to theologians,” “I will ask my priest;” but it will commonly give him a triumph, as easy as it is complete, if he can then and there lay down the law. I say “lay down the law;” for remarkable it is, that, even those who speak against Catholicism, like to hear about it, and will excuse its advocate from alleging arguments, if he can gratify their curiosity by giving them information. Generally speaking, however, as I have said, such mere information will really be an argument also. I recollect some twenty-five years ago three friends of my own, as they then were, clergymen of the Establishment,



making a tour through Ireland. In the West or South they had occasion to become pedestrians for the day; and they took a boy of thirteen to be their guide. They amused themselves with putting questions to him on the subject of his religion; and one of them confessed to me on his return that that poor child put them all to silence. How? Not of course by any course of argument, or refined theological disquisition; but merely by knowing and understanding the answers in his catechism.

“Nor will argument itself be out of place in the hands of laymen mixing with the world. As secular power, influence, or resources are never more suitably placed than when they are in the hands of Catholics; so secular knowledge and secular gifts are then best employed when they minister to divine revelation. Theologians inculcate the matter and determine the details of that revelation; they view it from within; philosophers view it from without, and this external view may be called the Philosophy of Religion, and the office of delineating it externally is most gracefully performed by laymen. In the first age laymen were most commonly the Apologists. Such were Justin, Tatian, Athenagoras, Aristides, Hermias, Minucius, Felix, Arnobius, and Lactantius. In like manner in this age some of the most valuable defences of the Church are from laymen: as De Maistre, Chateaubriand, Nicolas, Montalembert, and others. If laymen may write, lay students may read. Even if we confine ourselves strictly to the Philosophy, or the external contemplation of Religion, we shall have a range of reading sufficiently wide, and as valuable in its practical application as it is liberal in its character. In it will be included what are commonly called the Evidences; and, what is an especially interesting subject at this day, the Notes of the Church.

“Whatever the students read in the province of religion, they read, from the very nature of the problem, under the superintendence, and with the explanations, of those who are older and more experienced than themselves.”

From these admirable reflections of Dr. Newman, it follows that a thorough course of religious instruction completes for a Catholic youth his acquaintance with history and literature, directs his sharpened and refined intellect in its pursuit of the most sacred and most important of all subjects, fits him to mix with educated Protestants of his own age, enables him to “hold his own,” nay, to advance the interest of truth when assailed through malice, prejudice, or ignorance; in fine, this most ennobling of studies brings him into contact with some of the greatest men who in every age and clime have

illustrated Christendom, and teaches him to emulate at once their moral and intellectual glory.

I will add, that no course of religious instruction deserves the name, which does not bring prominently forward, the great principle of universal charity, and point out to youth the glorious trophies of that heavenly virtue on the path of the Church, as we trace it through the annals of history ; which does not also hold up to the reprobation and the warning of rising generations the crimes by which men, despite the admonitions of the Church, forgot the dictates of charity, and turned their hands against their brothers. Religious education is the only true bond of union for a people. It is not by banishing Religion from the school that the precept of charity is to be brought home to the minds of youth, or its practice inculcated ; but it is by interweaving with the whole web of life the golden thread of charity which proceeds from faith, that union, founded on mutual forbearance, respect, and Christian love, is to be made the appanage of a nation. At a moment such as this in the history of Ireland, when there is the greatest need of union among all for the up-raising of our common fatherland, who does not see the importance of having every one of her sons trained according to these principles : that is, brought up under a system which gives, not merely secular instruction, but a truly Christian education.

Again, under a system truly Catholic, the youth of our country would be brought into connection with the highest education of Catholic Europe. By the unhappy schism of the 16th century England separated herself from the rest of Christendom. Since then, many of her sons have, it is true, achieved much that was glorious in the domain of literature and science ; but the books of Catholic Europe have been, and are, to a great extent, sealed books to her, while insular pride has added to the estrangement occasioned by difference of religion. It is true, many influences have been at work of late to break down this wall of separation ; but, unhappily, as the religious difficulty still subsists, the full influence of Catholic literary and scientific progress on the Continent is not felt or valued as it ought to be in these countries. Now, by a truly Catholic system of higher education, all this treasure-house would at once be opened to our youth, and instead of being confined almost exclusively to the circle of British and Protestant celebrities their young minds would be brought into companionship with all that is great and noble and exalted in the Catholic world.

And in fine, while our youth would be taught to look beyond these seas for mental culture, would not the fair fame



of our Catholic land be daily spread more and more through the Catholic education of the rising generations of her sons? I mean the fame of Ireland, both in the past and in time to come. The unhappy causes, to which I have alluded, have heretofore checked the publication to the world, of the glories of our old land, for they were by excellence the glories of her Catholic Faith. And, if ever again we are to have national glories, it must be as a Catholic nation. A system of Catholic education, can alone bring out the glories of the Catholic past, and train a Catholic nation for the future. When lately reading "Montalembert's Monks of the West," I was struck with the frequent use he makes of one of the first works published by this Catholic University—our lamented O'Curry's "MSS., Materials of Irish History"—The chapters, in which the eloquent French publicist portrays in glowing terms the glories of the Irish Monks of Old, the Apostles and civilizers of so many peoples, are in great measure taken from the pages of our late Professor of Irish Antiquities. The glories of Ireland's past history can, in truth, be best brought to light, by such a system of education, as will allow full scope to Catholic principles. And as to the future, when I see the number of young men, students of this infant Institution, who are beginning to distinguish themselves by their spirit of religion, by their public and private virtues, and by their literary or professional success, whether within these walls, or in the wide field of life, I feel convinced that by a Catholic system of higher education, and by it alone, can the minds of the rising generations of Irish Catholics be duly developed, their noblest sentiments fostered as they ought to be, and made racy of the soil of this old Catholic land. Thus alone can the beautiful vision portrayed by Dr. Newman, be verified—God grant that we, or those who come after us, may live to see it—"I look towards a land both old and young; old in its Christianity, young in the promise of its future, a nation which received grace before the Saxon came to Britain, and which has never quenched it. . . . . I contemplate a people, which has had a long night, and will have an inevitable day. I am turning my eyes towards a hundred years to come, and I dimly see the island I am gazing on, become the road of passage and union between two hemispheres, and the centre of the world. . . Whither, as to a sacred soil, the home of their Fathers, and the fountain-head of their Christianity, students are flocking from East, West, and South, all speaking one tongue, all owning one faith, all eager for one large true wisdom, and these, when their stay is over, going back again to carry faith to men of good will over all the earth."



## A FEW FACTS FOR FREEMASONS.

1. THE first meeting of *Freemasons*, as we now understand the name, was held in the year 1717. We do not mean, of course, that there were not Masons in the world before that date; for surely those who erected the pyramids of Egypt, the churches of Rome, the round towers of our country, were Masons in the highest and noblest sense of the word. Moreover, many long years before the dawn of the eighteenth century, there was the Guild of Masons, which was ranked among the Catholic Trade Corporations, and took its place, with its confraternity banners, in the processions of holy Church. Even the name Freemason was sometimes used; for it designated those members of the religious guild who received special exemptions and legal franchises as a privilege for their labour in the erection of the noble Cathedrals of the middle ages. But when we look upon the society of Freemasons as a special secret organization, whose members, in various grades, are bound by particular laws, and are pledged by oath to obey their Head, it dates only from the year 1717.<sup>1</sup>

2. It was from England that Freemasonry propagated itself to the continent. The first continental Lodge was founded in Hamburg in the year 1733. Brunswick, Berlin, and Leipsic were the next to adopt the same society, and before the close of the century its branches had spread to almost all the chief cities of Germany and France.

3. The nature and aim of the Freemason Society no sooner became known throughout the kingdoms of Europe than it was condemned by Protestants and Catholics alike. The Protestant Consistory of Hanover, in the year 1745, as we learn from the Lutheran historian, Menzel, prohibited one of its ministers from preaching on account of being a member of a Freemason Lodge, and moreover, commanded its clergy in future to have no connection with Freemasonry.<sup>2</sup> It was the Sovereign Pontiff, however, who, above all others, raised his warning voice, and as vicar of Christ on earth, interdicted, under the severest penalties, all the faithful from association with this society. Thus Clement XII., in his Bull of 18th April, 1738, whilst condemning in general all secret societies, marks out in particular the Freemasons as incurring the censures of the Church. The great Pontiff Benedict XIV., on the 18th of March, 1751, again fulminated the ecclesiastical

<sup>1</sup> See "Anderson's Constitutions of Freemasonry," published in Frankfort in 1743.

<sup>2</sup> "Nouvelle Histoire des Allemands," tome x., page 312.

censures against this condemned society. Pius VII., on 13th of September, 1821, repeated these censures when condemning the so-called *Carbonari*, a name which was assumed by some sections of the Italian Freemasons. Leo XII., on the 13th March, 1826, condemned anew the society of Freemasons in all its branches: and in fine, to say nothing of the briefs published by the reigning Pontiff, with which our readers are already familiar, Gregory XVI., on the 15th of August, 1832, addressed a circular to all the Bishops of the Catholic world, renewing the censures enacted by his predecessors against Freemasonry, and exhorting the pastors of the Church to raise their warning voices against the many evils which invariably result from such secret societies.

4. The course pursued by the Freemason Society throughout Europe, and the evil fruits which sprung from it, from its earliest beginnings, more than sufficed to justify the Roman Pontiffs in the rigorous severity with which they so repeatedly interdicted it to all members of Christ's fold. The first Freemasons indeed, like many of the members of that society at the present day, professed to abstain from all part in politics, and, above all, to interfere in no way with the affairs of religion. Such a declaration, however, was only meant to deceive the unwary, whilst Freemasonry from its very birth assumed a political character, and entered the lists against our holy Church. The Protestant historian Washmuth, remarks that the anti-social and anti-religious literature which prepared the way in France for the overthrow of law and order, towards the close of the last century, found its most potent ally in Freemasonry.<sup>1</sup> The political Dictionary of Rotteck also assures us that the Freemason Society lent its aid to achieve the evil work of the French Revolution. It was for this reason that Voltaire made Freemasonry the theme of his encomiums. We may add that a little while before his death, this arch-enemy of religion received in Paris a solemn and public ovation from the assembled representatives of all the Lodges of France, who thus proclaimed to the world that they adopted the principles of Voltaire, and gave their seal of approbation to the Religion of Reason, of which he was the head.

5. The revolutionary and irreligious Sect known as the *Illuminati*, which, for a while, found such favour in Germany, was an off-shoot of Freemasonry. Weishaupt, its founder, was member of a Freemason Lodge in Paris, and assumed the classic name of Spartacus. This secret society spread rapidly through Bavaria and Austria. In 1785, whilst Weishaupt was

<sup>1</sup> " Histoire de France, pendant la Revolution," tome I, page 55.



giving his parting instructions, in Ratisbonne to one of his adepts an apostate named Lanz, whom he was sending to revolutionize Silesia, this unfortunate *emissary* was struck dead at his side, by lightning. The terrified master fled from the spot in dismay, and the written instructions for the *Illuminati*, which were found among the papers of Lanz, revealed to the Government the depths of iniquity in which the *Illuminati* were engaged. Notwithstanding such a discovery of these wicked designs, some of the ruling powers of the German States became members of the Sect, and those who were the champions of Imperialism, and the promoters of the Josephine laws, were at the same time the most ardent patrons of the *Illuminati*. The original documents connected with this Sect were published by Stark, the Superintendent of the Churches of the Calvinistic Communion in Prussia, in his "*Triomphe de la Philosophie*," and the conclusion, which he draws from them, is, that "the *Illuminati* Sect aimed at Atheism and the destruction of all, even of parental authority; that it had its origin in French Freemasonry, and having spread throughout many districts of Germany, sent back its adepts once more to swell the ranks of the Masonic Lodges of France, in their revolutionary triumph."<sup>1</sup>

6. The connection which we have shown to have existed between the *Illuminati* and the Freemason Society might be easily proved to exist also between the Masonic Lodges and the hydra-headed secret organizations which have inflicted so many grievous wounds on society during the past fifty years. Freemasonry invariably stretched out a friendly hand to every revolutionary club that was formed on the Continent, and it reckoned among its members the leaders of every secret society from the *Carbonari* and the *Tugend-Bund*, to the *Solidaires* and *Fenians* of the present day. The champions of Freemasonry often commemorate in words of vaunting eulogy the labours of their great Fathers whilst engaged in the structure of the ancient Tower of Babel. All this indeed is nothing more than fiction. But it is no fiction to assert that the Fathers of Freemasonry have laboured more than any others to construct a modern Babel, seeking once more to bid defiance to the Most High, to wage war against His Church, and to subvert every principle on which social government, domestic happiness, and true liberty rest for their support. It is thus that Guerike, another Protestant historian, writes—"Freemasonry has had an undoubted influence on positive Christianity; it has unceasingly laboured

<sup>1</sup> "*Triomphe de la Philosophie*," tome 2, ch. 12—15. See also many interesting facts connected with this Sect in Barruel "*Memoires sur le Jacobinisme*."



with its cold hammer to beat down the edifice of Faith, that thus the Church of Christ being reduced to ruins, *it* might erect a new structure, even though this should be no other than a second Tower of Babel"<sup>1</sup>

7. The Sect of the *Solidaires*, is the latest form which impiety has assumed in its unceasing war against the Catholic Church. And here we wish to present to our readers a letter which a distinguished French Prelate, Monseigneur de Segur, has addressed a short time since to the "Catholic Association of St. Francis de Sales."

It teaches the important fact that Freemasonry has entered into a close alliance with this wicked Sect, whilst, at the same time it discloses to us the depths of impiety to which such impious societies in France and elsewhere, urge on their deluded votaries. It is thus the illustrious Prelate writes:—

"The infamous Sect of the *Solidaires*, as they are called, is daily growing stronger at Paris, and in other parts of France. Several facts of unquestionable authenticity bear witness to the increasing influence, as well as to the diabolical aims of this godless association.

"The first of these facts is, that sixty Freemason Lodges have publicly adopted the programme of the *Solidaires*, as being a work of public utility. Thus the Freemasons have proclaimed themselves *Solidaires*.

"The second fact is that a system of recruiting is being conducted by this Sect, on a vast scale. For instance, in one branch of the Government offices an agent of the Sect has sent round through all the offices of the department a register in which each of the clerks was requested to inscribe his name. By thus signing his name he bound himself to give up all practice of religion during life, and especially at the point of death. A considerable number of the clerks complied with this request, more through human respect however, and through a silly affectation of impiety, than from conviction. But these men when on their death bed, will see themselves surrounded by their so-called brothers, whom they themselves, in their folly, have empowered to insure their eternal damnation. The Sect of the *Solidaires* ought to take for its title, *Mutual Aid Society to make sure of going to Hell*; or else, *Mutual Assurance Office against Salvation*.

"The third fact is the establishment at Paris, in the Faubourg Saint Antoine, of a new institution of (*Solidaires*) nurses. This is more atrocious than even the other two attempts. These nurses are women who devote themselves not to take care of the sick, but to hinder them from having

<sup>1</sup> "Manuel de l' Histoire Eccl.," tome 2, page 553.

recourse to the last consolations of religion. They are nurses to keep the sick from the priest, from forgiveness, from the God of mercy! What an excess of rage is this against our Lord, and against His Church!

“Finally, the sacrilegious dinners on Good Friday have exhibited the impudence, and, we may say, the imprudence of these impious men. Of these dinners there were three at Paris—one with covers for a hundred, at the Palais Royal, at five francs per head; another with covers for a hundred, at three francs; and a third at which about eight hundred assisted, took place at St. Maudé, in an hotel kept by a Jew, quite close to the House of the Missionaries of Picpus, called the *Priests of the Sacred Heart of Jesus*. These holy religious spent the entire night before the Blessed Sacrament in expiation of the public and unworthy outrage that was being committed at a few paces from their chapel. Veal and sausages formed the staple of those banquets, and symbolized the lofty thoughts and noble resolves of the guests. As the enemies of God are always the enemies of society, the hotel-keeper, anxious to protect his business, declared beforehand that if politics were introduced he would turn off the gas. Hence, the only cries allowed were those against God, against His love, His cross, and His blood, shed for us all. From within the tabernacle of the neighbouring chapel, the divine victim of these insults was looking down with compassion on these unfortunate men, and repeating the great prayer of the cross—the prayer of Good Friday—‘Father forgive them, for they know not what they do.’

“Several of the Paris journals were not ashamed first to announce, and then to boast of this infamous scandal. At Lyons, a similar attempt was made, but the hotelkeeper refused to have anything to do with it.

“These acts of madness show not only the wickedness of the devil, and the identity of Satanism with Solidarism, but also the truth of our faith, and the divine character of the Christian Religion. Yes: these excesses are an act of faith, such as the evil spirits make. ‘The devils believe and tremble,’ says St. James, and so it is also with these adepts. They believe and they are enraged; they are enraged only because they believe, and the measure of their rage is the measure of their faith. These men have as much faith as we, I was almost going to say, more than we.

“We venture to request each of our associates *a communion* and *a Rosary* in expiation of these scandals.”

8. Whilst such evils result from Freemasonry, we cannot be surprised at the rigour with which the Holy See interdicts this Sect. But independent of such evils, the very principle,



from which Freemasonry as a society depends, is contrary to social order, and merits the severest condemnation.

A leading member of the Masonic Society in England published some few weeks ago an elaborate defence of his cherished sect. Finding fault with the Catholic Church for condemning it, he thus states the argument of Catholics :—

“Everything that is secret is bad ;  
Freemasonry is something secret,  
Therefore Freemasonry is bad.”

And then he favours his Masonic brethren with an elaborate refutation of such an argument. The learned champion of Freemasonry, however, might have spared himself the trouble of such a refutation, for no Catholic ever advanced such an argument against Freemasonry.

Everything secret is not bad. On the contrary, secrecy in many things is essential to the well-being of society, to say nothing of the secrecy which is in some cases commanded by the law of God. The argument which Catholic writers invariably propose against this condemned society is as follows :—

“Every association whose members are bound by secret oath to an undefined obedience is essentially bad :

“The Freemason Society is an association whose members are bound by such a secret oath :

“Therefore the Freemason Society is essentially bad.”

Thus, while many things secret are lawful, and such that it would be a heinous crime to reveal them, no secret association bound by secret oath, as we have just described, can ever be deemed lawful. The members of such an association pledge their obedience to orders, whilst they have no guarantee that these orders shall be conformable to reason and religion. They call God to witness that they will execute commands which sad experience has too often proved will be dictated by the evil genius of impiety and socialism. Such an oath is intrinsically unlawful, and a society which requires such a bond from its members is, by the very fact, branded as an unjust and irreligious society.

9. But there is one complaint which is often made by our high titled and noble Freemasons, which, at first sight seems just enough, but when closely examined is found to be devoid of all reality. Our society, the Freemasons say, is unjustly classed with the *Fenians*, although undoubtedly it does not plot against the British throne, and is most loyal in its devotedness to her Majesty. It is, in fact, nothing more than a harmless, loyal club, whose members indulge, indeed, in feasting, and in innocent toasts, but do no harm to society or to their fellow-countrymen. Not so the *Fenians*.



To this, however, we reply that, no doubt many of the Freemasons in England and Ireland are such as are thus described. Nevertheless the most ardent enemies of Fenianism will not deny that Freemasonry occasionally is productive of many evils in this country. Are not the Masonic signs employed occasionally as a secret armour to ward off the penalties of justice in our public courts? And sometimes, too, does it not seem that the sentences which emanate from our jury-boxes, inflicting, perhaps, irremediable injury on unoffending subjects, are dictated by an overweening affection for Freemasonry? At the same time, every-day experience proves that in seeking to promote self-interest the Masonic Lodge is nothing more than an ordinary trades-union, engendering all the evils to society, and all the petty annoyances to honest citizens, which ordinarily result from such associations.

But independent of these immediate results of Freemasonry in this country, and granting for a moment that all its energies are wasted in a stupid self-indulgence, or in a foolish misnamed philanthropy, the nature of the society itself is not thus altered. The principle on which it rests is equally reckless and unlawful, and hence Freemasonry is justly subjected in this country to the anathemas of our holy Church. The principle which alone gives a distinctive existence to the Masonic Society can nowise be said to differ from the principle which gives birth to the Fenian association, and where any difference exists between the two organizations, it is Fenianism that might with justice complain of being lowered to the ranks of Freemasonry. The Fenian oath binds its members to only one definite unlawful object: not so the Masonic oath; for in the indefinite object of Freemasonry is necessarily included all that long array of wicked deeds, anti-social purposes, and irreligious aims which the Masonic Lodges, during the past hundred and fifty years, have sought to realize throughout the continent. And if many Lodges in Ireland are able to proclaim that their meetings have no political aim, and, in fact, are nothing but a friendly assembly for innocent recreation, what is there in this to mark their difference, for instance, from many of the Fenian meetings in the United States? Freemasons do not plot against her Majesty's throne in this Kingdom; neither do the American Fenians plot against the constituted government of the United States: and it cannot be denied that many of the meetings of the deluded friends of Fenianism are mere unselfish reunions of the friends of their native land, who would never tolerate for an instant the obscenity and wickedness which are too often known to be characteristic of the meetings of Masonic Lodges.

10. It is idle, however, for the Freemasons of this country to disavow the connection of their society with continental Freemasonry. We know it as a fact, that a member of an Irish Masonic Lodge, when he meets an adept of the continental society, is as much at home as if he met a brother Mason of his own Lodge. Moreover, in the English lists of the Freemason Lodges, those of the continent hold a prominent place, whilst the names of the English Lodges are emblazoned on the continental lists. Nay more, the most wicked and fiendish Lodges on the continent are precisely those which boast of their connection, as they still bear the name of *Scottish Lodges*. Such Scottish Lodges were the first to take part in the Italian revolution. Even the hero of Aspromonte, in more than one of those letters, replete with blasphemy, with which he has from time to time favoured his deluded followers, has signed himself "Masonic Master according to the Scottish rite." And it is only a few weeks since the Italian journals published a circular, addressed to all the Lodges of Italy, in which the Grand Master assumes the title of "Mason of the Scottish Rite." The visit of Garibaldi to the sister isle a few years ago is not forgotten. Was he not then welcomed as a brother Mason by the Lodges of England, and was it not thus admitted that the closest relations exist between English and continental Freemasonry?

M.

(To be continued.)

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## QUESTIONS REGARDING THE JUBILEE.

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### II.—ON THE VISITATION OF THE CHURCHES.

The clauses of the Encyclical,<sup>1</sup> *Nemo certe ignorat*, which regard the visits enjoined as conditions for gaining the Jubilee are as follows:—"Christifidelibus in alma Urbe nostra degentibus vel ad eam advenientibus, qui . . . S. Joannis in Laterano, Principis Apostolorum, et Sanctae Mariae Majoris Basilicas, vel earum aliquam bis visitaverint; . . . caeteris vero extra Urbem praedictam ubicunque degentibus, qui Ecclesias ab ordinariis locorum . . . designandas, vel earum aliquam . . . bis visitaverint . . . Indulgentiam concedimus."

<sup>1</sup> See *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Vol. 5, No. LVI., May, 1869.



The number of visits prescribed on this occasion, and, indeed, in all extraordinary Jubilees, is much smaller than in the case of the ordinary Jubilee granted every twenty-fifth year. In the ordinary Jubilee four churches are designated in each locality—in Rome the Basilicas of St. John Lateran, St. Peter, St. Paul, and Santa Maria Maggiore—elsewhere four churches, the selection of which is, to a great extent, left to the discretion of the local ecclesiastical authorities. To the Basilicas or churches thus designated, at least sixty visits are required to be made; for the Bull of Jubilee invariably prescribes that each church should be visited at least once a day for fifteen days. Natives of Rome, and persons who reside in the city or its immediate neighbourhood, are required to repeat the visits for at least thirty days, so that in their case one hundred and twenty visits are necessary.

But in extraordinary Jubilees, which are almost invariably of much shorter duration than the ordinary Jubilee of the Holy Year, very few visits are enjoined. Thus, for instance, in the Jubilee which is usually granted on the occasion of the accession of a Pope, and which, as a general rule, lasts only for a fortnight, three churches are appointed, and not more than one set of visits to these is prescribed. Indeed, on such occasions, the Popes have rarely insisted on the necessity of making even one visit to the three churches, a clause being usually inserted in the Bull of Jubilee to the effect that a visit to any one of them will suffice. Thus Benedict XIV., in the Bull of his first Jubilee, determined the number of visits as follows:—<sup>1</sup> “*Qui Ecclesias ab ordinario locorum designandas, vel ecclesiarum hujusmodi aliquam . . . saltem semel visitaverint.*” A similar form was employed by his successors until the year 1846. In the Jubilee of that year, the first which was granted by the present Pope, a third week was added to the usual term, and an additional visit was enjoined. But following the course usually adopted on similar occasions by his predecessors, his Holiness gave to the faithful the option of making two rounds of visits to the churches named by the Bishop, or two visits to any one of them. The words of the Encyclical<sup>2</sup> were—“*qui Ecclesias . . . designandas, vel earum aliquam . . . bis visitaverint.*” Although the present Jubilee, as far as regards its duration, approximates much more closely to the Jubilee of the Holy Year than to any of the extraordinary Jubilees which have recently been granted, the number of visits required is the same as was enjoined in 1846, viz., two

<sup>1</sup> *Bullarium Benedicti XIV.*, Constit. *Laetiora*.

<sup>2</sup> *Encycl.* Arcano, (20 Nov., 1846).



sets of visits to three churches appointed by the Ordinary, or two visits to any one of them.

Another important difference between the ordinary and extraordinary Jubilee is that only in the former case are the local ecclesiastical authorities at all restricted in their choice of the churches which are to be visited. The clause "*ecclesiam cathedralem seu majorem, aliasque tres ejusdem civitates aut loci,*" which is always inserted in the Bull of an ordinary Jubilee is never employed on other occasions.

As to the number of churches which a Bishop may designate throughout his diocese, no restriction is imposed either in an ordinary or an extraordinary Jubilee. But it is universally admitted that no matter how many churches he may appoint, he cannot require a greater number of visits than the Pope has enjoined. "Le Pape seul," says Bouvier,<sup>1</sup> in reference to this point, "accorde la grâce du jubilé; les évêques ne sont que délégués par lui pour le publier et en déterminer les conditions. Ils ne peuvent dont rien y changer de leur propre autorité." And Loiseaux<sup>2</sup> remarks that when a Bishop assigns a larger number of churches for the purposes of the Jubilee visits, the only effect of this designation is to enable the faithful to comply more easily with this requirement of the Bull, by giving them a greater option in selecting the churches which they will visit. For this purpose, in fact, a large number of churches are usually named in every diocese, so as to enable all the faithful to make, without inconvenience, the visits which are enjoined. In Ireland, at least in country districts, the usual practice is to appoint the principal church of each parish.

In places where this arrangement has been made, is it necessary for each person to visit the church of his own parish? Bouvier,<sup>3</sup> Bellegambe,<sup>4</sup> and Loiseaux,<sup>5</sup> in examining this question, which apparently is not noticed by other writers, hold that no such necessity exists. For, in this case, a person who visits any parochial church in the diocese, visits one of the churches designated by the Bishop, and consequently complies with the requirements of the clause:—"qui Ecclesias ab ordinariis . . . designatas *vel earum aliquam* bis visitaverint." Bouvier, indeed, qualifies his assertion by adding—"unless the Bishop should ordain otherwise." But the other writers

<sup>1</sup> *Traité des Indulgences.* Part. 4, chap. ii., art. 2, sec. iv., quest. 9°.

<sup>2</sup> *Traité Canonique et Pratique du Jubilé.* Chap. ii., art. 2, sect. iv., n. 18.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.* Ibid. Quest. 11°.

<sup>4</sup> *Enchiridion Theologico-practico Tripartitum de Jubilaeo.* Part 3, sect. iii., quaest. 8.

<sup>5</sup> *Traité Canonique et Pratique du Jubilé.* Chap. ii., art. 2, sect. iv., n. 37.

just quoted are of opinion that no diocesan arrangement can make it necessary for a person to visit his own parish church. "Nous pensons," says Loiseaux, "que la defense de l'évêque n'empêcherait pas de gagner le Jubilé. Si cette visite remplit l'intention du souverain Pontife . . . il n'est pas au pouvoir de l'évêque de lui ôter son efficacité." And, in fact, the extract already quoted from Bouvier, in reference to an addition to the prescribed number of visits, is perfectly applicable to this question.

It may, indeed, be objected that in this case the conditions enjoined by the Pope are not in reality observed; since, if a Bishop insists on the visits being made by each person to the church of his own parish, no church can be regarded as "designated by the Ordinary" for the visits of those who live out of the parish in which it is situated; and consequently such persons will not, by visiting it, comply with the requirements of the Encyclical. But in answer to this difficulty, it is sufficient to remark that the Encyclical does not require that any person should visit a church which the Ordinary has *designated with special reference to him*. It requires only that the visits should be made to "any of the churches *designated by the Ordinary*." And it is obvious, that in the strictest sense of the words, this description is perfectly applicable to every church in which the Bishop directs any of the Jubilee visits to be made. Consequently a person who visits any such church undoubtedly complies, as far as regards this condition, with the requirements of the Encyclical.

As regards the manner in which the visits should be made, it is laid down by all writers upon the subject that they should be performed as acts of devotion. "Quando praeise in Jubilaeo," says Gobat,<sup>1</sup> "mandatur ut aliqua Ecclesia visitetur, requiritur visitatio religiosa et devota." This devotion, as explained by Benedict XIV., consists in the visits being made "consilio atque animo exhibendi honorem Deo aut Sanctis ejus."<sup>2</sup> There is, therefore, no doubt that a visit made to a church from mere curiosity, or for the sake of examining its architectural arrangements, or of being present at a musical performance, cannot be regarded as sufficient to comply with the requirements of the Bull of Jubilee. "Ex quo deduci potest," continues the Encyclical just quoted, "quod si quis nullo pio fine, sed mera ductus curiositate visitatum ecclesias se confert. . . . aut animi relaxandi gratia . . . Jubilaeum minime consequitur."

Hence it is a matter of great moment to ascertain in what

<sup>1</sup> *Opera Moralia*. Tract iii. De Jubilaeo, cap. xx., n. 127.

<sup>2</sup> *Bullarium Benedicti XIV.* Constit. *Inter praeferitos* (3 December, 1749.) n. 76.



a visit to a church consists. Viva,<sup>1</sup> Gobat,<sup>2</sup> Bellegambe,<sup>3</sup> Ferraris,<sup>4</sup> and other writers of great authority held that the term Visit designates only the time spent in the church, so that the necessity of making these visits with devotion could impose no restriction on a person about to visit a church, whilst he is on his way thither. "Hinc sequitur," says Viva, "quod si quis jocans ad Ecclesiam pergeret . . . si quis ad ecclesiam accederet ob finem non pertinentam ad Dei cultum, puta ob curiositatem . . . non impediret devotionem debitam." Gobat even goes so far as to say:—"Quantumvis, totum iter ad ecclesiam usque conficiat quis cum peccato, aut ex peccato veniali, aut etiam mortali, potest nihilominus dici devote visitare ecclesiam, si modeste illam ingrediatur, et in ea oret." These inferences, it is obvious, are undeniable, if it be true, as those authors suppose, that the visit to a church does not include the time spent on the way thither. "Bullae nihil praescribunt circa iter ad ecclesiam," says Bellegambe, "sed circa ipsum accessum et ipsam visitationem." Or, as Viva expresses it, "Devotio non requiritur in itinere sed in ecclesia."

But this opinion is no longer tenable. In the Encyclical<sup>5</sup> already referred to, Benedict XIV. distinctly teaches that the term Visit includes not merely the time spent in the church, but also the time spent on the way thither. "*Tam in itinere quod ad basilicas habetur*," are his words, "*quam in easdem ingrediendo*." And again:—"Ex quo deduci potest quod si quis nullo pio fine . . . visitatum ecclesias se confert, aut animi relaxandi seu, quod dicitur, deambulationis habendae gratia, *iter conficit*, Jubilaeum minime consequitur."

This declaration is decisive; for although in this Constitution, Benedict XIV. referred exclusively to the Jubilee which he had just granted for the subsequent year, the rules laid down by him on that occasion are applicable to all future Jubilees. For a long time, indeed, it was doubtful whether those rules could be thus applied; but, in 1852, it was decided by the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences, in answer to a question proposed by M. Loiseaux, the author of the "Treatise on the Jubilee," which has been so frequently referred to, that "*in jubilaeo tum ordinario tum extraordinario, servandae sint omnes regulae a S. P. Benedicto XIV. traditae, quibus non ad-versatur bulla jubilaei*."

It may be well to observe that, although theologians require

<sup>1</sup> *De Jubilaeo*. Quaest viii., art. 5, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Opera Moralia*. Tract iii. De Jubilaeo. Cap. xx., n. 127.

<sup>3</sup> *Enchiridion*. Part 3, sect. iv., quaest. 6.

<sup>4</sup> *Bibliotheca*. In verb. Jubilaeum, art. iii. n. 15.

<sup>5</sup> *Bullarium Benedicti XIV.* Constit., *Inter praeteritos*, n. 76.



that the visits should be made with devotion, it is not considered necessary that a person when making them should recite prayers or observe silence whilst on his way to the church. Bouvier<sup>1</sup> states that it is usual in Rome, during the ordinary Jubilee, for persons engaged in making the visits enjoined in the Bull, to recite the Rosary whilst passing from one church to another. But he adds, "on convient que tout cela, quoique très louable, n'est pas nécessaire." It is generally held that it will suffice to observe the two conditions laid down by Benedict XIV.,<sup>2</sup> viz.:—That a person in making these visits should go "modeste," and that he should perform the action "animo exhibendi honorem Deo aut sanctis ejus."

Since the Encyclical imposes no restriction in reference to the time at which the two visits required on this occasion should be made, there is no doubt that both may be made on the same day. The question then arises whether a person will satisfy the requirements of the Encyclical by going to the church with the proper dispositions, as already explained, and then remaining in it for twice as long a time as would suffice in the case of a single visit?

From the principles already laid down in reference to the meaning of the term Visit, it clearly follows that such a person makes only one visit of longer duration than usual: he does not make a second visit, since he does not go to the Church a second time. It is right, however, to state that Father Maurel in his excellent treatise on Indulgences,<sup>3</sup> which has received the special approbation of the Sacred Congregation, holds that, in this case, two visits are really made. "Quant à la visite elle-même," he asks, "y a-t-il obligation de la répéter réellement, en sortant de l'église et y rentrant? . . . . . Oui, disent plusieurs théologiens. Cependant le sentiment contraire, et que l'on peut suivre sûrement dans la pratique, dit que l'on n'est pas tenu à toutes ces visites successives et différentes. Il suffit de se transporter une seule fois dans l'église, et d'y prier, selon les intentions du Souverain Pontife, autant de fois qu'il y a de visites exigées, La présence dans l'église unie aux prières réitérées équivaut aux diverses visites commandées pour obtenir les Indulgences." He adds that this is the opinion also of Monsignore Prinzivalli, the well-known official of the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences. But it is not easy to understand how an opinion so manifestly at variance with the view laid down by Benedict XIV., regarding the meaning of the word Visit, could have been

<sup>1</sup> *Traité des Indulgences*. Part 4, chap. ii., art. 4, sec. 4, quest 3<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> *Bullarium*. Constit. *Inter præteritos*, iam cit., *ibid*.

<sup>3</sup> *Le Chrétien Eclairé sur la Nature et l'Usage des Indulgences*. Part 1. sec. 7.

adopted by two such eminent authorities. At all events, there cannot be any doubt that it is an erroneous opinion ; for since the publication of Father Maurel's work it has been expressly decided by the Sacred Congregation that when several visits are to be made, it will not suffice "*ut in Ecclesia, preces sen visitationes repetantur quin de Ecclesia post quamlibet visitationem quis egrediatur et denuo in eam ingrediatur.*" The decree will be found in full in the first number of the *Record*.<sup>1</sup>

It is certain, therefore, that in order to make a second visit, it is necessary, after the conclusion of the first, to leave the church. Indeed it would be well, for greater security, to proceed to some short distance from it. If this be done, there can be no doubt of the sufficiency of the second visit, made immediately afterwards by returning to the church, entering it, and praying in it as before.

### III.—ON THE PRAYERS FOR THE INTENTIONS OF THE POPE.

The Encyclical also sets forth the necessity of praying on the occasion of the Jubilee visits for certain intentions specified by the Pope:—" *ibique per aliquod temporis spatium pro omnium misere errantium conversione, pro sanctissimæ fidei propagatione, et pro Catholice Ecclesiæ pace, tranquillitate ac triumpho devote oraverint.*"

According to many writers, purely mental prayer will suffice, and, indeed, it is not easy to take exception to the reasoning by which Viva supports this view. "*Imponitur absolute oratio; ergo quaecunque oratio proprie dicta satis est. Est autem proprie dicta oratio mentalis, imo magis proprie quam vocalis; quia vocalis in tantum est oratio, in quantum conjungitur cum mentali.*" However, since very many theologians of great authority consider that vocal prayer is necessary—St. Alphonsus<sup>2</sup> calls it the more common opinion—it would not be prudent to rest satisfied with offering a purely mental prayer.

Nothing has been authoritatively determined in reference to the precise length of the prayer which is necessary. Suarez,<sup>3</sup> Ferraris,<sup>4</sup> and Eusebius Amort,<sup>5</sup> hold that any prayer, however short, will suffice ; but Benedict XIV. manifests a decided preference for the opposite opinion. "*Contra hanc nimiam orationis modicitatem,*" he says,<sup>6</sup> "*tam ipse etiam Viva, quam reliqui scriptores exclamant . . . . Nos itaque ab istorum*

<sup>1</sup> See *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, No. I. Vol. I. October, 1864.

<sup>2</sup> *Theologia Moralis*. Lib. 6, tract iv., n. 538, quaer. 10.

<sup>3</sup> *De Pœnitentia*. Disp. 52, sec. 8, n. 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Bibliotheca*. In verb. Jubilæum. Art. 3, n. 18.

<sup>5</sup> *Quæstiones ac Resolutiones Practicæ*. Q. 74.

<sup>6</sup> *Bullarium*. Constit. *Inter præteritos*, iam cit., n. 83.



consideratione nihil recedentes, etc." All writers seem to have agreed that there can be doubt that it will suffice to recite for this purpose, five Our Fathers and five Hail Marys—the prayers appointed by Gregory XIII., in his Bull, "*Quanta in vinea Domini.*"

The objects for which the prayers should be offered are very distinctly enumerated in the Encyclical—the conversion of sinners, the propagation of the Catholic faith, the peace and triumph of the Church. But, it may be asked, is it necessary that the prayers should be offered distinctly and explicitly for these intentions? Or will it not suffice to pray, in general terms, for the intentions of the Pope, without any distinct knowledge or recollection of the objects which he has specified? This question, it may be observed, is one of the greatest practical importance, regarding, as it does, not merely the indulgence of the Jubilee, but also, with scarcely an exception, all other plenary indulgences. For, in almost every case, the Pope, in granting such an indulgence, requires, as a condition for gaining it, that prayers be recited for certain objects which he specifies. It will be useful, then, to state the various views which theologians have adopted in reference to this question.

In the first place, some writers consider that it will suffice to recite these prayers with the general intention of doing whatever is necessary in order to gain the indulgence. "*Fines injuncti,*" says Theodorus a Sancto Spiritu,<sup>1</sup> "*implicite et virtualiter continentur in intentione faciendi opus pro acquirenda indulgentia requisitum; ideoque si quis animum hunc haberet, implicite et virtualiter vellet etiam fines, quos summus Pontifex in indulgentiarum litteris expressit.*" According to this opinion, which is held also by Collet<sup>2</sup> and Mazzotta,<sup>3</sup> a person who does not know that any objects have been proposed by the Pope, can gain the indulgence. But it is not easy to see how it can be said with propriety that such a person prays for "the conversion of sinners, the propagation of the Catholic faith, and the peace and triumph of the church."

Hence, theologians generally, with the exception of the writers whom I have just named, teach that some more definite intention is required. However, they speak so vaguely upon this subject, that it is not easy to ascertain the precise nature of the intention which they consider necessary. Viva<sup>4</sup> apparently is satisfied with the intention of a person who,

<sup>1</sup> *Tractatus Historico-theologicus de Jubilæo.* Cap. vi., sect. i., n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Traité Historique, Dogmatique et Pratique des Indulgences et du Jubilé.* Chap. iv., art. 2, sect. iii., n. 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Theologia Moralís.* Tract 1. Appendix de Jubilæo, cap. iii., quaer. 2º.

<sup>4</sup> *De Jubilæo.* Quaest. 8, art. v., n. 6.



knowing that some special objects have been specified by the Pope, but not knowing what those objects are, prays for the Pope's intention, whatever it may be. "Sciendum," are his words, "non oportere expresse pro fine . . . intento orare, sed satis esse, quod quis oret in eum finem in genere, pro quo summus Pontifex injungit orationem." In support of this view, he quotes the authority of Bossius, Pasqualigo, Sanctarelli, and some writers of lesser note. Ferraris<sup>1</sup> holds the same opinion. "Sufficit," he says, "si quis dicat: intendo orare ad mentem summi Pontificis praescriptam in bulla. Ita Gobat, La Croix et alii passim." But, notwithstanding this assertion, we shall see that neither Gobat nor La Croix adopts this view, which, indeed, is adopted by very few writers of standard authority.

It cannot, of course, be denied that a person who prays thus explicitly for the intention of the Sovereign Pontiff, implicitly prays for the objects enumerated in the Encyclical, although he has no knowledge of what those objects are. But it seems highly improbable that the requirements of the clause in which the necessity of praying "for the conversion of sinners, for the propagation of the Catholic faith, for the peace and triumph of the Church," is so distinctly set forth can be fulfilled without some explicit knowledge of the objects which are thus specified. For, as Gobat<sup>2</sup> argues:—"Quando Pontifex exprimit . . . intentionem ad quam vult opera vel preces praescriptas fieri, non ideo exprimit ut nos sciamus, quam ipse *intentionem expressam et specificam* habeat, sed *quam nos habere debeamus*, si indulgentiae participes esse volumus. Unde fit, ut in uno eodem Brevi Apostolico pro quibusdam actibus praescribantur quatuor intentiones, pro aliis tantum duae, pro aliis unica . . . ut videre est in forma indulgentiarum Urbani VIII. Mihi autem non videtur satis credibile, tantam intentionum varietatem poni et proponi fidelibus nisi *ea cum conditione, ut et illas cognoscant* et ex illarum cognitione incitentur, diriganturque ad opera praescripta facienda."

Hence the great majority of theologians require an explicit knowledge of the objects which the Pope enumerates. "Non potest opus fieri cum tali intentione," says De Lugo,<sup>3</sup> "sine aliqua *illius notitia*." Bellegambe<sup>4</sup> teaches:—"praequirere *cognitionem formalem intentionis* illius quam concedens habuit." And La Croix<sup>5</sup>:—"De objectis [in Bulla enumeratis] expedit ali-

<sup>1</sup> *Bibliotheca*, in verb. Jubilaeum. Art. iii., n. 20.

<sup>2</sup> *Opera Moralia*. Tract iii. De Jubilaeo, cap. xii., n. 80.

<sup>3</sup> *De Sacramento de Penitentiae*. Disp. xxvii., sect. vi., n. 82.

<sup>4</sup> *Enchiridion*. Part. i., quaest. i., sect. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Theologia Moralis*. Lib. vi., n. 1423.

quando monere poenitentes, nam probabile est requiri *notitiam expressam talis intentionis*." Coming down to more recent writers, we find the same advice given by M. Loiseaux,<sup>1</sup> "Puisque les auteurs sont partagés, les curés feront bien d'exciter leurs paroissiens à prier pour les fins spécifiées par le souverain Pontife."

To guard against misconception, it may be necessary to remark that, according to the opinion of these theologians, an actual explicit knowledge of the objects specified by the Pope, is not necessary at the time when the prayers are being recited. It will, they say, suffice if the prayers are offered in general terms, for the intentions of the Pope, provided that the person who makes this offering has previously had a distinct knowledge of the objects which the Pope proposes. "Sufficit," says Gobat,<sup>2</sup> "*si in specie audierit intentionem injunctam, et . . . postea tamen opus pro indulgentia designatum perfecit, immemor intentionis, dicens tamen expresse se illud opus offerre ad intentionem summi Pontificis. . . . Hunc modum esse sufficientem, persuadet mihi tum praxis et persuasio confessoriorum . . . tum infinitus numerus rudium hominum qui nequeunt memoriam retinere ternas quas frequenter, quaternas quas nonnunquam Pontifex praescribit. Videtur ergo Pontifex ab his et consequenter ab aliis plus non exigere quam ut offerentes suas preces ad intentiones ab illo praescriptas, habeant illarum confusam recordationem.*"

That such an intention will suffice is placed beyond all controversy by a decree of the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences, issued in 1847.<sup>3</sup> "Quando ad Indulgentias lucrandas praescribitur oratio pro fine determinato v.g. pro extirpatione haereseon etc. an requiratur intentio explicita, *expressa singulis vicibus*? S. C. I. respondit *Negative*." As this decree has been sometimes regarded as a declaration that an explicit knowledge of the objects specified by the Pope is not required, it may be useful to remark that the question proposed was not whether an explicit intention was necessary, but whether it was necessary to have such an intention "*expressa singulis vicibus*." It is evident, therefore, that the answer of the Sacred Congregation, while it undoubtedly teaches that it will suffice to offer these prayers in the manner described by Gobat, does not imply that the indulgence can be gained by a person who never had an explicit knowledge of the objects specified by the Pope. And since so many

<sup>1</sup> *Traité Canonique et Pratique du Jubilé*. Chap. ii., art. 2, sect. iv., n. 32.

<sup>2</sup> *Opera Moralia*. Tract iii. De Jubilaeo, cap. xii., n.

<sup>3</sup> *Decr. S. Cong. Indulg.* 12 Jun. 1847.



theologians are of opinion that this explicit knowledge is necessary, it would appear that in the absence of an express decision of the Sacred Congregation, it would be most imprudent to disregard the advice of La Croix, which I have already quoted:—“*De objectis [in Bulla enumeratis] expedit aliquando monere pœnitentes, nam probabile est requiri notitiam expressam talis intentionis.*”

I may avail myself of this opportunity to make a few remarks in answer to some questions which have been proposed, since the publication of the October number of the *Record*, in reference to the fasting days required for the Jubilee.

1. “How is the following clause of the Encyclical to be understood? ‘*Qui . . . tribus diebus etiam non continuis, nempe, quarta et sexta feria et sabbato jejunaverint.*’ Will any other days but Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday suffice?”

There does not appear to be any good reason for supposing that any other days will suffice. Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday are mentioned by the Pope as the days on which the fast should be observed, quite as distinctly as the Basilicas of St. John Lateran, St. Peter, and Santa Maria Maggiore, are mentioned as the Churches which should be visited by those who gain the Jubilee in Rome. In both cases the only admissible interpretation is that the Pope specifies the particular work, to the performance of which the indulgence is attached. This is the obvious meaning of the words of his Holiness “those who shall fast on three days . . . that is to say, on Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday.”

In a matter which is so clear, it is hardly necessary to quote the opinions of theologians. It may, however, be well to give a few extracts which will probably remove all doubt regarding this point. “Jejunium” says La Croix,<sup>1</sup> . . . “est trium dierum Mercurii, Veneris, Sabbathi.” And Bouvier<sup>2</sup>:—“Pour ces sortes de Jubilés (extraordinaires) prescrit-elle trois jeûnes qui doivent être faits . . . le Mercredi le Vendredi et le Samedi.” Viva<sup>3</sup> is, if possible, more explicit:—“Exiguntur in Jubilæo Extraordinario universim tria jejunia, Feria quarta et sexta et sabbato; et quidem omnia . . . ritu jejunii Ecclesiastici præstanda et diebus præfixis.”

2. “Is it necessary in this country to abstain from eggs on the Friday which is selected for the Jubilee fast? This abstinence, observed in Ireland whenever a fasting day happens

<sup>1</sup> *Theologia Moralis*. Lib. vi., pars. ii. n. 1424.

<sup>2</sup> *Traité des Indulgences*, Part iv., chap. ii., sec. i., n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *De Jubilæo*, Quaest viii. part 7 n. 1.



to fall on Friday, even out of Lent, would seem not to be imposed by the common law, as explained in the last number of the *Record*, pp. 22-4. Does it therefore follow that it is not necessary to observe it, in fasting for the Jubilee?"

By no means. It is clearly laid down by the theologians who are quoted on the pages referred to, that the fast which is required for the Jubilee, must be such as is observed "*juxta gentis consuetudinem in Quatuor Temporibus Anni—sicut intelliguntur et observantur praecepta ecclesiae—juxta modum quem tenet Provincia in aliis jejuniis*"—and that it is necessary to observe the abstinence which is observed on fasting days of obligation:—"Debere uti cibis quibus concives communiter utuntur in jejuniis ecclesiasticis tunc occurrentibus."<sup>1</sup> Hence, since the fast which is observed in nearly every part of Ireland, when a fasting day falls on Friday, includes abstinence from eggs, it clearly follows, from the doctrine of those theologians, that without some dispensation eggs could not be eaten on the Friday which is selected for the Jubilee fast.

But it is manifest from the terms of the Rescript, published in the October number of the *Record*,<sup>2</sup> that abstinence from meat alone will now suffice in any part of Ireland, for the Jubilee fast: "*ut praedicta conditio jejunii pro Jubilaeo in Hibernia lucrando, cum sola abstinentia a carnibus . . . adimpleri possit.*"

3. "It was stated in the *Record* for October, p. 29, that fasting days of obligation, out of Lent, cannot be selected for the observance of the Jubilee fast. Is it quite certain that this is correct? My reason for asking the question is that the contrary has been very confidently stated in a letter, signed 'Sacerdos Salopiensis,' which appeared in the *Tablet* on the 25th of September. The writer of it says:—"Those who are desirous of gaining the indulgence are at liberty to choose any three days which they may fancy, except the Ember Days, which are expressly excluded in the Brief." He afterwards refers to a decree 'given lately by the Congregation of *Penitenzieria*,' and 'printed by the Right Rev. Dr. Brown, Bishop of Shrewsbury, for the instruction of his clergy.' No reference was made to this decree in the last number of the *Record*. I should like to know whether the statement to which I have referred, can be reconciled with it."

The Decree of the Sacred Penitentiary regarding the present Jubilee will be found in the number of the *Irish Ecclesiastical*

<sup>1</sup> *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, No. LVII. Vol. 6, October, 1869, pp. 22-4.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 39.

*Record* for last August.<sup>1</sup> It was not referred to in the October number because it does not contain the slightest reference to the fast which is required for the Jubilee. In all probability, the writer of the letter in the *Tablet*, confounded the decree of the Penitentiary with a totally different decree, issued by the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences, which was published in the September number of the *Record*. At all events, this is the only decree which has been issued in reference to the fast required for gaining the Jubilee. And in it, the Sacred Congregation, so far from stating that any days out of the Ember weeks may be selected for the Jubilee fast, distinctly declares that out of Lent, no fasting day of obligation can be selected<sup>2</sup>:—*ita ut ad effectum lucrandi Indulgentia omnes dies jejunii ad quod quisque tenetur, et non dies jejuniis quatuor anni temporum dumtaxat, excludantur.*

W. J. W.

## IN SPIRIT AND IN TRUTH.

THE Work "In Spirit and in Truth,"<sup>3</sup> just published, will well repay a careful perusal. The interest of the subject, and the original manner in which it is treated, cannot fail to fix the attention of the most careless reader, while, to the thoughtful and observant mind, it will afford food for much profitable reflection. Ritualism, as is well known, is one of the most prominent questions of the day, and occupies no mean place among the many momentous ones which seem stirring society to its very foundations. The statesman cannot thrust it aside, much as he would wish to do so, when so much besides forces itself upon his troubled mind. How then can those in whose more immediate sphere it lies, hope to escape its importunity?

Ritualism is working in minds which as yet reject the authority of Holy Church, with a power which we can scarcely comprehend, and seems surely tending to ends which those who are most under its influence are least prepared to recognize. How it is perverted by some and condemned by others, who are yet equally in earnest in the search for truth, few

<sup>1</sup> See *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, No. LXI., Vol 6., October, 1869, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> See *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, No. LX., Vol 5., September, 1869, p. 585, and No. LXI., Vol 6., October, 1869, p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> "In Spirit and in Truth." An Essay on the Ritual of the New Testament. 8vo. Longmans, London, 1869, pp. 344.

can imagine who, happily for themselves, are not involved in the controversy. From this strife Catholics generally stand aside, as though it in no wise concerned us. We are content, too often, to smile at the errors of those who dogmatize with the confidence which imperfect knowledge usually inspires, or, in a more generous spirit, to grieve over the short-comings of men who use Catholic language in a Protestant spirit, and of necessity, therefore, stop short of the truth, to which, at times, they seem drawing so nigh. But surely there is another course which charity suggests: for may we not use the occasion this controversy about Ritual affords, to put before the minds of those who thus contend about what they understand so little, the truth which is involved herein, and to point out to both parties in the strife what the Church says on so momentous a subject? The author of this Essay thinks we may, and follows the course which time and circumstances alike suggest.

He enters the lists, Bible in hand, well knowing that no other weapon will be allowed: and lest his name, or that of the great order to which he belongs, should be used as a bar to exclude him from such a field, he enters, with vizor down and shield emblazoned, a nameless knight. Though, in truth, there is something in the way in which he handles his weapons, something in the vigour of his thrust, and the keenness of his glance, which reveal him to those who have ever encountered him before, and tell them what is suggested to others, that the arm is not that of a novice, and that the shield might bear a well-known crest.

This, we suppose, is why the Essay appears anonymously. It is intended alike for Catholics and Protestants, and is left to stand and work its way by its own unaided merits. We imagine that it has strength enough to do so. The subject itself is sufficiently interesting, while the mode of treatment has a charm which will do no little to increase the interest it excites. There is a freshness of style which is as invigorating as a mountain breeze, that combines in a winning way a closeness of reasoning with variety of illustration, a cheerfulness of tone with earnestness and devotion of spirit, a quaintness of humour with a seriousness of purpose, which beguile us on our way through a goodly octavo, and leave us at the end both pleased and instructed, and certainly without any of that acidity of mind which controversial works so generally engender.

Let us briefly point out the task which our Essayist has marked out for himself. He says truly—"a Catholic can scarcely remain an indifferent spectator of a controversy in



which the principles and practice of the Catholic Church are the main topic of dispute, or rather the butt of all contradiction."

"The modern controversy regarding Ritualism comprises two distinct questions:—

"1st. Is that theory of worship in itself true or false?

"2nd. Is it in or out of place in the Anglican Church?

"From the latter of these two questions I hold myself entirely aloof. With Ritualism, as the designation of a school or opinion in the Church of England I have no concern. But by Ritualism is popularly meant that use of religious ceremonial which obtains in the Catholic Church; and it is loudly and repeatedly asserted by innumerable voices that the principles of Catholic Ritualism are not of Christian origin, but are derived from Jewish and from heathen sources. The truth of these assertions is what I have undertaken to discuss."

And then, again, he narrows still further the subject matter of his Essay, and while granting that there is a "close connection in fact, and perhaps even in logic, between Ritual and certain very fundamental principles of religion," he urges that "it by no means follows that we cannot treat of the use of ceremonial without treating, at the same time, of all subjects connected with it."

Thus he resolutely passes over what is sometimes called the Sacramental system, casting, as it were, a longing eye at what is, "no doubt, in itself, by far the most important aspect of Ritualism," and with a self-denial so really heroic, that it carries us back to the figure before suggested of a knight errant, he limits himself to two aspects of Ritualism, which he calls symbolism and magnificence.

And for whom is this Essay intended? Our author shall reply—"I trust that it may not be without interest and profit to my fellow Catholics." . . . "But it is not written primarily for them." "Neither is it intended for those who, of late years, have been called Ritualists in the Church of England." After explaining why, our author continues:—"It is intended as a help towards removing the prejudices of ordinary Protestants." Having this class of readers especially in view, our Essayist pursues the very best, but perhaps the only, method which can succeed:—"An appeal might be made to reason, or to experience, or to tradition; to the Scriptures of the Old Testament, or to those of the new Dispensation. I shall confine myself in those pages to proofs of Catholic theory which may be found in the books of the New Testament." He reads Protestant writers, and finds that this authority is their constant appeal. "Ritualists," one of them

writes, and his language may be taken as a fair sample of the best of the class, "Ritualists talk of the fathers, and carry us back to the third and fourth centuries; *we* talk of the apostles and of our Lord, and carry them back further still, to the apostolic age, to the apostolic precedent, and the inspired apostolic rule." What says our author in reply?

"Thus is the gauntlet confidently cast down, and with equal confidence I take it up. As a Catholic, of course, I do not admit that a question such as this has been left by God to be decided by each man's private opinion; neither do I think that the appeal should be made to the Holy Scriptures alone, before whatever tribunal it is made; nevertheless I believe it will be a work of peace and charity to accept the appeal as it is proposed by Protestants. It has ever been the custom in the Catholic Church to smooth the way towards the acceptance of her teaching, by answering from Scripture the arguments which are derived from Scripture against her. I purpose, then, to "search the Scriptures;" not, however, for the purpose of construction, but of verification. To take the Bible as the sole source of religious knowledge, and to attempt to deduce therefrom a whole system of worship, would only result in adding a new heresy to the formidable list which this treatment of God's word has produced, both in ancient and in modern times. But to take a living system, which appeals to the Bible, and to verify its claims, is a method of seeking truth which has often been pursued successfully."

One passage we must here quote, regarding the spirit in which such inquiries should be conducted, both on account of the great truth which it developes, as well as in illustration of our author's close study of Holy Writ, and the striking manner in which he brings it to bear upon his argument:—"We have a warning in the word of our Divine Lord—'Search the Scriptures, for you think in them to have life everlasting: and the same are they which give testimony of me. But you will not come to me that you may have life.'—(John v. 39, 40)." It is not necessary," our author continues, "to inquire whether those words are a counsel or a reproach. One thing is beyond controversy: it is that men may be great students of Scripture, like the Pharisees; that they may have so much love and veneration for the Word of God as to think to find in it everlasting life, yet, at the same time, they may be so much under the dominion of prejudice and passion as utterly to misunderstand the teaching of Scripture, and to find arguments in it for opposing Him to whom it points. They thus find death where they think to find life."

How many read and argue upon the former now, who little



think upon the comments which the latter affords! But we must hasten on to the discussion itself, and must again let our author, in his own lucid manner, speak for himself.

"I have said that our search through the New Testament would be one of verification: that is, that we should first consider the nature of Catholic Rituals, and then examine whether the teaching of the New Testament seems to be in harmony with it, or to oppose it.

"For the sake of greater clearness the Essay will be divided into three parts:—

"1. Catholic Ritual has certain characteristics, such as splendour, vanity, minuteness, symbolism. Does the New Testament give any sanction to such features in Christian worship?

"This question will occupy the first part.

"2. In the second place, we shall consider what the New Testament tells us of the origin of Christian Ritual. Catholic Ritual professes to be based on tradition, as well as on Scripture. What testimony does the New Testament give us regarding Ritualistic tradition?

"3. Certain great principles or instincts have presided over the foundation and development of Catholic Ritual. Are those principles recognised in the New Testament? This will be the subject of the third part.

"Thus we shall have to consider the character, origin, and formation of Catholic Ritual; not, however, in their fulness, but in their relation to the New Testament."

How our author treats these three divisions of his subject; how close and logical is his reasoning; how firm his grasp, and how skilful, and, withal, how reverential his handling of the Sacred Scripture; how frank is his dealing, and how courteous his bearing towards his opponents; how obvious the nobleness of his aim, which seeks their conversion rather than their confusion, all these high characteristics can be thoroughly realised only by a careful study of the essay itself. The most we can hope to do is to give one or two illustrations, and these our narrow limits require us to mar them of their fair proportions, and to set before our readers in the merest fragments. Let us take that one of the characteristics of Catholic worship which attracts the attention and criticism of strangers most easily, viz., its magnificence and SPLENDOUR.

Here Protestants reckon on an easy victory, when the appeal is to the New Testament. What says the redoubtable Dr. Cumming ("of Scotland,")? "Our Lord's whole life on earth was conducted in the very simplest and plainest manner. Should we not try to imitate His walk, if we are really anxious for religion's sake to act rightly?" "Nearly all the pictures



of our Lord's public life," says Dr. Vaughan, "place him before us under lights which are moral and spiritual, rarely ever in connection with anything simply of a ritual nature. This, by the way, is anything but the Christ which the Jewish fancy or imagination would have given us. But this, too, is what our better intelligence might lead us to expect in one who was about to declare that all such visibilities had served their purpose, and were about to come to an end. Who can imagine Him as taking a part in such gairish pageantries as are now presented to us by men who would be accounted eminently reverential and Christian in their doings?"

How does our author reply to such triumphal queries as this? "I can partly understand that 'a Renan should speak in this tone, since he rejects all that is supernatural in the Gospel, and thinks that the Evangelists coloured, according to their Jewish prejudices, the record even of those events, as to the substance of which they are trustworthy witnesses; but I am indeed surprised that those who accept the four Gospels in their integrity, just as they are accepted by the Catholic Church, should be able to read them over and over again without remarking that, in spite of the humility and simplicity of our Blessed Lord's personal appearance, He is surrounded, from his birth to his ascension, by a ceremonial of God's own creation—so splendid that all the magnificence either of the Jewish temple, or of the most solemn Catholic 'functions,' sinks into insignificance when compared with it.

"There are two very different phases in the life of the Son of God. The writers whom I have quoted seem to forget that that life has its glories, as well as its humiliations. They have considered our Lord as worshipper, but they have neglected to contemplate Him as the object of worship. They have seen that he worshipped in poverty, but they have not seen that He was worshipped in magnificence. They have sought to draw an absolute rule from the poverty of Jesus Christ, which was a passing dispensation for our sake, while they ought to have seen that the true rule for Christian worship should be drawn from His glories which are eternal."

What answer could be more complete than this, every word of which deserves to be carefully weighed? Let us pass on to quote a few illustrations of the great truths here laid down in so masterly a manner. First, there is, what he so beautifully calls, "God's own Ritual of the Nativity." The multitude of the heavenly host which appears to the shepherds, the miraculous star which led the Magi to the Divine child, and their adoration and offering of costly gifts. "Let us examine it," he says; "Is there no appeal here to the senses? Is there no

splendour, no magnificence? Did the brightness of God shine for the mind only, or for the eyes as well? Did the angelic voices sing for the conscience only, or for the ears also? Were the great fear of the shepherds, and the great joy of the Magians mere sensuous excitement? In a word, do we gather from this narrative that men with flesh and blood are to forget that they have senses, in order to worship in spirit and in truth? On the contrary, we see that those angelic beings who by nature are pure spirits, clothe themselves with visible forms and take human voices for no other purpose than to appeal to men's bodily senses, and so lift them up, in a human way, to share their spiritual joy."

And then, in the same strain of real, because unaffected eloquence, he goes on to show that "these miraculous appeals to sense are not confined to the birth of our Redeemer; that they are but the beginnings of a series which, though of course interrupted by His hidden life, glorifies His public ministry, His death and resurrection." And on again, beyond these, the great beginnings, our author, Bible in hand, illustrates from verse and chapter what he so well calls "the emphatic and multiplied Ritualism" of the Church of the Apostles, and closing with "a mere allusion to the signs which shall precede the second coming of our Lord;" he asks "is it reasonable to suppose that the days of the knowledge and worship of Jesus Christ should so open and so close, and that during the whole intermediate period, rites and ceremonial, art and splendour, should be considered as the attributes of a sensuous religion, and not a Spiritual?"

Well does he conclude the chapter, which we have thus briefly epitomized, with words which all would do well to lay to heart, who presume to think slightly of the Church's functions: without going beyond the pages of the New Testament, we have found that God Himself made use of appeals to the senses and imagination far more striking, more splendid, more gorgeous than any which has been at the command of the Catholic Church, in the grandest functions that was ever celebrated beneath the dome of St. Peters.

"What indeed are silken vestments, jewelled mitres, peals of the organ, blaze of tapers, clouds of incense, or any other means used to impress the worshippers in the richest Cathedral of Christendom, compared with the bright clouds, glistening raiment, heavenly voices, dazzling splendours, splitting of rocks, great earthquakes, and mighty winds, which are some of the elements of God's own Ritual of the New Testament."

In conclusion, we commend to our readers this valuable contribution to a momentous controversy, for two purposes—



first, for themselves, "not that they need," our author says, "the proofs which I shall adduce on behalf of the divine character of Catholic Ritual. The Catholic Church is the mother who has taught them to know God. They have knelt, if I may so say, like little children by their mother's side, with hands joined, and with eyes raised to their mother's face. They have seen her inspired and unearthly gaze fixed on the Invisible, and they have learned from her to believe, to hope, to reverence and love. Strangers may need proof that such a mother is devout; it would be an insult to offer them to the child. Yet the child, too, may love to hear his mother's piety defended from detractors; and he may listen willingly to one who speaks to him of its sublimity, and traces it to its divine origin."

But secondly, and chiefly, we commend this Essay to attention, because it will furnish Catholics with materials which are most essential in the present day, when the spirit of enquiry is abroad among Protestants, and when the upturning of old institutions and the consequent disturbance of ancient prejudices and long cherished dreams, open to us channels of approach which once seemed closed for ever. It has ever been in such periods of convulsion that the human mind has shown itself most active, and the heart which had grown hard and cold in the dull impurity of prosperous inactivity, warms and stirs with a new life, around the trials and disquietudes of such epochs. There will be bitterness and evil speaking more than ever, we must needs fear; but, God be praised there are many in the worst of times, who are far otherwise disposed. Our author speaks of such with experience, which we can confirm. "There are some who think evil of Catholic worship," he says, "not because they wish to think evil, but because they have ever heard it spoken of as an evil thing. Yet it is no pleasure to them to believe that the Christian Church throughout the world has apostatized for ages from the purity of the faith, and from worship 'in spirit and in truth.' They have reluctantly believed this to be the case; but the thought of it has lain upon their souls with the oppression of a nightmare. They would willingly be relieved from it, if this could be done without treason to history or religious truth."

How many such are there now, on whom the old sectarian traditions are losing their hold, and whom recent abrupt changes have thrown back upon themselves, when what hitherto upheld them is melting away like ice in the sunshine, or sinking out of sight into the abyss of confusion. Perhaps there is not one among us who will not, from time to time come across



souls such as these, to whom a word of advice or caution in season may be of inestimable value. But what if that word is not ready? What if the wrong word be uttered? The occasion passes away, and with it the opportunity of (it may be) saving a soul. The good intention surely will be there; but how difficult is it for those who have not themselves passed through the ordeal, to enter into the doubts, the sorrows, the distractions which seem inseparable from its passage. To suggest fitting books is again a difficulty, for old books of controversy, which in their day served a purpose, and doubtless served it well, are, in such cases as we are supposing, well nigh useless. And that because the difficulties which now present themselves to inquiring minds are altogether of a different character from those which such books meet. Hence we may estimate the special value of a work like the *Essay* before us. It comes from one who has passed through the trials which he is lessening for others, who from his own experience in years gone by knows the wants of an inquiring spirit, and who from years of active life as a Catholic missionary, knows also how and when alone those yearnings can be satisfied. Do we wish to see what are grave difficulties in the way of the conversion of earnest and sincere Protestants, and how those difficulties may be removed, this *Essay* will enlighten us. Have we occasion to suggest to any such, a work over which they may ponder prayerfully, one that will enlighten without wrangling with them, which will win by its eloquence, elevate by its piety, and lead gently and lovingly into the truth, we cannot do better than put into their hand the work we have thus endeavoured to make known to our readers.

"It is for such I write. . . . I address those on whom the sophisms and calumnies ever resounding in certain pulpits, ever repeated in certain books, have made impression, though they themselves are neither sophists nor revilers. They have little or no intercourse with Catholics, they know the Catholic religion but from the lips of its enemies. There is an enormous prejudice instilled into their souls in earliest years, sedulously fostered by their teachers as they grow older, regarded as a first principle in the society into which they are born, and which is a bar both to the argument of reason and to the sympathies of noble instincts, until it is surmounted—the prejudice that, however, philosophy, art, or poetry, may approve of Catholic worship, yet that the Gospel is its enemy, that on the Gospel it is not based, and to the Gospel it dares not appeal. It is to the removal of this prejudice my efforts are directed. I speak to the prejudiced, I speak not to the obstinate."

## LETTERS OF BALMEZ.

## II.—DIFFICULTY FROM THE MULTIPLICITY OF RELIGIONS.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I am going to discharge the debt I contracted in my last, of answering the difficulty you proposed to me, relative to the divine permission regarding so many and so different religions. This is one of the arguments which the enemies of religion unceasingly bring forth, and which they are accustomed to propose with such an air of security and triumph, that one would think *it* alone was sufficient to destroy our religion entirely. Do not believe that I am trying to escape the difficulty, by shrinking from looking it straight in the face, or to diminish its force by presenting it covered with a veil which disguises it; far from it: on the contrary, I think the best way to surmount it is to represent it in all its magnitude. I will add that I do not deny there is in this a profound mystery, that I do not flatter myself with being able to give entirely satisfactory reasons in declaration of your difficulty; for I am intimately convinced that this is one of the incomprehensible secrets of Providence, which it is not given to man to penetrate. However, I think it appears to many more knotty than it should, and so far am I from believing that it in any way destroys or weakens the Catholic religion, that, on the contrary I think we can discover in its very force a new proof of the truth of our belief.

It is a fact, that the existence of many religions is a grievous evil; this we, Catholics, acknowledge before any one, for it is we who sustain there is but one true religion; that faith in Jesus Christ is necessary for eternal salvation; that it is an absurdity to say that all religions can be equally agreeable to God; in fine, it is we who give such importance to the unity of religious teaching that we consider the alteration of any of our dogmas an immense calamity. From this you may see it is not my intention to attenuate in the least the force of the difficulty, by concealing the gravity of the evil on which it rests; and that in my eyes this evil is greater than it appears to him who makes the objection. No one surpasses, or even equals Catholics in confessing the immensity of that calamity of the human race; because their creed compels them to regard it as the greatest of all. Those who consider all religions false; those who imagine that in any of them man can make himself agreeable to God and gain eternal salvation; those who, while professing one religion, do not at the same time profess the principle of universal charity without distinction of races, can contemplate with less pain those aberrations of humanity; but this cannot be done by Catholics, in whose belief there is no truth or salvation outside the Church, and who are obliged besides to regard all men as their brethren, and to desire from their inmost heart, that they may open their eyes to the light of faith, and enter on the road of eternal salvation. It is easily seen that I do not shrink from the weight of the difficulty, but that I rather endeavour to paint it in lively colours. I am now going to examine its value, presenting it from a point of view, from which unfortunately it is not generally considered,

Logicians have a principle which says, *quod nimis probat nihil probat*; what proves too much proves nothing; which signifies, that when any argument leads not only to the conclusion which we desire, but to some other evidently false, it is of no weight even in proof of what we intended. The reason on which this principle is founded is very clear; what leads to a false result must also be false itself; hence, no matter how species an argument may be, no matter what apparent solidity it may have, from the very fact of leading us to a false conclusion, it supplies us with an infallible sign that it either involves some false statement in the propositions of which it is composed, or some defect of reasoning in their connection,



and consequently in the deduction to which it brings us. If, for example. I try to demonstrate that the sum of the angles of a triangle is greater than a right-angle, and my demonstration proves it is greater than two right-angles, it will be worth nothing, because it proves too much, for it proves an impossibility ; and this result will ever be an infallible sign that there is some defect in my demonstration, so that I can never employ it to prove anything.

Other examples : if, after examining an ancient manuscript, I reject it as apocryphal, and for so doing assign a rule of criticism, from which it would result that others whose authenticity does not admit of a doubt, should be also involved in the condemnation, it is clear I should lay aside my argument, certain of its being ill-conceived ; it proves too much, and consequently proves nothing. If on examining the veracity of a traveller's narration, I assert we should credit his word alleging in support of my assertion certain reasons from which it can be inferred, we should also give credit to other narratives known to be false, my mode of reasoning would be defective because it would prove too much.

Pardon me, my dear friend, if I have dwelt somewhat on the explanation of this principle, which serves in thousands of cases, and of which I intend to make use in the present question ; and from this you may know I do not regard all rules for reasoning aright as useless, and that my want of confidence in philosophers does not extend to everything that is found in philosophy.

Let us apply these principles. The multiplicity of religions is objected to us, Catholics, as if the difficulty embarrassed us alone ; as if all those who profess any religion, be it what it may, should not put up with all the annoyance that can result from it. In fact, if the multiplicity of religions proves anything against the truth of the Catholic, it proves the same against that of all ; so that not only ours falls to the ground, but as many as exist or have existed. Besides, if the difficulty which is raised against the permission of this evil signify anything, it is nothing less than a complete negation of all Providence, that is, a negation of God—Atheism. The reason is obvious ; the evil of the multiplicity of religions is undeniable ; it is before our eyes at the present time, and all history bears irrefragable testimony to the same as having been the case from a very remote period ; if then it be deemed that Providence can permit it, the existence of Providence or God must also be denied.

It may be hence inferred, that the permission of a multitude of religions is a difficulty which embarrasses the Catholic and the Protestant, the idolater and Mussulman, the man who admits any religion whatever, as well as him who professes none, provided he does not deny the existence of God. For example, if a Mahometan comes to me with his Koran and Prophet, pretending that his religion is the true one, and has been revealed by God himself, I can raise this objection to him, saying :—"If your Creed be true, how is it God permits so many others ? If those who live in a religion different from yours are miserably deceived, why does God permit all the countries in the world except yours to be deprived of the light ?" It is impossible for whoever does not deny the existence of God, not to admit his bounty and providence ; a wicked God, a God who takes no care of the work which He himself has created, is an absurdity that can have no place in a well-organized head ; and I will even make bold to say, it is less impossible to conceive Atheism in all its horror and blackness, than the opinion which admits a blind, negligent, and wicked God. Supposing then the existence of a God of bounty and providence, the difficulty proposed above holds good ; how does He permit the human race to err so sadly in that most serious and important affair—religion ? If we be told that God is satisfied with the homage of the creature, no matter what belief he professes, or in what form he offers Him the tribute of the expression of his gratitude and respect, we will ask, how is it possible that in the eyes of a Being of infinite truth, truth and error could be quite indifferent ? How is possible to conceive that in the eyes of infinite sanctity, sanctity and abomination can be indifferent ? How is it possible that a God, infinitely wise, infinitely good, infinitely provident, should not have provided his creatures with some means of arriving at the truth, of knowing the manner most pleasing to Him, of presenting their homage and supplications. If the various religions had only some slight differences between them, the absurdity of regarding them all as good, would be less repugnant, but it must be recollected, that almost all are diametrically opposed in most important points ; that some



admit one God, and others adore many ; that some recognise freewill in man, and others reject it ; that some establish the creation as a fundamental principle, and others are pleased with the eternity of matter : bring to mind the enormous vanity of their respective dogmas, of their code of morals, of their worship, and say if it be not the greatest absurdity to suppose that God can be satisfied with adorations so contradictory.

See, my esteemed friend, how applicable to this question is the dialectic principle I mentioned above ; and how a difficulty, which some persist in directing exclusively against Catholics, does not regard them alone, but all men who profess any part of religion, even pure Atheists themselves. What should be done in such cases ? How can so great difficulties be obviated ? Here is the path, which, in my conception, a sensible and prudent man should follow ; here is his manner of arguing conformably with reason :—"The evil exists, it is true ; but that Providence also exists, is no less certain ; apparently these are two things which cannot exist together ; but as you know for certain they exist, this apparent contradiction is not enough to make you deny their existence ; what you should do then is to seek a means of removing this contradiction, and in case you cannot possibly discover one, to attribute this impossibility to your own debility."

If we mark it well we shall find, that in the most ordinary affairs of life, we make use of a like train of reasoning. We find ourselves in presence of two facts, whose co-existence appears impossible, for in our judgment they exclude each other, they are repugnant ; but do we obstinately deny, for all that, that the two facts exist, when we have motives sufficient to give us entire certainty of it ? Certainly not. "This is a mystery to me" we say "I do not understand it ; it appears impossible that it could be so, yet I see it is." We then, if the matter be worth the trouble, seek for a secret reason to explain the mystery ; but if we cannot succeed, we do not on that account believe ourselves justified in rejecting these facts, of the existence of which we cannot doubt, no matter how contradictory they may appear.

From this you may see, my esteemed friend, that an inconceivable blindness often prevents us from employing in the examination of the most important religious truths, those prudential rules of which we avail ourselves in our most ordinary affairs ; and we reject as offensive to our independence and the dignity of our reason, that line of conduct which we do not hesitate to follow continually in the direction and arrangement of the most insignificant business.

So impressed on my mind are these principles inspired by sound logic and prudence, that they are of service to me in many other difficulties against religion, and do not suffer me to become disturbed in sight of the obscurity I discover in them, and which in my weakness I am unable to remove. What considerations more dreadful than those suggested by the terrible difficulty of reconciling human liberty with the dogmas of prescience and predestination ? If a man attend to nothing but the certainty and infallibility of the divine prescience, he becomes horror-stricken ; he is affrighted at the bare consideration of the immutability of destiny ; the blood freezes in his veins at the thought that before he was born God knew what his destiny would be ; but as soon as he reflects for an instant, recovering from the terror and desperation which had seized on him, he finds sufficient motives for quieting himself, he here discovers a mystery, fearful, it is true, but which does not depress or dispirit him.

Are you free, he says to himself, to do good or evil ? Yes, you are ; you cannot doubt it ; faith proclaims it, reason dictates it ; you have an internal feeling of it, and that, too, so palpable, so infallible, that you are not more certain of your existence than you are of your free will. Then it matters not that you do not comprehend how this liberty can be reconciled with the prescience of God.

Should this mystery, which I do not comprehend, alter my conduct in any way, rendering me careless about doing good, and negligent in avoiding evil ? Is it prudent, is it logical to think that, let me do what I may, what God has foreseen will ever take place, and that, consequently, all my efforts to follow the path of virtue are vain ? No. And why ? Because what proves too much proves nothing ; for if this reasoning would hold good, it would follow I should not take care of my temporal affairs either, because in the end nothing can become of them but what God has foreseen. For the same reason it would follow that I should not eat to support myself, nor cover myself from the inclemency of the weather, nor

walk with care when passing along the edge of a precipice, nor use medicine when I feel ill, nor get out of the way when a runaway horse is dashing right on top of me, nor try to get out of a house when it is coming down about me, and hundreds of other mad things of this sort ; that is, that the following such a rule would deprive me of common sense, would make me a complete madman. Hence the rule is false, hence it is of no service to me, hence what I have to do is to leave to God his incomprehensible secrets, and conduct myself as a sensible, judicious, and prudent man.

To this are most of the difficulties that are raised against religion reduced; viewed superficially, they present a terrifying front ; examined closely, on touching them with the wand of reason and good sense, they disappear like fleeting phantoms.

Let us see, now, if we can discover why God permits such a multitude of religions—such a shapeless mass of errors—in a point of such interest to the human species. I am not able to discover the explanation of this mystery, except in another mystery, that is, in the Roman Catholic dogma about the prevarication of Adam, and the consequent degeneration of his posterity. *Sin*, and its consequent punishment, *darkness in the intellect, corruption in the will*; behold the formula for solving the problem. Turn over history, consult philosophy ; they will tell you nothing that can enlighten you, unless they appeal to this fact—mysterious, obscure—but which, as Paschal says, is less incomprehensible to man than man himself is without it.

This is the only key for deciphering the enigma; by it only can we explain those lamentable aberrations of the greater part of humanity; there is no other means for giving a plausible explanation of this immense calamity, nor of many others which affect the unfortunate offspring of the first prevaricators. The dogma is incomprehensible, it is true, but dare to reject it and the world becomes changed into a chaos, and the history of humanity is nothing but a series of catastrophes without reason or object, and the life of the individual is a chain of miseries, and you will nowhere discover anything but evil, and evil without counterpoise, without compensation ; all ideas of order, of justice; become confounded in your mind, and rejecting the creation, you end by denying God.

Establish on the contrary this dogma as a corner stone ; the edifice rises of itself, a most vivid light is cast on the pages of the history of the human race ; you discover profound reasons, adorable designs, where once you saw nothing but injustice or chance; and the series of events from the creation to our days is spread out before your eyes, like a magnificent painting in which you find the works of an inflexible justice, and of an inexhaustible mercy, combined and harmonized in the ineffable plan traced out by the finger of infinite wisdom.

If, then, you ask me why so considerable a portion of humanity sits in the darkness and shadow of death, I will tell you that our first father wished to be as God, knowing good and evil, that his sin has been transmitted to all his posterity, and that in just punishment of his pride the human race is afflicted with blindness. This great calamity does not require we should point out any other source for it than the common one of all the others that afflict us. The terrible words that followed the calling of Adam, when God said to him—"Adam, where art thou?" sound sadly, even yet, after so many centuries. And in all the events of history, in the whole course of life, the terrible flash of the sword of fire, placed at the entrance of Paradise, is seen. The *sweat of the brow—death*—are apparent in every direction. Nowhere shall you find that things follow the ordinary course ; the formidable standard of punishment and expiation will ever meet your gaze.

The more one meditates on these truths the more profound will he find them : *in sudore vultus tui vesceris pane*, "you shall eat your bread with the sweat of your brow," God said to our first father ; and with this sweat does his whole posterity eat it. Examine that penalty, and make the application to as many objects as you please, and you shall find none excepted from it. *Man does not live on bread alone, but on every word that proceedeth from the mouth of God*; the terrible penalty, then, is not verified solely with respect to the morsel of bread with which we sustain ourselves, but in everything that concerns our perfection. Man advances in nothing without painful toil ; he never reaches the point he desires without many wanderings that fatigue him; in everything is it realised—that the earth, instead of fruit,



gives him *briars and thistles*. Has he to discover a truth?—he will not come at it except after pursuing extravagant errors for a long time. Has he to bring an art to perfection?—hundreds and hundreds of useless attempts will fatigue those who occupy themselves with it, and it is fortunate if the grandchildren reap the fruit of what their grandfathers sowed. Has the social and political organization of a State to be improved?—bloody revolutions precede the desired regeneration; and frequently, after prolonged sufferings, the unfortunate country is left in a worse state than it groaned in before. Has the civilization and culture of one people to be communicated to another?—the inoculation must be effected with fire and sword; entire generations are sacrificed to obtain a result which but very distant ones will behold. You will not find genius without great misfortunes: nor the glory of a people without torrents of blood and tears; nor the exercise of virtue without painful disgusts; nor heroism without persecution; the beautiful, the grand, the sublime, is not attained without protracted toil, nor preserved without fatiguing labour; the law of punishment and of expiation is met with in some terrible form in all directions. This is the history of man and humanity—a history sad, indeed, but incontestible, authentic, written in fatal letters wherever the sons of Adam have imprinted their footsteps.

I know not why, my esteemed friend, this point of view has not attracted attention more, or why philosophers should become scandalized at the dogmas of religion, which are found to be in such harmony with what the annals of all times and daily experience are continually proclaiming. The prevarication and degeneration of the human race is the secret to the deciphering of the enigmas about life and the destiny of man; and if to this be added the adorable mystery of the reparation, purchased with the blood of the Son of God, there is formed the most admirable system imaginable—a system so sublime that at the very first glance it manifests its divine origin. A combination so astonishing could not spring from human head; finite intelligence could not conceive a plan so vast, so stupendous, in which one secret should be interlaced in such a way with another that from the depth of their awful obscurity they would cast forth rays of most vivid light to illustrate and solve all the questions that philosophy was continually raising about the origin and destiny of man.

This is the principal part of what I had to say about the difficulties you proposed. I know not whether you will be entirely satisfied; be that as it may, what I can assure you of, with all the sincerity and conviction of which I am capable, is, that in the works of all the philosophers, from Plato to Cousin, you will find nothing about this subject with which a man of solid sense could be content, if it be not taken from religion. They know it, and they themselves confess it. Once they have begun to doubt of the divinity of Christianity, they know not at what to grasp; they accumulate system on top of system, words on top of words; if they be not of a lofty frame of mind, they abandon the task of investigating, disgusted at not discerning in any quarter of the horizon a ray of light, and sink into *positiveness*, or, in other words, they endeavour to take all they can out of life by enjoying its convenience and pleasures; if their soul has been created for science, if, thirsting after truth, she consents not to abandon the task of seeking it, no matter how great the toil may be, and how evident the inutility of her endeavours, they suffer during their whole life, and end their days with doubt in their intellect, and sorrow in their heart.

At present, an enthusiast as you are of philosophy, and admirer of certain names, you will not easily comprehend all the truth and exactness of my words; but a day shall come when you will recollect them, ay, even long before silvery hairs shall whiten your head. You shall not require that old age loaded with lessons and disenchantments, should come to open your eyes. I know not if you will open them to see and embrace the true religion, but you shall at least to perceive the futility of all the philosophical systems with relation to the origin, life, and destiny of man. What more? Why, you will not even require to study them deeply to become profoundly convinced of the impotence of the human mind when abandoned to its own resources; in the very vestibule of the temple of philosophy, you will discover doubt and skepticism; and penetrating into her sanctuary you will hear pride disputing about matters of little worth, occupying herself in playing on symbolical and unintelligible words, and endeavouring, as far as possible, to

conceal her ignorance by eluding with an affected pretention the questions which interest us most, such as those relative to God and man. Do not allow yourself to be dazzled by the various titles with which the different systems decorate themselves, nor abandon yourself to a superstitious credence with respect to the pretended mysteries of the German philosophy, nor regard as profoundness of science obscurity of language. Let us not forget that simplicity is the character of truth, and that he who ventures not to present them to the light of day places little confidence in his discoveries. These so vaunted philosophers who live surrounded by darkness like workmen engaged in rich mines in the bowels of the earth, why do they not show us the pure gold they have obtained? Some other day, if an opportunity present itself, we shall enter anew into this discussion. In the meantime,

I remain,

Your most affectionate friend,

J. B.

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## DOCUMENTS.

### DECREE OF THE S. CONGREGATION OF RITES, REGARDING THE OFFICE FOR THE DEAD.

Reverendissimus Vicarius-Generalis Dioeceseos Fernen. sequens dubium Sacrae Congregationi de Propaganda Fide proposuit : nempe ; An, stante decisione Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis, quod, Missa de requie cum cantu celebrata, absolutio ad tumulum facienda sit a celebrante nisi adsit Episcopus, possit, Episcopo absente, eadem absolutio fieri a Vicario-Generali, etsi non celebraverit ?

Quum autem hoc dubium a praedicta Sacra Congregatione ad S. C. Sacrorum Rituum pro opportuna solutione fuisset transmissum, eadem juxta alias decreta respondendum censuit :

*Negative.* Die 6 Septembris, 1869.

C. Episcopus Portiens. et P. Rufinae

Card. PATRIZI, S. R. C., Praefectus.

Pro. R. P. D. DOMINICO BARTOLINI, Secretario

JOSEPHUS CICCOLINI, Substitutus.

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## SHORT NOTICES OF BOOKS.

1. "A Catholic History of Scotland since the Reformation," by Rev. T. F. S. Gordon, D.D., Glasgow, 1869.

We are not a little surprised that Dr. Gordon should have given such a title to the work which he has published, and we are still more surprised that the Catholic newspapers in England should have eulogised the work, and admitted its claim as a *Catholic History of Scotland*. The author is a Scotch Protestant clergyman, and it is seldom that such gentlemen favour us with Catholic productions. At all events the present work is not a "Catholic History of Scotland." It is an Appendix to Dr. Gordon's *Scotichronicon* and *Monasticon*, which works betray the Protestant leaven at every page. The stories of John



Knox regarding the Anti-Reformation Bishops, are accepted as authentic history, and the vilest calumnies are proposed to the reader as unquestionable truths. If the Appendix to such works had been entitled a "journal," or "the correspondence" of bishop Hay, who was Vicar-Apostolic in Scotland from the year 1769 to 1811, we would not, perhaps, have quarrelled with the author, although the many inaccuracies in proper names, and the one-sided view which is adopted in regard to the Jesuits would more than justify a severe criticism. But we protest against such a work being styled a History of the Catholic Church in Scotland. It gives no history of the Catholic Church under Mary Stuart—no history of the sufferings of the Catholics under James VI.—no history of the Irish missionaries who laboured in Scotland under Charles I. and Charles II. All this eventful period in the history of the Scottish Church is passed over in a few pages, whilst the memoir and correspondence of Bishop Hay occupy the whole work. Dr. Hay, indeed, was the pillar of faith in Scotland for more than forty years, and well deserves that his memory should be revered. His life should be written, and we hope that some one acquainted with the subject may undertake the task. The work which bears Dr. Gordon's name is far from exhausting the abundant materials which exist, for such a life. Many other letters of that illustrious bishop are to be met with both in public and in private collections, and a rich literary harvest will be sure to repay the labour and researches of whoever will devote his energies to this task.

2. "Discourses on some Parables of the New Testament," by C. B. Garside, M. A., Priest of the Diocese of Westminster, &c., London, Burns, Oates & Co., 1869.

We earnestly commend this volume to our readers. It is not a literal commentary on the Scriptural text of the Parables of our Divine Lord; but it is a series of practical instructions addressed to mixed congregations, and having for their groundwork the three great Parables of the Prodigal Son, the Sower, and the Ten Virgins.

3. "Devotion to the Nine Choirs of Holy Angels," translated from the French of M. Boudin, by Edward Healy Thompson, M. A., London. Burns, Oates, & Co., 1869.

Mr. Thompson has already earned a wide-spread fame by his contributions to religious literature. The style of the present translation is everything that we could desire, whilst at the same time the popularity which the original work has attained in France is a sure guarantee of its intrinsic merits. It would be difficult to find another work on the subject dictated with equal simplicity, unction, and power.

## MONASTICON HIBERNICUM;

OR,

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE ANCIENT  
MONASTERIES OF IRELAND.

[N.B.—The text of the “Monasticon” is taken *verbatim* from Archdall: the notes marked with numbers are added by the Editors.]

## COUNTY OF CARLOW.

(Continuation of Note 1, from page 48.)

churchyard are the remnant of a rude stone cross, and outside the enclosure to the north is a perfect cross six feet in height. There were formerly three stone crosses at Nurney.

*Kiltinnel*, also pronounced *Kintinnel*, is a corruption of the Irish word *Kilt-Sinchill*, i.e., “Ecclesia Sinchelli.” In Kiltinnel are the ruins of an ancient church 16 yards long and 7 yards broad. It has a plain slab, with the inscription: “Underneath lieth the body of Mr. Edmond Byrne, jun., who departed this life December 3, 1768, aged 33 years. Also the body of Mr. Edmond Byrne, of Spawhill, his father, who departed this life June the 16th, 1770, aged 72 years. Requiescant in pace.” The more modern chapel, now also in ruin, was 9 yards long and 15 feet broad, and was built in the beginning of the last century. In a recess at north-east corner is placed a stone with armorial bearings, and the motto: “In Domini confido,” and the inscription: “Captain Edmond Byrne erected this chapel, and Doctor Edmond Byrne, Archbishop of Dublin consecrated the same, 1709.” There is a well in the townland called Tobermodalowan, the Irish Tober-Modalamhan, about a quarter of a mile from the old church.

Ballyellen, i.e. *Baile-Ailin*, retains a portion of the old church. The length was 18 yards, and the breadth 8 yards. Inside the church is a tombstone with the inscription: “Dionysius O’Ryan de Bally-ellen Generosus et uxor.....fieri fecerunt 4 Die Octobris, A.D. 1625.”

*Lorum*. On the map of Mercator it is marked *Glorum*, Seward calls it *Lowran*, and tradition says there was a church and Round Tower here. St. Molaise’s day was formerly celebrated here. His well lies about a hundred perches to the east of the church.

In Donore townland is the site of a church called “*Kilmolappogue*,” and within 30 perches of it a well of the same saint. (See “Annals of Four Masters,” at 1041). It is, perhaps, the place marked on Mercator’s map *Kilmalogue*; and the well in some of the Ordnance papers is written *St. Malaugh’s* well.

*Clonagoose*, i.e., in Irish, *Cluain-nag-cluash*. On Mercator’s map it is marked *Clongash*. There are still the ruins of an old church there, and Lady-well lies 120 yards to S.E. of the church. The patron day was held on the last Sunday in June. No mention is made of any of these ancient churches by Archdall.

It is still more surprising that he makes no mention of the town of Carlow, which gave name to the present county. It was known in ancient times as *Catharlach*, and in the Irish preface to “Keating’s History” it is called *Ceatharlach*. It is generally supposed to mean *Cathair-lach*, i.e. “The Castle of the River.” Mr. Curry, however, translates it “*The Quatriple Lough*,” as taking its name from *four lakes*. It is situated at the junction of the Burrin with the Barrow, and it is thought that much of the district was formerly covered with water.

Many details regarding the civil history of the town may be seen in Ryan’s “History of Carlow.” We shall only add that in the additions to Gough’s “Camden,” mention is made of the “ruins of a fine abbey, founded about the year



*Achad Finglass*<sup>2</sup> was also called Achad Arglass, near Leighlin,

634," as still extant in the town of Carlow. Some ruins of an old abbey may still be seen a few perches from the Castle, and it is traditionally known as St. Mary's Abbey. Near Oak Park there was a small Franciscan friary, founded by the Cooke family, the former proprietors of the estate. Browne Hill and Viewmount also occupy the site of a venerable religious establishment called St. Kieran's Abbey.

<sup>2</sup>*Achadh-Finglais* has been identified by the Ordnance Survey with *Agha*, which is situated about two miles from Leighlin-bridge. The word *Achadh*, which means a plain, is pronounced *Augha* precisely as Agha is called by the Irish-speaking population. At Agha may still be seen the ruins of a church which dates from the earliest period of our Christian era. It is thus described in the Ordnance Survey Letters: "Its length inside is 45½ feet, and its breadth is 15½. At the height of five feet from the ground begins a window on the east gable, which is 3 feet 8 inches broad at the bottom, has a semicircular arch of chiselled granite stones at top, to the spring of which the window is 3 feet high. The height of the arch, three feet, being added to this, makes the whole height (of the window) 8 feet. The sides as well as the arch are built with chiselled granite stones." There is another window in the south side-wall, with "a rectilineally-pointed arch."

"The door is on the west gable; 3 feet 6½ inches wide; 6 feet 3½ inches in height; the breadth at top is 3 feet 5 inches. The side walls, which seem to retain their original height, rise about 11 feet 9 inches."

Subsequently it is added, regarding this church: "It is referable to as early a period as history places an establishment at Achadh-Finglais." At the south-west corner of the old church there is a large stone which in olden times was the pedestal of a monumental cross.

In the "Life of St. Fintan, of Clonenagh," published from the "Book of Kilkenny," by Colgan (Ach. SS. p. 352), the site of *Achadh-Finglais* is described as situated "in the district of Hydrone, opposite to the city of Leighlin (*i.e.* Old Leighlin), and to the east of the Barrow." All this agrees perfectly with Agha, which is in the barony of Idrone east, and at the opposite side of the Barrow from Old Leighlin, the river with the modern town of Leighlin-bridge being about half-way between these ancient religious establishments.

St. Fintan, the founder of the great monastery of Clonenagh, lived for some time towards the close of his life in this monastery of *Achadh-Finglais*. In his life we read: "A certain holy bishop named Brandubh, a wise, meek, and humble man, from the district of Hy-Kinsealach, which is the most remarkable part of Leinster, came to St. Fintan to embrace a religious life under his guidance; and the holy bishop found the abbot St. Fintan in the monastery which is called *Achadh-Finglaiss*, in the district of Hy-drone, opposite to the city of Leighlin, to the east of the River Barrow. The holy abbot was rejoiced at the arrival of the bishop, and said to him: "O holy pastor! what do you desire among us?" The bishop replied: "Most worthy father, I desire to close my days in your renowned monastery." Then St. Fintan softly said to him, "I wish you rather to remain observantly and tranquilly in this monastery than to come to my hard monastery; for the burden of my monastery is very severe." The bishop replied: "Hitherto I have imposed a yoke on others, now I hope to devote my life to God under the yoke of others; I therefore offer myself to God and to you; whatsoever you command I will perform; one request alone I shall make, that if you should be called to God before me, I may not long survive, and that you will come to meet my soul." St. Fintan said: "God will grant you this petition." At the end of three years the blessed Father, Fintan, passed to heaven from the monastery of Clonenagh, and the holy bishop, who, in obedience to the saint, had remained in the above monastery, hearing of this, said to the brethren: "I know that I shall soon exchange this miserable life for the kingdom of God, as St. Fintan promised to me." After a few weeks the attendant of the holy bishop saw in a vision, as if an opening were made in the hut in which the bishop dwelt, and seven persons arrayed in white garments, and encircled with a heavenly light, came to that

on the east of the river Barrow, in the barony of Idrone. There was an abbey founded here, of which St. Fintan was abbot; he died on the 17th of February, long before the end of the 6th century.<sup>o</sup> St. Aid was also abbot here, but in what year is uncertain; his festival is held on the 11th of April.<sup>p</sup> This abbey has been of some note in A.D. 864, for in that year it was pillaged by the Danes.<sup>q</sup>

*Athaddy*.<sup>3</sup> About the year 1151 an abbey was founded here, for the nuns of the order of St. Augustin, by Dermot, the son of Murchard, King of Leinster; he appointed it to be a cell to the nunnery of St. Mary de Hoggis, in the city of Dublin.<sup>r</sup>

*Bally M'William-roë*;<sup>4</sup> near Clonegall, was built by the

<sup>o</sup>Act. SS. p. 353, 354. <sup>p</sup>Calendar. <sup>q</sup>Act. SS. p. 353. <sup>r</sup>War. Mon.

opening, and one of them cried out: "Come thence, holy bishop, delay no longer, for we have been sent to meet thy soul, and behold your Father, Fintan, of wondrous sanctity, comes also to you." Now, it was in a little cell separated from the above place that the bishop and his attendant were; and the attendant, awakening, took a burning light and approached the spot where the bishop reposed, but found that his spirit was already fled. All this the attendant narrated to the brethren, who then interred the holy remains, and glorified God in both his saints." (*Acta SS. p. 352*).

From this passage we learn that *Achadh-Finglais* was not a monastery of St. Fintan, but was probably of a much earlier foundation; and that it was hallowed by the remains of the holy Bishop Brandubh. This was probably the Bishop Brandubh whose name is entered in the "Martyrology of Donegal," June 3rd. St. Fintan was a near relative of St. Brigid, and died about the year 580.

In the townland of Ratheadon (marked *Rahedin* on Mercator's map), not far from Agha, there was another ancient church and burial-place. A portion of the walls still remains. The name *Ratheadon* is equivalent to *Rath-Ædain*, i.e. "Arx Ædani." From a poem quoted in the "Four Masters," at A.D. 906, it would appear that this was the residence of the Lords of Hy-Drone. There are still two Rathes in the townland of Ratheadon.

In the fragments of "Irish Annals" published for I. A. S. in 1860, by O'Donovan, it is recorded, at A.D. 866, that: "Sruthair (now Shrule, near Carlow,) and Sletty and Achadh-Arglais were plundered by the Gentiles."

<sup>3</sup> *Athaddy*, called *Athade* by Lewis, in his "Topographical Dictionary," is now generally known as *Ahade*, or *Aghada*; in Irish it is *Ath-fada*, i.e., "the Long Ford." This name extends back to Pagan times, and is mentioned in the Book of Ballymote, in connection with Niall of the Nine Hostages. There is still a Crom-leach very near Ahade, as well as several pillar stones, channelled on all sides from the top to the middle. Near the present Protestant church there is a holy well, as also what seems to be a very old baptismal font. The modern church probably occupies the site of the old abbey. It is about two and a half miles to the south of Tullow, and adjoins the road leading to Newtownbarry. It is prettily situated on gently elevated ground, and a rivulet running close to the churchyard adds to the beauty of the scene.

<sup>4</sup> *Bally-mac-William Roe*, as Lewis tells us, was another name for *Ballymoon*, in the County Carlow. It is situated a few miles from Leighlinbridge, on the road to Enniscorthy. According to Dr. Lanigan (*Eccles. Hist.* iii, 351) it was here the famous battle was fought in which St. Cormac Mac Culennan, King and Abp. was killed; and although O'Donovan, in Annals of Four Masters (ad. an. 903) contends that Ballaghmoon, in the south of the County Kildare, was the scene of this



Knights Templars about the year 1300; it stands on a fine situation, and was of great extent.<sup>s</sup>

*Killarge*.<sup>5</sup> In the reign of King John, Gilbert de Borard founded a preceptory here, under the invocation of St. John the Baptist, for Knights Templars, but on the downfall of that order it was granted to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem.<sup>t</sup>

A.D. 1326. Friar William de Tisudelm was preceptor.<sup>n</sup>

Friar William de Fyndum was preceptor<sup>w</sup> the same year.

1327. Friar William de Wall was preceptor.<sup>x</sup>

1335. Friar Ralph de Bradley was preceptor.<sup>y</sup>

Nicholas Plunket was the last commendator, and the inquisition taken the Wednesday next after the feast of St. Branden, 33rd King Henry VIII. finds him seized of a castle and three messuages in Frereton, with two messuages, one hundred acres of arable land, and sixty-six of pasture and underwood in Courton, annual value, besides reprises, £5; one hundred and sixty acres in the said town and in Russelston, and sixteen acres in Tollophelim, annual value, besides reprises, 4s.; also the following rectories appropriated to the said preceptor, Killarge, which extendeth into Killarge, Frereton, and Courton of Killarge, Russelston, Besthereston, Curdineth, and Ballyurayn, annual value, besides reprises, £8; Kylmakill, which extendeth into Kylmakill, Carydogh, Castlecoyle, Grangewelt, Poleston, Ballyshordan, and Ballynwaly, annual value, besides reprises, £7; also Powerston, in O'Ryan's country, annual

<sup>s</sup>*Tour through Ireland*, 1748, p. 226. <sup>t</sup>*War. Mon.* <sup>n</sup>*King p.* 82. <sup>w</sup>*Id.* p. 38. <sup>x</sup>*Id.* p. 84. <sup>y</sup>*Id.* p. 28.

battle, many of our best antiquarians still adhere to the former opinion. All the ancient authorities agree in placing the scene of the battle in the plain of Magh-Ailbhe, near Leighlin-bridge. (See extract from the Tract *Cath-bealaigh-Mughna*, in notes to Annals of F. M. *loc. cit.*; and "Fragments of Irish Annals," I. A. S., page 204). In one of Usher's MSS., (F. 4, 30, Lib. T.C.D.), there is the following curious fragment which may serve in some way to identify this place: "Near the city of Leighlin (i. e., old Leighlin), on the opposite bank of the river, there is a certain hill called Bennree, i. e., the Hill of the King (*Sublimitas Regis*) on which it is commonly said (*vulgariter fertur*), "that Cormac O'Cullenan, King of Munster, of the race of the MacCarthies . . . was killed, and his body was brought to Cashel to be interred in a special chapel. In memory of that deed all the Munstermen, to the present day who pass the bridge of Leighlin, cast a stone towards the Black Castle, situated at the foot of the bridge, and say 'Remember Cormac.' *Memento Cormaci.*" (fol. 217, b).

<sup>5</sup> *Killarge* gave name to the modern parish of *Killerig*, where there is an old churchyard in which portions of the east gable of the ancient church are still standing, whilst the floor of the old church enclosure is used as a place of burial. In the parish of Killerig there is a district called *Frerton*, or *Friarstown*—in Irish "*Baile na m-brathar*," which seems to mark the site of some ancient religious foundation. On Mercator's map it is called "Freyers-town." On the same map is also marked "Courte-Kyllaryk," between Friarstown and Johnstown. This is undoubtedly the *Courton* mentioned in some mediæval records.

value, besides reprises, 20s. And another inquisition taken in March same year finds, that the said commendator was seized of fourteen acres of land in Miganne; all the said lands and rectories lye and are situated in the county of Carlow.—(*Chief Remembrancer*).

1337. Friar Ralph continued preceptor.<sup>z</sup>

1339. Friar John de Wafingle was preceptor.<sup>a</sup>

Queen Elizabeth granted this commendery parcel of the estate of the hospital of Kilmainham, near Dublin, to Mary, the wife of Gerald Aylmer, December 12, 1590.<sup>b</sup>

*Kilfortcharn*<sup>6</sup> was a noble monastery in the territory of

<sup>a</sup>King, p. 7. <sup>a</sup>Id. p. 83. <sup>b</sup>Lodge, vol. 4, p. 244, note 188.

<sup>6</sup> In the parish of Sliguff there is a townland of *Killoughternane*—in Irish, “*Kill-Uchtarnan*.” i. e., “St. Fortchern’s Church,” where there are still the walls of a very remarkable ancient church. In the ordnance survey papers it is stated that “this primitive church, judging from the ruins that remain, certainly belonged to the fifth century.” St. Fortchern was venerated here, and throughout the barony of Idrone on the 11th of October.

St. Fortchern was among the first disciples of St. Patrick. He was the son of Feidhlimidh, who was son of Laoghaire, King of Ireland. His mother’s name was Scothnoe, and he was a native of Britain. The history of St. Fortchern’s conversion is thus given in the Book of Armagh:—“But when St. Patrick, with his holy companions in voyage, had arrived in Ireland, he left St. Lomman at the mouth of the Boyne to guard the ship forty days and forty nights; and he remained another period of forty days in addition to those commanded by Patrick; then as commanded by his master, he proceeded, under the guidance of the Lord, against the stream, as far as the ford of Trim, to the door of the house of Feidhlimidh, son of Laoghaire. And when it was morning, Foithchern, son of Feidhlimidh, found him reciting the Gospel, and, filled with admiration for the Gospel and its doctrine, straightway believed, and a fountain having been opened in that place he was baptized in Christ by Lomman. And he stayed with him until his mother came to seek him, and she rejoiced at seeing him, for she was a British woman. And she also believed in like manner, and returned back to her house and told to her husband all things that had happened unto herself and unto her son. Feidhlimidh rejoiced at the coming of the cleric, for his wife was of the Britons—that is Scothnoe, daughter of the king of the Britons. . . . . Lomman remained with Fortchern at the ford of Trim until Patrick came to them, and built a church with them, the twenty-second year before the church of Armagh was founded.” (*Book of Armagh*, fol. 16.) It is added that Fortchern, in obedience to St. Lomman, allowed himself on the death of this saint to be consecrated Bishop of Trim, but that in three days he resigned his charge and set out in search of a life of greater humility and solitude. The spot chosen by him for his retreat, which subsequently bore his name, and became one of the chief religious establishments of the kingdom, was the *Killoughternan*, of which we treat. By a corruption of name it is called “*Ecclesia Roscurensis*,” in the life of St. Finnian of Clonard. “To this retreat, as to a school of sanctity and wisdom,” writes Colgan, “there came many seeking for instruction in literature and virtue, who in after times were eminent for their piety and learning, amongst whom, to the great lustre of this school, St. Fortchern merited to have as his disciple St. Finnian of Clonard, who was subsequently the instructor of the greatest saints of Ireland, and the father of three thousand monks.” (*Acta SS.*, page 365). St. Fortchern died about the year 500. His festival was kept at Trim on the 17th of February, and in Idrone on the 11th of October.

The parish of *Sliguff*, in which *Killuchtarnan* is situated, has also at Sliguff the ruins of another ancient church, which, with its adjoining burial ground, occupies

(*To be continued.*)



[NEW SERIES.]

# THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

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DECEMBER, 1869.

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## LESSONS FROM THE MIDDLE AGES.

WE are happy to insert the following Inaugural Address, read by Mr. W. DILLON, Auditor, at the opening meeting of the Historical Society of the Catholic University, November, 1869.

After some introductory remarks, the Auditor said :—

In looking over the subjects of our debates during last session, it struck me that the great majority concerned questions of a political nature, either contemporary, or of comparatively recent date ; questions, regarding which the only sources of information are, as a general rule, newspapers and periodicals. Of the remaining non-political subjects, some are literary, and a few historical ; and of these historical subjects all, with one exception, refer to the events of the last two centuries. This is very natural. These modern and political subjects are more exciting, more generally interesting, more popular, if I may use the expression. But, I would ask you, gentlemen, what are our aims, what the advantages we hope for, the ends we seek in this Society ? To train ourselves as speakers ? To teach us to clothe our ideas in suitable language, and thus to express them with ease and grace ? Certainly, this is one of our special aims, but not our only one. No, the principal and highest aim of our Society is, in truth, to assist in the real education of the young men who take part in it ; and “education,” as Dr. Newman says, “is a high word ; it is nothing less than a formation of the mind ; it is the prepara-

tion for knowledge, and it is the imparting of knowledge in proportion to that preparation." In an Historical Society we should really study history ; patiently, earnestly, with a true desire to learn its lessons, enlarge our views, and acquire that calm, enlightened, philosophic habit of mind which should result from familiarity with its varied experiences and examples. However, gentlemen, it is not my intention, to-night, to enter into a discussion of the advantages to be derived from the study of history as a whole. This is a question, which, from the very fact of its being, perhaps, the best that could be selected on such an occasion as the present, has already formed the subject of so many inaugural addresses, that I fear I could do little more than repeat ideas which you have already heard much better expressed. Presuming, then, that you are all convinced of the advantages of historical studies in general, what I wish to impress on you this evening is, that we, the members of this Society, should especially study, not those scenes and events which chance to catch the fancy, and help out most readily a brilliant speech, but those periods of history which afford the teaching most needful in our day, the examples most useful, because most unlike our modern manners, where, amid few, if any, of our modern faults, we see most conspicuous those virtues which have now grown more rare—simplicity, reverence, honor, faith, and heroism.

But where shall we look for such teaching ? Shall we seek it in the 17th, 18th, or 19th centuries—centuries of advanced civilization, luxurious refinement, and great material prosperity ? I fear not ; since, resembling us in their civilization, they resemble us also in its concomitant faults and vices. Or shall we seek such teaching in the glorious days of Greece or Rome ? No, for we should there find a society whose principles, whose foundations were essentially different from ours. A pagan society, where, indeed, we might learn many wise and noble lessons ; where we might see what man unaided can do, but not what Christianity can accomplish, when it takes hold of a people in its barbarous infancy, trains it through the struggles of its unruly youth, and, at length, develops the full dignity and beauty of Christian manhood. To see this, we must turn to the history of Europe in the middle ages. Yes, gentlemen, it is to this period I would direct your attention this evening, as most deserving of your serious consideration and appreciative study.

"Dark ages" they have been called by the Protestant historians of England, but far more truly has the learned author of "*Mores Catholici*" styled them "ages of faith." When the Barbarian peoples who invaded Europe on the downfall of



the Roman Empire had been won over to Christianity, the Church had not with them, as with her converts from Grecian and Roman civilization, to undo and do; laboriously to eradicate ancient modes of thought, before she could begin her own especial teaching. The Church received those rude children of nature, fresh, unformed; she was their first mistress, and, for a long time, their only one; and it seems to me to have been a great boon to Europe, that long centuries of strength and unity were then granted to the Church, so that the nations grew up under her shadow, imbued with her spirit, and developed their institutions from her inspirations. Their civilization was essentially, fundamentally Christian.

In these middle ages, I believe we find the fullest and purest development of the Christian idea in individual and national life that has yet been vouchsafed to us. The purest I say, because the renaissance which flooded Europe with Greek thought, and restored to nearly their original influence the philosophy and literature of Pagan times, profoundly altered the Christian atmosphere of Europe. When from the utter chaos produced by the Barbarian invasions, arose order and beauty, and European society was organised into a harmonious and admirable whole, what a work of creation and reconstruction was there! The spirit of faith is a living spirit, and brings forth living works. It moved over the dark and troubled waters. "Let there be light," it said, and there was light. Most of what we possess at the present day of wise and great is a legacy left us by those ages of faith. From them we inherit the idea of a limited, or, as we call it, a constitutional monarchy, representative government, municipal corporations, and trial by jury; even the organization of labour in the form of trades unions, very different, of course, from those of the present day, was originated by St. Louis. Some few of these great ideas we have cherished, developed, and matured to such fair proportions that we have come to think them all our own. But what have we originated that is truly great in these last four centuries? We have had a reformation, so called, and revolutions, all powerful to destroy, to demolish, to pull down. But where is the reconstruction? Alas! the only answer is to be found in the clatter of mill-wheels, and the rush of steam-engines. "Material prosperity" they cry, "there is an immense increase in material prosperity." Yes, material; but where is the spiritual or social advance? These are important questions, and well worth our consideration; but were I to attempt to pursue them now I would be led away from the subject I propose to myself to-night. Full of interest would it be, and I earnestly hope some gentleman may on a future

occasion endeavour to show all that the social and political institutions of the present day owe to the labours and creative spirit of the ages of faith. But my aim to-night must be a less ambitious one. I shall not attempt to describe the great institutions of the middle ages, nor even direct your attention to those external manifestations of the spirit of faith, the magnificent churches, the countless abbeys and convents, which at its bidding sprang into existence all over Europe. I shall rather endeavour to give an idea of the individual characteristics developed by the influences of those times ; to speak in fact of the men themselves,

"A glorious company, the flower of men,  
To serve as model for the mighty world,  
And be the fair beginning of a time."

But now where to begin ? I am bewildered by the very richness and variety of my subject, truly an "*embarras de richesse*." Shall I invite you to admire that wonderful faith which again and again moved the peoples of Europe to precipitate themselves as a mighty avalanche on the shores of Asia, to rescue from profane hands the tomb of the great author of their faith ? Or, when the holy city had been won by the Christians, and the crown of Jerusalem was offered to the victorious hero, Godfrey de Bouillon, shall I remind you of his answer, so full of Christian reverence, "Never shall I wear a crown of gold in that city where my Saviour was crowned with thorns !" Rather would I speak of one who has ever seemed to me a mediæval *beau-ideal*, if you will allow me the expression, a true Christian king, Louis IX. of France, whom we call St. Louis. Not that I shall attempt any detailed account of the virtues of this great king ; conscious of my inability to do so adequately, I would only quote one favourite sentence of St. Louis, and then speak of his death. St. Louis used to say, "When I die they will find three words written on my heart, 'Dieu, France, Marguerite.'" Do not these three words express, with admirably simplicity, the whole ideal of a Christian man ? A Pagan hero of Greece or Rome would have said, "My country" alone : for him there would have been neither God nor Marguerite. But when we leave out God, and set up our country in His place, patriotism becomes idolatry, and the state a tyrant, to which the individual man is remorselessly sacrificed. To judge how St. Louis loved his God we must study his life ; how he loved his country, we may gather even from the Protestant pages of Hallam. "There is," says this historian, "a peculiar beauty about the



reign of St. Louis, because it shows the inestimable benefit which a virtuous king may confer on his people, without possessing any distinguished genius. For nearly half a century that he governed France, there is not the smallest want of moderation or disinterestedness in his actions; and yet he raised the influence of the monarchy to a much higher point than the most ambitious of his predecessors. An ordinary king, in the circumstances of the French monarchy, would have fomented, or, at least, rejoiced in, the dissensions which broke out among the principal vassals. Louis constantly employed himself to reconcile them. In this, too, his benevolence had all the effects of far-sighted policy. The perfect integrity of St. Louis wore away all distrust, and accustomed even the most jealous feudatories to look upon him as their judge and legislator. Moreover, he was himself so eminent for his firmness and bravery, qualities, without which every other virtue would have been ineffectual, that no one thought it safe to run wantonly into rebellion, while his disinterested administration gave no one a pretext for it." How wise and discerning was St. Louis' love for France, we may see from those touching instructions given on his death-bed to his son. He begins by telling his fair son to mould his heart to the love of God, and more to that effect; and then he continues, "Let thy heart be gentle and compassionate towards the poor, the unfortunate, and the afflicted, and comfort and help them, as far as in thee lies. Maintain the good customs of thy kingdom, and put down the bad. Be not covetous against thy people, and do not load thy conscience with imposts and taxes. It is thy duty to take care that thy people and subjects live under thee in peace and uprightness. Above all, keep the good towns and customs of thy kingdom in the condition and liberties in which thy predecessors preserved them; for, because of the power and riches of the great cities, thy subjects and foreigners will fear to do anything against thee, especially thy peers and thy barons." On a former occasion, he had impressively said to his son: "Fair son, I pray thee, make thyself beloved by the people of thy kingdom; for truly I would rather that a Scotsman should come from Scotland, and govern the people justly and loyally, than that thou shouldst govern them badly in the sight of all." As to Marguerite. St. Louis, like a true knight, was faithfully devoted to his "liege and sovereign lady," as he loved to call her. The chivalry of the middle ages, you are aware, surrounded woman with a homage and reverential worship, which, to our eyes, seems almost excessive. But, in truth, this was a Christian impulse. To rehabilitate and elevate woman, who had been so much degraded, so much

lowered in Pagan times. She had, indeed, suffered bitterly for the sin of Eve; but the second and greater Eve was to raise her up, and restore her to her original dignity. Yes, we should never forget it is to Mary the Queen of Heaven, Mary the virgin mother of God, that woman owes her elevation. The men of the middle ages understood it so. As their Lord and God had taken a woman for His mother, woman was to be revered as the purest and most spiritual portion of mankind; the helpmate given man by God, not to drag him down to merely sensual and earthly pleasures, but by her faith, her purity, and her tenderness, to ennoble, spiritualize, and soften the stronger and coarser nature of man, and gently draw him heavenwards. Therefore, with the true knight, next to love of God came love of the lady of his heart. Lastly, let me say a few words of St. Louis' death. He died, as you are all aware, while engaged in a crusade on the coast of Egypt, of fever; not even amid the "pomp and circumstance of glorious war." Far from his country, surrounded by his dying soldiers, who were also his own people, the sons of his beloved France, whom he had led out to death and to defeat, for the expedition was not even successful. By that crusade he lost much treasure, reputation, and his life. And do you think he regretted it? That the last moments of that sadly heroic death-bed were embittered by remorse? Not for an instant. He might, indeed, have wished success to the soldiers of the Cross, but for himself, he simply believed he had done his duty, as well and as bravely as God had given him strength, and he esteemed it honour to die in so noble a cause. And, now-a-days, it is the fashion to look upon success as the end of life. Some say mammon-worship is the besetting sin of our age. I think it is worship of success. "What is it," says Carlyle, "that the modern English soul does, in very truth, dread infinitely, and contemplate with entire despair? What is his hell? With hesitation, with astonishment, I pronounce it to be the terror of not succeeding. Of not making money, fame, or some other figure in the world." This passion for success leads very far, almost to the belief that might is right, and success the test of merit. And it is therefore I have brought before you this most noble failure, to show you that it is not so much what a man actually does that makes him truly great, as his principles, aims, and the desires of his heart.

After all what most impresses us in the study of these middle ages, is the pervading, omni-present faith; the lively realization of another and a spiritual world, which was then universal. I cannot avoid directing your attention to this, as it were, the key-note, the leading idea of those times; although



in so doing, I fear I lay myself open to the charge of enforcing, a truism. That faith was lively in the ages of faith; "of course," you will say: yes, but it was a faith so different from anything we see to-day. We suffer in these modern times from what I call "worldliness." How shall I define "worldliness?" "Allowing this world to grow so large in our eyes as to shut out God and heaven from our view." We call our philosophies of the day rationalism, materialism, all "isms" which imply that we believe in this world, and as to the other, the spiritual one, it is to us a "great perhaps;" not, of course, for all; but even those who have themselves a true faith, live in this atmosphere of doubt, and are injured by it. The faith of the middle ages was a vivid realization of spiritual things; a belief in the other world so lively that it influenced the daily life not only of the pious and virtuous, but of all the worldly-minded and wicked as well. We cannot turn over a history of those times without meeting, almost on every page, some striking evidence of this sentiment. On the eve of the battle of Hastings, Thierry tells us, the Norman camp was crowded with monks, and the soldiers prepared for the coming battle by confessing and receiving communion. Immediately after the battle, William vowed to build an Abbey on the spot in thanksgiving for his victory, and Battle Abbey is still there to remind us of his vow. I suppose I need scarcely remark that William was no model Christian, but simply an able worldly man, who conformed to the spirit of the times. At the great battle of Morat, where the Swiss mountaineers overthrew the brilliant chivalry of Burgundy, just as the battle was about to commence, the Swiss threw themselves on their knees to invoke God's blessing on their arms. And Duke Charles, thinking they were kneeling to him for mercy, with characteristic ferocity, exclaimed "we will show the rebel boors what grace they have to expect from us," and ordered his cannon to be fired. But the Swiss being prostrate in prayer, the balls passed harmlessly over their heads, and the men, seeing in this a direct evidence of divine protection, arose with renewed confidence for battle. Indeed it was the almost universal custom to prepare by prayer for any great event or danger. In Froissart we find this and similar passages: "When the morning was come, the two armies got themselves in readiness for battle. They hear mass, each lord among his own people, and in his own quarters: most of them confessed and received communion." Very different this from our modern idea of preparation for battle.

Du Guesclin, before the battle of Cockerel, addressing his soldiers, said "my children, fight to win the glory of heaven,

to which every loyal Christian, who gives his life on the battle field for his liege lord, has firm hope to attain; and I pray you, therefore, if any of you knows himself to be in mortal sin, let him make a good confession to the friars; for so I have heard many clerks say that Holy Scripture affirmeth that one sinner in a host will cause the death of more than a hundred." De Joinville, in his history of the Crusade, tells how, "being in battle with the Saracens, and brought into deadly peril, I bethought me of Monsignor St. James, and I said 'fair Sire St. James, to whom I pray, help and succour me in this need.' Hardly had I finished my prayer, when Sire Erard de Siveray, who had just received a mortal wound, said to me, Sire, if you think that neither I nor my heirs would suffer reproach, I would go and seek succour for you from the Count of Anjou." This quotation is interesting not only as showing De Joinville's faith, but for the great anxiety this poor dying knight shows for his honour, stopping as he does in the midst of a terribly contested battle, to ask if he might honourably seek reinforcements. The very war-cries showed their trust in God and His saints. "Notre Dame, Dieu aide" was the Norman war-cry. "Notre Dame, Guesclin," that of the great constable. "Dieu aide au premier baron Chretien," the proud cry of the Montmorency; "St. George for England," "San Marco for Venice," and so on. Even the ordeals by fire, water, and combat, however questionable to our modern ideas, still show the vivid belief of those days in an over-ruling providence. The entrance into their great profession of arms was surrounded with religious ceremonies, fasting, prayer, watching in the church a whole night beside the arms, which were solemnly blessed before the knight was invested with them. But I fear I have wearied you by these numerous quotations and examples, which might otherwise be multiplied to any extent. Religion made itself felt and seen everywhere as an active principle of life, and I think you can now realize the influence of this atmosphere of faith, and what noble, strong, and simple characters it would develop. And, gentlemen, if you have been struck by the extreme simplicity of some of these quotations, I would remind you that simplicity is the foundation of many virtues, and one of the great sources of strength of character. I can even adduce a testimony to this virtue from the greatest of Greek historians, pagan though he was. Thucydides, after drawing a fearful picture of the state of Greece towards the close of the Peloponnesian war, attributes it all to the loss of simplicity, which he speaks of as τὸ εὐθές οὐ τὸ γεννιδίον πλείστον μέτεχει, "simplicity which forms a main ingredient



in a noble nature." The men of the middle ages were simple but happy, and strong in their simplicity; before them the path of duty lay so clear, the right and wrong so plain and free from doubt. The historian whom I have just quoted, goes on to say, "simplicity is now laughed down and has disappeared." And so it is with us at present. Next to want of faith, there is no such sad loss to our modern times as want of simplicity. Modern life is so terribly complex, so overwrought, and consequently often so superficial, men read so much, and have their minds so full of other men's thoughts, they scarcely leave room for one original idea, and indeed it is hard to think at all. Life is so hurried, there is so much to be done, and so much to be known. An educated man, or I may almost say a boy, only for his university examinations, is obliged to know a little of everything under the sun, and to answer in such a marvellous variety of subjects, that one is at length irresistibly reminded of Goldsmith's schoolmaster:

"And still they gazed, and still the wonder grew  
How one small head could carry all he knew."

Alas for the good old maxims, now so obsolete—"dread the man of one book;" "a little knowledge is a dangerous thing, drink deep or taste not the Pierian spring." One is almost inclined to sympathize with the fierce old Douglas in "Marmion"—

"At first, in heart, it liked me ill,  
When the king praised his clerkly skill.  
Thanks to St. Bothan, son of mine,  
Save Gawain, ne'er could pen a line.  
So swore I, and I swear it still,  
Let my boy-bishop fret his fill."

I am sure there were no competitive examinations in the university of Paris long ago; and, *en passant*, let me remark that this system of competitive examination seems to me (whatever other its merits or demerits may be) to encourage that vicious passion for success to which I have just alluded; the end being always to get through, to succeed, and not to learn a subject thoroughly, or any nobler aim of education.

One result of simplicity and faith combined was earnestness, by which I mean the exact contrary to superficiality. The men of those days strove to do well whatever they undertook. They strove to excel, I do not say to succeed, for that is a low and vulgar ambition, but to excel, which partakes of the

Christian desire for perfection. Lorenzo Ghiberti was entrusted by the municipality of Florence with the erection of a bronze gate to the baptistry of St. John. He set to work, as he tells us himself, "*con grandissima diligenza, e grandissimo amore*," with the greatest diligence, and the greatest love. Yet did it take twenty-two years' labour to complete that one gate! But it was then a marvel of beauty, a *chef-d'œuvre* of art. It was of it and its companion gate (on which he spent twenty-five years, the remainder of his life) that Michael Angelo said they were worthy to be the gates of paradise. When Fra Angelico was about to paint any great picture, he prepared himself by prayer and fasting, and then he painted on his knees—kneeling out of reverence. These, however, you will say, were great artists inspired, perhaps, by their genius: true, but the feeling was general.

Nothing more impresses one in entering any of the grand old churches—not, indeed, of England or France, or even, I fear, now of Spain, for reformation and revolution have been there to mutilate and destroy—but of Belgium, Catholic Germany, or Italy—nothing, I say, more impresses one than the wonderful perfection of detail, which, without in the least interfering with the harmonious unity of the whole, astonishes by its minute beauty. The stained glass windows; the carved or inlaid stalls of the choir; the pulpit, a marvel of wood carving or marble sculpture; the wonderful frescoes in those quiet side chapels; the tessellated pavement; the gates of the church, perhaps; each implies a lifetime of labour devoted to it, and devoted, "*con grandissima diligenza, e grandissimo amore*." What was worth doing at all was worth doing well, they believed, especially when the work was for God's house, or for God's honor. But, in one sense, all good was for God's honor; since Divine lips had uttered the command, "Be ye, therefore, perfect," those wonderful words had permeated all classes of that Christian society. Of Bertrand du Guesclin we are told, that, when quite a boy, he used to say, "I will be brave and generous; the grace of honor can be won by all." And well he kept his promise, through a long life. He aimed to be a perfect knight; and he was acknowledged the best knight in France, at a time, when, besides her own sons, France contained the brave and brilliant warriors who surrounded the Black Prince, Chandos, Calverly, &c. Brave, pious, wise, and faithful, of him, even more truly than of Bayard, it might be said, he was "*sans peur, et sans reproche*," fearless and faultless. Hear now his end. When he was prepared for death, had received the last sacraments, and bidden farewell to his old companions in arms, he ordered his sword of Constable



to be brought to him, and, reverently uncovering his head, he drew the sword from the scabbard, and gazed at it long and earnestly : "I am thinking," he said to the friend by his bedside, "I am thinking if I have failed in any way in my duty in the use of this sword. I confess that others could have more worthily employed it, but none could have purer intentions than I have had. Restore it," he added, "to the king ; tell him I regret the faults which, for lack of prudence, I have committed in his service ; I have none wherewith to reproach myself for want of zeal. Assure him that I die his faithful servant." Turning, then, to the friends around him, he said earnestly, "Remember, wherever you make war, to respect holy Church ; spare ecclesiastics, the poor, women, and children ; you bear arms to protect, not to injure them ; so have I often said to you, living, and I repeat it to you, dying, and leave it to you as my last request." "Then," continues the chronicler, "taking the crucifix in his hand, he thought or spoke no more but of his God." Is not this most touching ; the dying hero rendering up his trust with simple fidelity and Christian humility ? We can almost fancy we hear the welcome sounding for him :—"Well done, thou good and faithful one." Surely, he had striven earnestly and manfully to excel in all that pertaineth to a good knight. We feel it a satisfaction, and, also, another sign of the times, that he was truly appreciated by the king he so truly served. Charles ordered, that, in St. Denis, the venerable sepulchre of the French Kings, his brave constable, who, in life had been his right arm, should, in death, rest by his side.

Another development of this earnestness, produced by very strong convictions working in simple and stern natures, is to be found in those noble and sincere, but vehement and somewhat intolerant characters, men such as Simon de Montfort, or St. Ferdinand of Spain. In forming our estimate of such men and such times, we should remember that it has taken eighteen centuries of Christian civilization to produce the gentleness of manners, mild tone of public opinion, and general spirit of toleration, of which we moderns make so great a boast. Christian civilization, I say, for how utterly powerless civilization in itself and without Christianity would be to tame the cruel nature of man and train him to forbearance, we see unanswerably demonstrated in the history of civilized luxurious Pagan Rome. Yes, gentlemen, it is but too common to ascribe the intolerance of the middle ages to the bigotry, the fanaticism, the intolerant spirit "inherent in the Church of Rome," whereas it is to this very Church of Rome, and to her alone, that we owe the preservation and

propagation of those Christian principles which in time have "renewed the face of the earth," which have purified, refined, softened; which, in fine, constitute the entire difference between the enlightened Christian of our day, and the polished but cruel Roman, with his "*væ victis*," his gladiatorial combats, and his bloody arena, re-echoing to the cry of "*Christianos ad leones*." Intolerance, believe me, instead of being "invented by the monks to deceive the people," is but an offspring of the ancient serpent; begotten of pride and hatred, it could find its true remedy only in a religion whose foundations are laid in humility and in love. Although I say they were wanting in gentleness, in this sense, that they would not tolerate what seemed to them false or evil, the men of the middle ages were far from neglecting the cultivation of this virtue. I have always been greatly struck by the training given to the young aspirants to knighthood. They were instructed, of course, in everything necessary to their future profession of arms; but also, and especially, they were trained to all gentle manners and courtesies, so that "discourteous knight" was a term of grave reproach, true politeness being a beautiful flower of Christian charity. They were made to wait upon the knights in the field and at table, so that only after they had been served, might the young esquires sit down. They were taught to respect age, experience, superior rank, and all greatness; but also to reverence all weakness, misfortune, and suffering. Is not this humility carried out into practice? Humility which, as Lacordaire says, "contains in itself love and respect of superiority, in those whom Providence has made our superiors; love and respect of equality, in those whom Providence has made our equals; and love and respect of inferiority not only in those whom Providence has made our inferiors, but also in a more absolute sense, towards ourselves."

Yes, we may liken chivalry to a fair tree, whose roots were Christian charity and humility, whose boughs were valour, fidelity, purity, and devotion, and whose beautiful flower and crown was honour—honour, that peerless sentiment, which was not so much a virtue in itself, as it was the perfection of all virtues, the perfume of their combined excellence, the splendour of their beauty; honour, that lovely growth of Christianity, which was to man what virtue is to women; the snow-white robe which emblematically wrapped him round on the day of his knighthood, and on which no spot or stain could be endured. Why did Bertrand du Guesclin uncover his head before his sword? Because to him and to every true knight, it was the symbol of his honour, of which it was the defence. Therefore did the great Cid Rodrigo de Bivar, love his famous



sword Tizona, and order it to be laid on his grave, to be near him even in death. And on his grave it was left as the years rolled on, all Spain reverencing the hero's honour, and unwilling that a less noble arm should wield the gallant blade. The same feeling makes them, in the romance, return Arthur's sword Excalibar to the lake. A similar sentiment brought Ignatius of Loyola to Montserrat, to hang up his sword at the Blessed Virgin's shrine, thus laying his worldly honour at the feet of his sovereign lady, when he had renounced all earthly interests. And so when, for a dishonourable act, a knight was degraded from the order, they broke his sword in pieces.

Gentlemen, we live in an age of great commercial activity, and in, or, if you will, under a great commercial nation. Commerce and honour are plants that do not flourish kindly in the same soil (I really don't know why, unless the "almighty dollar" may perhaps exercise some mysterious and baneful influence). Shall we not, then, occasionally withdraw ourselves from the hard realities around us, and by living for a time in the company of the noble dead, keep alive and sensitive within us that high and keen sense of honour which was their dearest treasure, and should be ours? That faith which was the animating principle, the life-giving inspiration of the middle ages, we still possess. Ireland, while losing all else, has ever carefully guarded it, "though her manuscripts were burned, her men scattered, her churches closed, her monuments of civilization razed, her faith like the lamps of old in the places of death, burned on in the heart of Ireland, unwatched and unfed, and now that the free air is admitted, diffuses itself through her frame; and when she shall stand forth strong and free, it will be the heart of the old isle animating a frame of greater sinew, proportion and beauty." So wrote an illustrious Irishman. Let us especially in this Irish Catholic University strive to realize it. It is by cherishing our faith, by a truer comprehension of its spirit, a fuller insight into its teaching, a deeper and more heartfelt love of its truth and holiness, that we may best hope to become "simple, earnest, brave, and faithful," loyal sons to Ireland, and worthy imitators of the great men of the middle ages.

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#### THE IRISH ZOUAVES AT ANCONA IN 1860.

IT was worthy of Catholic Ireland, that noble daughter of the church, which has preserved intact the faith of St. Patrick in the midst of struggles, trials, and persecutions of every kind, to send to the pope a legion of her sons to fight beside

the generous volunteers whom every vessel brought from France, Belgium, Germany, and Switzerland. As my thoughts revert, after an interval of eight years, to this noble band, whose organization I superintended temporarily, I love to recall the great natural qualities which redeemed their defects, and, despite their disorders and uproar, and their incessant quarrels, won for the Irish the admiration of Lamoricière, and merited the approval of the pope, who, after the crisis, desired to form around him a guard of these valiant soldiers, these indomitable heroes, these Catholics faithful to death.

Unfortunately, in the midst of the fatigues and excitement of this period, amid marches and countermarches, orders and countermands, it was impossible for me to keep a journal of the thousand and one strange incidents, daily events, interesting or amusing, of which I was a witness; indeed, they would furnish Alexander Dumas abundant matter for dramas and endless tales. I must limit myself to those scenes which have left the deepest impression on my memory.

The 30th of May, 1860, found me in garrison in a small hamlet on the frontiers of Tuscany, Citta della Pieve, situated some leagues from Lake Trasimene, famous for the struggle between Hannibal and the Romans, which took place upon its border. Thence a sudden order despatched me to Macerata, a small town of the Adriatic Marches, where I was to organize the Irish Legion. Already a hundred and fifty recruits had arrived, and the order was couched in terms admitting of no delay. I left with regret, for in this little hamlet I had found a family, whose hospitality had touched me. It was that of the *gonfaloniere*.

The young matron, simple in her tastes, well educated, and handsome as Italians naturally are, had undertaken by her kindness to make us forget the ungracious reception which our uniform had won for us in Perugian society. And in this she manifested not only sound judgment and education, but also rare courage, at this dangerous time, when the least respect towards a pontifical officer merited the stroke of the assassin's dagger. A little later, I was to find her in Rome, proscribed for her fidelity by a violent, iniquitous, and vindictive government. Will she be able to return to her home despite the cruel vexations to which she has been exposed? I know not, and dare not hope anything from Piedmontese mercy.

Could I separate myself from that noble Swiss regiment, dear for so many reasons, beneath the shadow of whose flag I for the first time drew my sword for the pope? Alas! I was obliged to quit for a long time, perhaps, my brethren in arms, whose friendship had become a pleasure and encouragement



and even a necessity, to find in a new corps new associates ; and this at the moment when great events were vaguely rumored, when each could foresee the necessity of all that was dear to brace up against the storm, whose distant echoes were already to be heard. But military obedience exacted this sacrifice. I left early on the following morning, and, after escaping an attack on the diligence by twelve masked brigands, in the gorges of the Apennines I arrived at Macerata on June 1st.

I immediately received a visit from the almoner of the volunteers, whose appearance deserves particular description.

He was an Irish Franciscan father, and by his lofty stature and sonorous eloquence reminded me of the portrait of the great O'Connell, which in my childhood I had seen traced by enthusiastic admirers of his oratory. When Father Bonaventure appeared in the midst of the recruits, the men made way for him respectfully. One of them had been guilty of some breach of discipline. The priest spoke sweetly to him, and a few words of tender severity brought tears to the eyes of the offender. Indeed, this monk, with his lofty brow and stately gait, his coarse habit falling in ample folds from his massive shoulders, was well calculated to impress these children of nature, at once simple but keen, enthusiastic but fickle, good in heart but hasty in character, on whom the priest alone has fitted the yoke of authority.

I immediately saw the necessity of establishing the best possible relations with this influential man. The preliminaries of our conversation being ended, he said, "My dear captain, will you—"

"Pardon me, reverend father, but you give me a title to which I have no right. I am only a lieutenant."

"Why, captain dear, this will never do. I have announced to the recruits the arrival of their *captain* ; they are prepared to receive you, and all the prestige of your authority will be lost if they find that you are only a lieutenant. No ; permit me without offence to attribute to you the rank to which you won't be long coming, if all that I have heard of you be true."

"You flatter me infinitely, and I am much obliged for your high opinion ; but as we have many things to do, let us save our compliments for some future occasion, and look at the men, whom I must inspect without delay."

"Immediately, mon cher commandant—"

"Still another thing, Monsieur l'Aumonier—"

"They are in the barracks, and I will present you to them. Come with me ; these good fellows await you with impatience, and I hope you will be pleased with them. Remember, you are captain."

I found the recruits, about a hundred and fifty in number, ranged in two lines along the vast corridor, and I must confess that my first impression was not favourable. They were for the most part ragged, evidently fatigued by the long voyage. A long bench stood before them.

"We must remove the bench," said I to the priest. "It will be in the way during my inspection."

"Not a bit of it, captain dear," he answered; "on the contrary, it will assist wonderfully for the ceremony of your presentation. You are shorter than I, and my height destroys the effect that you ought to produce, (he was fully six feet in stature.) Get up on that bench, and you will appear as tall as I, and your prestige will increase proportionally."

"All right, reverend father; here goes for the bench. You are a decided master of scenic art."

I acted on his advice, and mounted my platform, while the chaplain prepared his countenance and attitude for the grand discourse that was to follow. He waited for silence, and, when he saw all eyes directed toward me and all ears open to him,

"Boys," he said, swinging with majestic movement the loose sleeves of his habit, "welcome this happy day, the object of your ardent desires, on which you will enjoy the honor of enrolling yourselves in the army of the sovereign pontiff, and on which your names, children of St. Patrick, will be inscribed on the great list of the defenders of the papacy. You see before you, at this moment, the representative of that august sovereign for whom your Irish and Catholic hearts beat with filial love. Welcome with acclamations him whom God has sent us—the illustrious Captain Russell," (here he laid his heavy hand on my head as if he wished to flatten it,) "the noble descendant of your ancient kings, the worthy nephew of the gallant Marshal McMahon, the hero of Perugia, into whose hands I gladly resign the authority which I have hitherto exercised. Now, boys, from the bottom of your throats, hurrah for Captain Russell."

"Hurrah for the captain!" shouted the hundred and fifty.

"And, you, captain," (here he turned his great, benevolent eyes toward me.) "whom the pope has invested with the powers of commander until the arrival of their regular chief, consider in the goodness of your heart the devotion of these true sons of Ireland, who abandoning their homes and families, came through fatigues, dangers, and privations, over mountains and seas, to place at your disposal their lives, their strength, and their heart's blood."

I answered this harangue as well as I could, giving with all



my might a hurrah for the Pope, which was repeated along the line; then, descending from my pedestal, I shook warmly the hand of the reverend chaplain, to testify publicly my trust in him, and, after the inspection, occupied myself immediately in forming the companies. Alas! the first act of my administration was unlucky, and showed that my brains were not equal to the organization of an Irish regiment.

Having learned from the chaplain that the recruits of different provinces mutually entertained profound jealousy, I thought I would succeed well in putting all the Dublin men in one company and all the Kerry men in another. This disposition having been made, I assigned to each of the companies one or more apartments of the barracks, and ordered them to take immediate possession of their quarters.

This order, simple in appearance, was the occasion of a prodigious storm; and you would be long divining its cause.

While the Dublin men executed my order without delay and betook themselves quietly to their quarters on the upper story, the Kerry men, on the contrary, gathered in several noisy groups under the conduct of as many leaders, as if they did not understand the orders, and finally declared point blank that they would not obey them.

"Peste, Monsieur l'Aumonier," said I to the chaplain, who observed with a certain anxiety the disturbance which was brewing, "if things begin thus, they do not augur well for the future."

"Wait a bit, captain, before dealing harshly with the culpable. Let me find out the motives of their resistance."

"All right, father. I await your rendering an account of them."

The monk stepped firmly up to the mutineers and endeavored to speak with them.

"We want the upper floor! We'll have the top floor!" was the only answer he received.

"But, boys, the upper floor is no better than the lower."

"We want the upper! The Kerry lads are not made to be stowed away on the ground-floor."

"For mercy's sake, listen to reason, or else the captain—"

"Down wid Dublin! Kerry for ever!"

The monk returned, pale as death, to explain the cause of the tumult.

The volunteers from "county Kerry," whose blood is proverbially warm, were indignant because I had quartered them on the ground-floor, while the Dublin lads occupied the upper story; wherefore they were determined not to budge until this insult was repaired and Kerry vindicated.

"But, reverend father, the order is given, and cannot be revoked without compromising my dignity. Try to point out to me the leaders; I will have them arrested. As to the others—"

"Ah! captain, remember their inexperience of discipline."

"That is the very reason why I wish to be severe with the leaders."

I had the leaders of the disturbance arrested, and, on seeing this, the remainder quietly dispersed and occupied without further difficulty their allotted barracks.

"Boys," said I, going among them, "the leaders who have brought you astray are scoundrels, whom I am going to punish. They have trifled wickedly with that proud sentiment of rivalry which does honor to the different provinces of Ireland. Keep this sentiment of noble jealousy, of just emulation, keep it for the field of battle, where you can make better use of it than here."

"Hurrah for the Pope! hurrah for the chaplain! hurrah for the captain!"

A few days later, on a beautiful afternoon in June, the detachment of volunteers from Limerick arrived. They numbered about two hundred, conducted like the others by their chaplain, a man at once indefatigable and full of courage, whose almost juvenile ardor was irresistibly communicated to his companions.

I thought that these brave men, fatigued by a long journey and numerous privations, deserved to be well treated by that Pope to whom they came thus to offer their arms and blood. Hence, I had prepared for them at the barracks fresh straw mattresses and warm soup, and, having made these arrangements, went forward to meet them on the road to Ancona.

Confused cries and sounding hurrahs soon announced the approach of the column. I presented myself to the new almoner, whom I recognized by his long black coat and high gaiters. At once he gave a prodigious hurrah for the Pope, which was instantly repeated by the two hundred volunteers with an enthusiasm of which the pure races are alone capable. At the same time they brandished enormous cudgels, which served them alike as walking-sticks and weapons, and with which each man had provided himself before quitting his native parish.

It would be difficult to portray the terror which such scenes produced on the peaceful inhabitants of the town, little accustomed to such noisy demonstrations. They always avoided meeting the *Ollandesi*, as they then ignorantly termed them—the *Verdoni*, (canary color, half green and half yellow,) as they afterwards called them, from the colors of their uniform. The



women were content to gaze timidly from the windows at these strange guests ; the urchins alone, braver or more frolicsome, escorted the newly-arrived, and strove to keep step with these giants of the north, four times as great as themselves.

During the bombardment of Ancona, which lasted six days, I occupied with the fourth Irish company a bastion of the intrenched camp, situated on a height which commanded the city and the defence from the land side. For some days we had nothing to shelter us ; and to add to the annoyance, the earth having been lately turned for the works ordered by the general, the first rain changed it to thick mud. On this couch my men had to sleep, with naught above them save the arch of heaven. Nevertheless, they did not complain, as I might have expected from their previous conduct, and they remained the whole night exposed to a driving rain on this wet soil without uttering one complaint, so much had the sight of the enemy excited their ardor and developed their military virtues. Strange ! It had only required a few bomb-shells to change these peasants, so untractable the evening before, into sober, patient, and warlike soldiers, ready for all sacrifices. Every afternoon, about five o'clock, the bombardment ceased, as if by agreement, and then commenced the most original scene which can be imagined.

In the midst of the terreplein of my bastion they kindled a fire, and grouped themselves pell-mell around it, just as chance arranged them, soldiers, non-commissioned and commissioned officers. For the latter seats of honor were reserved, consisting principally of inverted wheel-barrows, water-buckets, and old pieces of lumber. The pipes struck up, the gourds of brandy passed from hand to hand, and tongues were unloosed ; and as the day had been more or less exciting, so was the conversation animated. One of a dramatic turn, endowed with a long and neglected beard and draped majestically in some old cloak, recited with upraised hands some scene of mighty Shakespeare. Another, somewhat younger, sung tenderly a national air, a sweet melody of the poet Moore. I have always remembered one of these touching ballads, and cannot resist giving it here :

“ Rich and rare were the gems she wore,  
And a bright gold ring on her wand she bore ;  
But oh ! her beauty was far beyond  
Her sparkling gems or snow-white wand.

“ Lady, dost thou not fear to stray,  
So lone and lovely, through this bleak way ?  
Are Erin’s sons so good or so cold  
As not to be tempted by woman or gold ?

“Sir knight! I feel not the least alarm;  
No son of Erin will offer me harm;  
For though they love woman and golden store,  
Sir knight, they love honor and virtue more!

“On she went, and her maiden smile  
In safety lighted her round the green isle,  
And blest for ever is she who relied  
On Erin’s honor and Erin’s pride.”

Another, an inhabitant of the mountains, began some interminable legend, in which the ghosts of his ancestors played an important part. Sighs and cries of joy accompanied the recital, broken only by the monotonous “All’s well,” which the sentries on the parapet passed from one end of the camp to the other. All listened, awed, wonder-stricken, and transported in spirit to the hearths which they had left, and around which they had often kept joyous vigil by the light of the burning turf. Fortunately, no inopportune shell came from the enemy’s batteries to cast its lurid glare over the joyous group or glitter on the beard of the singer. O pure and romantic natures! Oh! what a natural poesy and gaiety surrounds this race, which we are wont to cover with a cloud of melancholy sadness. Were I to live a hundred years, I could not efface the vivid remembrance of those noisy vigils at Bastion No. 8, at the bombardment of Ancona in 1860.

Momentary enthusiasm was their great motive power. Whoever knew how to excite them, could obtain from them whatever he wished. And then, to see the play of their chests, their arms and shoulders; they seemed like so many Vulcans. The heaviest weights, which an Italian could scarcely move, gun-carriages, shell, beams, blocks of stone, they raised without difficulty, and, placing them on their stalwart shoulders, carried them with the greatest ease, one after another. From this I derived much benefit in a critical situation.

The Piedmontese having, half by surprise and half by main force, seized one of the outposts of Monte Pelago, and having there posted a battery, whence a raking fire entirely commanded the bastion which I occupied, I saw that, in order to protect my men, I must construct a traverse in the midst of the bastion. But how remove the earth? How perform all the necessary work under the fire whose balls rained among us and whistled unpleasantly in our ears? Fortune favored me; a heavy rain storm interrupted the bombardment.

“To work, boys! to work!” I cried. “In three hours you must raise twelve feet in length of a traverse, eight feet high, five feet thick at the top, and ten at the bottom, which will



withstand every thing they may send from Monte Pelago. Here, you terracemakers, come on with your picks and shovels. And you, Sergeant Tongue—you are a master carpenter; dress these logs and slabs for me, to make a frame for the work. In this manner, by God's grace, we will get ready a traverse that would keep the devil out, even if we had not the Pope with us. To work, boys! to work!"

In a few hours we had the bastion sheltered from the fire of the enemy. Alas! my poor traverse, fruit of such generous labor, we did not keep you long. In fact, the following day all was over, unfortunately ended; Bastion No. 8, along with all the others, passed into the hands of the enemy.

I did not take part in the defence of Spoleto, that feat of arms so glorious for the Irish Legion; but after seeing these volunteers at the bombardment of Ancona, I can easily imagine what must have been that struggle of twenty-four hours of their two companies against ten thousand Piedmontese.

An old cannon of heavy calibre, for many years laid aside as condemned, was buried in a corner of the fortress. Instantly it was extricated from the *debris*, transported by main force to a height whence it commanded the enemy, and mounted on a gun-carriage; and the rusty old piece, astonished at its resurrection, killed more men on that one day than during the entire century of its past existence.

A decayed, half-ruined gate afforded an entrance into the citadel. The enemy directed their efforts against it. The athletic sons of St. Patrick fell to work, and in an hour it was braced up and barricaded with gabions, and firmly resisted two successive assaults of the enemy's column.

I could cite twenty instances of this kind, where heroic courage joined to prodigious muscular strength worked miracles. But if a more prosaic example will suffice to form an idea of the strength of these iron limbs, I would add, softly and not without a slight blush, that during the period of my command I never saw a guard-house door which could resist their opposing efforts more than two hours, however well bolted it might be. After the iniquitous bombardment, which did not respect the white flag floating over all the works of the citadel and fort, our general capitulated, and we were obliged to abandon the place. The departure was very trying, and I cannot recall without grief the humiliation of that disastrous day. I do not wish to speak of it, nor could I do so without bitter tears; but it gives me pleasure to remember a spirited act of the Irish Legion.

It was six o'clock in the evening; our companies, of which I commanded the last, marched in close column, flanked, alas!

by a line of Piedmontese, who, I must admit, had more regard for our misfortune than the dastardly population of the city. We passed gloomily the gate which leads to the Porta Pia, quickening our step as much as the escort would allow, when some of my men came to me. "Captain," said they, "we have come to say that Ireland will blush for her children if she learns that we abandoned this city without bidding a last adieu to the Pope; we ask permission to salute him after our fashion at this last moment."

"I understand; be quiet for a moment, and Ireland will be content with you and with me."

A few moments after this, we reached the boundary of the suburbs. As the last man passed the gates of this unfortunate city, judging the moment opportune for the execution of our project, I gave with all the strength of my voice a last hurrah.

"Hurrah for the Pope!" shouted all in unison. The walls, the city, the gate, even the ocean itself, were shaken. To paint the astonishment of our guards would be impossible. They consulted together for an explanation of what had just occurred. Finally, I heard a sous-officer say to his neighbour.

"*Lasciamo fare, sono Irlandesi!* Bah! these are Irishmen; of what use is it to trouble yourselves about their savage cries?"

Such was our departure from Ancona, on the 29th of September, 1860, and such the solemn adieu of the Irish Legion to the pontifical soil.<sup>1</sup>

## QUESTIONS REGARDING THE JUBILEE.

### IV.—THE DISPOSITIONS NECESSARY FOR GAINING THE INDULGENCE.

IN order to gain the Indulgence of the Jubilee, or indeed any indulgence, it is necessary, according to the unanimous teaching of theologians, to be in the state of grace. "Indulgentiæ," says St. Thomas,<sup>2</sup> "non valent existentibus in peccato mortali." And again<sup>3</sup>:—"Nulli potest dimitti poena nisi cui jam dimissa est culpa."

<sup>1</sup> This article is from the pen of a brave young officer, Captain Russell (Count Roussel de Killough); it was inserted in the *Revue du Monde Catholique*, and translated in the *Catholic World*, November, 1869.

<sup>2</sup> In IV. *Sentent.* Dist. 20, quaest. i., art. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* quaestiuncula 1.



Cajetan,<sup>1</sup> Navarre,<sup>2</sup> and some others amongst the earlier theologians, were of opinion that it is necessary to be in the state of grace during the performance of all the works which are enjoined as conditions for gaining an indulgence. For, they argued, since a person in the state of mortal sin is an enemy of God, his actions cannot be regarded as performed in God's service, or for the advancement of God's glory: how, then, can it be supposed that by virtue of them, he will receive from God that special favour in which the effect of an indulgence consists?

But Suarez,<sup>3</sup> De Lugo,<sup>4</sup> Viva,<sup>5</sup> Laymann,<sup>6</sup> Bonacina,<sup>7</sup> La Croix,<sup>8</sup> and indeed almost all theologians of authority, teach that it will suffice to be in the state of grace at the time when the performance of the prescribed works is completed. This view and the principal argument by which it is supported, are thus stated by Viva:<sup>9</sup>—“*Sufficit status gratiae dum ultimum opus injunctum perficitur. Ratio est quia status gratiae non requiritur propter meritum, quasi ex vi operis meritorii . . . tribui debeat indulgentia . . . . Solum requiritur status gratiae ut subjectum sit capax talis effectus: ergo tunc solum requiritur quando effectus indulgentiae ponendus est, videlicet quando ultimo perficiuntur opera injuncta.*” This opinion having been adopted by Benedict XIV., in his Encyclical *Inter praeteritos*,<sup>10</sup> no doubt can any longer be entertained as to its truth.

Since, then, sanctifying grace is necessary, not as a disposition which must accompany the performance of the works set forth in the Bull of Jubilee, but only as a condition without which the effect of the indulgence cannot be obtained, Suarez<sup>11</sup> and the great majority of theologians teach, that it is not necessary to be in the state of grace during the entire time occupied in the performance of the work which is done in the last place, and that it will suffice to be in the state of grace at the moment of its completion. This point is thus illustrated by Gobat:<sup>12</sup>—“*Si ultimum opus sit v. g. jejunium diei sabbati, poteris indulgentiam consequi licet horâ decimâ vespertinâ sis*

<sup>1</sup> *Opuscula.* Tom. I, tract xv., cap. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *De Jubilaeo.* Notab. 19.

<sup>3</sup> *De Pœnitentia.* Disp. 52, sect. ii., n. 7.

<sup>4</sup> *De Sacramento Pœnitentiae.* Disp. 27., sect. vi., n. 83.

<sup>5</sup> *De Jubilaeo.* Quaest. vi., art. 2., n. 4.

<sup>6</sup> *Theologia Moralis.* Lib. v., tract vii., cap. vi., n. 2.

<sup>7</sup> *Opera.* Tom. I. Tract i., Disp. vi. *De Indulgentiis*, quaest. I., punct. v., n. 10.

<sup>8</sup> *Theologia Moralis.* Lib. vi., part. ii. n. 1410.

<sup>9</sup> *Loc.*, sup., cit.

<sup>10</sup> *Bullarium Benedicti XIV.* Encycl. *Inter praeteritos*, (3 Dec. 1749) n. 75.

<sup>11</sup> *De Pœnitentia.* Disp. 52, sect. ii., n. 1.

<sup>12</sup> *Opera Moralia.* Tract iv. *De Indulgentiis.* Cap. xii., n. 153.

adhuc mancipium diaboli. Sufficit ergo si daemonis mancipium evadas et in Dei filiorum libertatem adsciscaris illo temporis momento quo verum est dicere te perfecisse omnia opera quae Pontifex praescripserat, scil:—*ultimo momento diei destinati jejunii.*”

But it may be asked, is the indulgence irrevocably lost by a person who is not in the state of grace when he completes the performance of the works enumerated in the Bull, or will he afterwards obtain the effect of the indulgence when the mortal sin, which in the first instance prevented its operation, shall have been remitted? Diana<sup>1</sup> and a few other writers arguing from analogy, contend that the power of reviviscence which is inherent in several of the sacraments, exists also in the case of an indulgence. This view however has found but few supporters. According to the common opinion of theologians, the parallel between indulgences and the sacraments rests upon a gratuitous assumption, and therefore cannot be sustained. The reviviscence of the sacraments is admitted because the tradition of the church supplies satisfactory evidence that our Lord in instituting the sacraments ordained that this efficacy should be inherent in them. But what evidence is brought forward to show that the Pope in granting indulgences intends that they should operate in a similar manner? None whatever. On the contrary, it would seem from the Instructions issued by Benedict XIV., in reference to the Jubilee of 1750, that the Sovereign Pontiffs do not intend that those persons should receive the benefit of an indulgence who are not in the state of grace at the time when the performance of the works enjoined is completed. For, when examining in his Encyclical *Convocatis*<sup>2</sup> the case of persons who, whilst they are in the state of mortal sin, comply with some of the conditions set forth in the Bull of Jubilee, he raises the question, whether such persons can gain the indulgence? This question he answers in the affirmative; but he adds, in order that they should gain it, it will be necessary for them to recover the grace of justification before completing the performance of the works enumerated in the Bull—“*priusquam ultimum saltem ex injunctis operibus expleant, ut indulgentiam hoc Jubilaeo concessam consequantur,*” that is to say, that those persons cannot gain the indulgence who are in the state of mortal sin when they complete the performance of the works which are enjoined as conditions.

Is it necessary also to be free from all venial sins? By no

<sup>1</sup> *Resolutiones Morales*, tom. iv., tract *De Indulgentiis* resol. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Bullarium Benedicti XIV.* Constit. *Convocatis* (25 Nov., 1749), n. 47.



means. "Certum est apud doctores," says Viva,<sup>1</sup> "peccatum veniale non impedire quominus remittatur pœna debita aliis venialibus et mortalibus remissis." But it is equally certain that an indulgence will not remit the temporal punishment which is due on account of any venial sin, the guilt of which has not previously been forgiven. "Hoc non est proprium," says Suarez,<sup>2</sup> "solius peccati mortalis, sed commune est etiam veniali . . . . Unde si aliquis justus habeat venialem culpam nondum remissam, respectu illius non poterit consequi effectum indulgentiæ, quia non potest reatus pœnæ auferri, manente culpa. Et in hoc conveniunt Theologi." And hence since few persons amongst ordinary Christians are absolutely free from venial sin, it follows that those who gain even a plenary indulgence rarely obtain the remission of the entire debt of temporal punishment which they owe to God.

It may perhaps be asked, how can an indulgence be called plenary, the effect of which is thus limited? Strictly speaking, the principle which has just been explained does not involve any limitation of the effect of the indulgence. For, according to the definition most commonly received, an indulgence is "a remission of the temporal penalty *due to actual sins, already remitted as to their guilt*:"<sup>3</sup> every indulgence then which remits all this temporal punishment produces the full effect which an indulgence is capable of producing, and may therefore, without any impropriety, be styled plenary. "Conceditur plenissima," says Viva,<sup>4</sup> "juxta capacitatem subjecti: non est autem capax subjectum ut ei remittatur pœna debita veniali non remisso."

We may here examine a very interesting question regarding which a great deal of uncertainty and of misconception seems to exist:—Does the effect of a plenary indulgence—for instance, the indulgence of the Jubilee—depend upon the fervour with which the prescribed works are performed, or does every one who performs the works enumerated in the Bull, obtain the full benefit of the plenary indulgence, so as to receive the remission of all the temporal punishment corresponding to those sins the guilt of which has been forgiven?

According to the view which is put forward in very many modern ascetical works, the full effect of a plenary indulgence cannot be gained by merely complying with the conditions specified in the Bull: all who comply with those conditions will, indeed, gain an indulgence; but the amount of temporal

<sup>1</sup> *De Jubilæo*. Quaest. vi., art. ii., n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *De Pœnitentiâ*. Disp. 52, sec. ii., n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Bouvier. Traité des Indulgences*. Part i., chap. i.

<sup>4</sup> *De Jubilæo*. Quaest. vi., art. ii., n. 3.

punishment actually remitted will depend upon the fervour and devotion with which the prescribed works are performed ; and consequently a plenary indulgence will be gained by those only who perform the specified works with absolutely perfect dispositions. Thus, for instance, Canon Oakeley, in his Preface to the first English edition of Bouvier's Treatise on Indulgences,<sup>1</sup> writes as follows:—"The gaining of the indulgence in its integrity presupposes a *perfect* exercise of the necessary dispositions . . . Looking to the imperfect manner in which the appointed conditions are *even at best* fulfilled . . . *the probability is that few perform them so as to gain the whole* of the indulgence."

But although this view of the efficacy of an indulgence is sanctioned by several theologians of great eminence—St. Bonaventure,<sup>2</sup> St. Antoninus,<sup>3</sup> Estius,<sup>4</sup> Sylvius,<sup>5</sup> Laymann,<sup>6</sup> Amort,<sup>7</sup> Coninck,<sup>8</sup> and Dens,<sup>9</sup>—it would appear to be totally at variance with a principle which is recognized as a fundamental truth by all writers of authority, and which, in fact, may be regarded as a portion of the Catholic doctrine regarding indulgences, namely, that an indulgence is a favour granted by the Pope out of the treasury of the Church to all who comply with certain specified conditions, and that it is not a reward obtained by virtue of the personal merits of those who perform the works of piety which are enjoined. From this principle it clearly follows that every one who performs the works which the Pope prescribes, obtains, quite irrespectively of the merits of his actions, the remission of temporal punishment, which His Holiness in granting the indulgence promises to all who gain it. On the other hand, no one who fails to comply with those conditions will gain the indulgence, however meritorious his actions may be. It is, therefore, obvious, from the nature of an indulgence, that it is gained to its full extent when it is gained at all ; and that consequently the amount of temporal punishment remitted does not depend upon the fervour with which the prescribed works of piety are performed.

This doctrine is expressly taught by St. Thomas.<sup>10</sup> "Quidam dicunt," he says, "quod indulgentiae non tantum valent quan-

<sup>1</sup> *A Treatise on Indulgences* by Mgr. Bouvier. Translated from the French. With a Preface by the Rev. Frederick Oakeley, M.A., p. xiv., London, 1848.

<sup>2</sup> *In IV. Sentent.* Dist. xx., q. 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Summa Theologica.* Part I., tit. 9, cap. iii., sect. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *In IV. Sentent.* Dist. xx., sect. 10.

<sup>5</sup> *In Tertiam Partem S. Thomae.* Quaest. 25, art. ii., concl. 5.

<sup>6</sup> *Theologia Moralis.* Lib. v., tract. 7, cap. v., n. 4.

<sup>7</sup> *De Origine, Progressu, Valore et Fructu Indulgentiarum.* Part ii., sect. iv., nn. 186-8.

<sup>8</sup> *De Sacramento Penitentiae.* Disp. xii., dub. vi., n. 34.

<sup>9</sup> *De Penitentia,* n. 244.

<sup>10</sup> *Summa.* Part iii. Supplementum. Quaest. 25.



tum praedicantur, sed unicuique tantum valent quantum fides et devotio sua exigit. *Sed hoc valde periculosum est dicere* .....Et ideo aliter dicendum est, quod quantitas indulgentiae sequitur quantitatem suæ causae. Causa autem remissionis poenae non est nisi abundantia meritorum Ecclesiae, quae se habet sufficienter ad totam poenam expiandam; *non autem causa remissionis est vel devotio vel labor vel datum suscipientis indulgentiam, unde non oportet ad aliquid horum proportionare quantitatem remissionis.*"

Suarez teaches<sup>1</sup> the same doctrine. "Sequitur," he says, "omnes facientes opus ad indulgentiam requisitum aequalem effectum indulgentiae consequi.....quia omnes consequuntur totum fructum in quo non reperitur magis et minus..... *Qui opus injunctum praecise operatur, totum effectum consequitur;* quia nihil illi deest ex parte omnium causarum, neque habet aliquod impedimentum; qui autem vel aliquid amplius vel illud ipsum melius aut devotius operatur, *non plus consequitur, quia totum illud...quod addit, extra causam indulgentiae est;* nec ratione illius aliquid amplius concessum est. Billuart<sup>2</sup> in defending the same view, reasons thus:—"Qui opus praescriptum.....devote facit, nec plus nec devotius, vel lucratur integram indulgentiam qualis conceditur vel non: si primum, nihil ultra lucrari potest qui devotius et pluries opus facit; si secundum, pontifices enormiter decipiunt fideles, dum dicunt, '*qui tale opus devote fecerit, lucrabitur tantam indulgentiam,*' cum qui faciunt ut praescribitur, non lucrentur tantam sed quid minus." La Croix<sup>3</sup> says:—"Est probabilius cum S. Thoma, Suaresio, Filliucio, Bossio et Viva, melius dispositum aut intensius praestantem opera *non ideo accipere majorem fructum; hic enim non respondet dispositioni nostrae.*" The same view of this question is taken by Gobat,<sup>4</sup> Kazenberger,<sup>5</sup> Zaccaria,<sup>6</sup> Bellegambe,<sup>7</sup> Filliucius,<sup>8</sup> Soto,<sup>9</sup> Castropalao,<sup>10</sup> and Viva. In fact, there can be no doubt that it is, as Viva states, the more common opinion of theologians.

The only serious difficulty against it arises from a passage which occurs in a Bull of Boniface VIII.:—"Unusquisque

<sup>1</sup> *De Sacramento Poenitentiae.* Disp. 52, sect. viii., n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Cursus Theologiae. De Indulgentiis.* Art. v., Petes 4°.

<sup>3</sup> *Theologia Moralis.* Lib. vi., part. ii., n. 1407.

<sup>4</sup> *Opera Moralia. De Jubilaeo.* Cap. xviii., n. 119. *De Indulgentiis.* Cap. xix., n. 234.

<sup>5</sup> *Supplementum Theologiae Moralis Sacramentalis, R. P. F. Sporer.* Cap. iii., sect. i., n. 48.

<sup>6</sup> *Dell' Anno Santo.* Lib. iii., cap. 1., n. 6.

<sup>7</sup> *Enchiridion de Jubilaeo.* Part. iii., sect. xiv., quaest. 3.

<sup>8</sup> *Tract viii.,* cap. 6., q. 14, n. 126.

<sup>9</sup> *In IV. Sent.* Diss. xxi., quaest. ii., art. iii., concl. 2.

<sup>10</sup> *Opus Morale.* Tract. xxiv. *De Indulgentiis.* Punct. ix., n. 19.

tamen plus merebitur et indulgentiam efficacius consequetur, qui basilicas amplius et devotius frequentabit." But of this passage to which Estius and the other writers who adopt his view of this question appeal as absolutely inconsistent with the doctrine of St. Thomas, several interpretations have been proposed. Of these the most satisfactory appears to be that which Viva suggests, namely, that the Pope may be understood as explaining that those who perform the prescribed works with greater devotion, obtain thereby *the remission of some venial sins*, and, consequently, the remission of an amount of temporal punishment greater than they would otherwise obtain, since, as we have seen, an indulgence will not remit any portion of the punishment which is due on account of those sins, the guilt of which has not been remitted:—"Respondetur," says Viva, "Pontificem optime quidem asserere quod efficacius Indulgentiam consequetur qui amplius et devotius Basilicas frequentabit; quia scilicet non solum consequetur remissionem poenae debitae mortalibus et venialibus jam remissis, verum etiam remissionem poenae debitae venialibus quae nondum erant remissa, sed vi illius majoris devotionis remittuntur." Clearly then, there is no difficulty in reconciling with those words of Pope Boniface the doctrine which, as we have seen, is taught by St. Thomas and by the great majority of the most eminent theologians.

And here it may not be out of place to notice another point which is to some extent connected with this question regarding the efficacy of a plenary indulgence. If every plenary indulgence produces the full effect which the person by whom it is gained is capable of receiving, how, it may be asked, does the Jubilee differ from an ordinary plenary indulgence? In order to give a satisfactory answer to this question, it is necessary to distinguish between the Indulgence of the Jubilee and the other favours and privileges which are granted in connection with it. During the time of Jubilee, Confessors are invested with extraordinary powers to be exercised in favour of those who comply with the conditions set forth by the Holy Father. Doubtless, also, many great and special blessings are obtained from God by virtue of the united prayers of the entire Church. In these respects a great and manifest difference exists between the Jubilee and an ordinary Plenary Indulgence. But, as far as regards the remission of temporal punishment, there is, as may easily be inferred from the doctrine already laid down, no difference whatever.

This view, it may be observed, of the nature of the Jubilee indulgence is not peculiar to those who advocate the doctrine of St. Thomas regarding the efficacy of ordinary plenary in-



dulgences. It is adopted, with scarcely an exception, by all theologians of repute. "Inter indulgentiam plenariam" says Coninck<sup>1</sup> "et Jubilaeum non est ulla distinctio in ratione indulgentiae . . . In jubilaeo solet concedi major potestas absolvendi a casibus vel censuris reservatis et dispensandi in quibusdam votis, sed haec sunt ei accidentalia ut habet rationem indulgentiae." Loiseau<sup>2</sup> adopts the same view:—"Le Jubilé n'est pas un simple indulgence plénière, mais c'est une indulgence accompagnée de privilèges spéciaux; *et c'est en cela que consiste la différence entre le Jubilé et les autres indulgences plénières.*" He then quotes a remarkable passage from one of Benedict<sup>3</sup> XIV.'s Encyclicals:—"Monendus est populus christianus indulgentiam anni Jubilaei plenariam esse, *atque ab aliis item plenariis . . . secerni, quod confessariis . . . amplior tribuitur facultas absolvendi et dispensandi.*" The same point is, if possible, more distinctly expressed by Leo XII. in the Bull<sup>4</sup> *Charitate Christi*, issued on the occasion of the ordinary Jubilee of 1825. "Vestrum erit officium," said the Pope, addressing the Bishops of the Church, "ut fideles intelligant . . . plenariam esse indulgentiam Jubilaei, *et ab aliis etiam plenariis indulgentiis distinctam . . . propterea quod amplior poenitentiae ministris . . . tribuitur facultas a peccatis absolvendi et vincula atque impedimenta relaxandi quibus non raro confitentium conscientia implicatur; dum autem universi christiani populi in coelum ascendit deprecatio, certior in omnes Domini descendit miseratio.*" From these authoritative declarations it clearly follows that, as far as regards the remission of temporal punishment, no difference exists between an ordinary plenary indulgence and the indulgence of the Jubilee; and this conclusion, it may be observed, furnishes no slight confirmation of the doctrine of St. Thomas, namely, that every one who gains an ordinary plenary indulgence obtains the remission of the entire debt of temporal punishment due on account of those sins, the guilt of which has been forgiven.

#### V.—THE JUBILEE CONFESSION AND COMMUNION.

It has been the almost invariable practice of the Holy See to prescribe confession as one of the conditions required for gaining a plenary indulgence. But theologians have been by no means unanimous in their interpretation of the clauses "*praemissa confessione,*" "*peccata sua confessis,*" "*contritis et*

<sup>1</sup> *De Sacramento Poenitentiae.* Disp. xii., dub. v., n. 28.

<sup>2</sup> *Traité du Jubilé.* Chap. I., n. 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Bullarium Benedicti XII.* Constit. Apostolica, n. 13.

<sup>4</sup> *Bullarium Romanum.* Constit. Leo XII., *Charitate Christi*, n. 4.

*confessis*," "*vere pœnitentibus ac confessis*," in which the necessity of confession is usually set forth.

For a long time it was commonly taught that in such clauses, confession was mentioned only as a means of obtaining the grace of justification. According to this view, a person in the state of grace could gain the indulgence without going to confession, by performing the other works enjoined by the Pope. This opinion was held by Suarez,<sup>1</sup> De Lugo,<sup>2</sup> Ferraris,<sup>3</sup> Laymann,<sup>4</sup> and indeed by almost every theologian who wrote upon the subject before the year 1759, with the exception of Van Ranst,<sup>5</sup> Zaccaria,<sup>6</sup> and Theodorus a Sancto Spiritu.<sup>7</sup> Some writers, for instance Suarez and De Lugo, went so far as to say that when such clauses as "*contritis et confessis*," "*vere pœnitentibus et confessis*" are employed, confession is not prescribed as absolutely necessary even as a means of justification for persons in the state of mortal sin. For they considered that by virtue of such clauses, the indulgence is granted as well to those who obtain the grace of justification by an act of perfect contrition (*contritis*) as to those (*et confessis*) who receive the sacrament of penance. "Possunt illa verba," says De Lugo, "intelligi distributive, ut si diceret '*civibus et peregrinis*'; vult enim tunc Pontifex utrisque concedere, dum vel contritionem vel confessionem præmittant."

But from many declarations of the Sovereign Pontiffs, and decrees of the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences, it is now quite certain that in all these cases confession is prescribed as a condition indispensably necessary for all who wish to gain the indulgence, not only for persons who are in the state of mortal sin, but also for those who are in the state of sanctifying grace. The former point was decided in 1731, by the Sacred Congregation in a decree<sup>8</sup> regarding a class of cases, the circumstances of which give a special emphasis to the decision. The matter is thus referred to by Benedict XIV.<sup>9</sup>:—"Cum in Congregatione quaesitum esset num quemadmodum Missionarii qui in regionibus infidelium morantur, licite Sanctam Missam celebrant, præmisso contritionis actu ob grave aliquod, quod admiserint peccatum, cum non adsit confessarius . . . ita

<sup>1</sup> *De Pœnitentia*. Disp. 52, sect. iii., n. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *De Sacramento Pœnitentiae*. Disp. 27, sect. vi., n. 94; sect. vii., n. 100.

<sup>3</sup> *Bibliotheca*. In verb. *Indulgentia*, art. iii., nn. 33, 4; in verb. *Jubilaeum*, art. iii. nn. 24-5.

<sup>4</sup> *Theologia Moral*. Lib. v. tract. vii. *De Indulgentiis*, cap. vi., n. 6.

<sup>5</sup> *Opusculum de Indulgentiis*. Quaest. ii., nn. 7, 8.

<sup>6</sup> *Dell' Anno Santo*. Lib. iii., cap. 3, sect. 1, nn. 2, 3.

<sup>7</sup> *Tractatus de Indulgentiis*. Cap. vi., sect. iii., nn. 1, 5.

<sup>8</sup> *Decret. Sac. Cong. Indulg.* 19 Sep., 1731.

<sup>9</sup> *Bullarium Benedicti XIV.* • Constit., *Inter præteritos* (3 Dec., 1749), n. 6.



consequendi Indulgentias quae conceduntur 'vere poenitentibus et confessis' capaces dicendi sunt, facientes actum contritionis? . . . Congregatio respondit *nequaquam eos esse capaces.*" And how strongly the absolute necessity of actual confession is insisted upon, may be inferred from the fact that a privilege granted by Clement XII., in accordance with the desire of the Sacred Congregation, exempting missionaries from this obligation in the cases referred to in the decision of 1731, was withdrawn<sup>1</sup> in 1763 by his successor Clement XIII.

It is equally certain that when confession is included amongst the works enjoined as conditions for gaining an indulgence, it is necessary even for persons who are not in the state of mortal sin. A decree<sup>2</sup> upon this subject issued by the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences in 1759, declares "confessionem sacramentalem quando in brevibus apponitur pro indulgentiarum consecutione peragi omnino debere *etiam ab iis qui sibi lethalis peccati conscii non sunt.*" And Benedict XIV. in explaining<sup>3</sup> the clause, "vere poenitentibus et confessis," which he had inserted in the Bull regarding the Jubilee of 1750, says:—"Cum confessio sacramentalis in hoc Jubilaeo sit opus injunctum . . . peragenda erit *etiam ab eo qui solis peccatis venialibus teneatur*, si hoc lucrari Jubilaeum velit." In consequence of those decisions, no doubt is any longer entertained upon this subject.

In some cases a second confession becomes necessary. "Si quis lucraturus Jubilaeum," says Viva,<sup>4</sup> "confiteatur et antequam impleat reliqua opera injuncta incidat in mortale, tenetur iterum confiteri, ut dicitur de eo qui suscepturus est Eucharistiam." This opinion which is taught also by Suarez, Theodorus a Sancto Spiritu, Zaccaria, and the great majority of theologians, is rejected by De Lugo, and several other writers of great eminence. It is, however, unnecessary to enter upon an examination of the arguments put forward by the defenders of the two opposite views, since the controversy is practically at an end, Benedict XIV. having decided it in favour of those writers who hold that in this case a second confession is necessary. In his Encyclical *Inter praeteritos*,<sup>5</sup> he says:—"Jure et merito docent [Suarez, Viva et alii scriptores jam citati] quod ille qui confessus est, et Basilicarum visitationes incaepit, si ante ultimam visitationem in mortale peccatum inciderit,

<sup>1</sup> See Zaccaria, *Dell' Anno Santo*. Lib. iii., cap. 3, sect. i, n. 2. Also Loiseaux, *Traité du Jubilé*. Chap. v., art. 2, sect. ii, nn. 4, 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Decret. Sac. Cong. Indulg.* 19 Maii, 1759.

<sup>3</sup> *Bullarium Benedicti XIV.* Constit. *Convocatis* (25 Nov., 1749) n. 46.

<sup>4</sup> *De Jubilaeo*. Quaest. viii., art. iii., n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Bullarium Benedicti XIV.* Constit. *Inter praeteritos*. (3 Dec. 1749) n. 46.

*confiteri debet*; quodque contritionis actus ad consequendum Jubilaeum minime sufficiens est."

Is a second confession necessary in the case of a person who before he has completed the performance of the works enjoined and consequently before gaining the indulgence, recollects a mortal sin which, without any fault of his, he had forgotten in making his Jubilee confession? According to the view which is more generally taught by theologians, a second confession is not necessary in this case. If there were question, they say, of a sin not yet forgiven, it would indeed be necessary to go to confession a second time; but it does not appear that any good reason exists for requiring a second confession in the case of a person who is in the state of grace, and whose mortal sins have all been remitted, at least indirectly, in the sacrament of penance.

But it must be observed that many writers who adopt this view, and indeed the great majority of theologians are of opinion that in this case, when the sin is remembered before the reception of Holy Communion, it is necessary to go to confession a second time; not indeed for any reason specially connected with the indulgence of the Jubilee, but because, according to their interpretation of the law of the Council of Trent,<sup>1</sup> regarding the preparation necessary for the reception of the Blessed Eucharist, it is never lawful in such a case to communicate without having confessed the sin which was forgotten in the former confession.

However St. Alphonsus, who considers this interpretation of the law to be incorrect, teaches that in such a case it is not necessary to go again to confession before going to communion, and, as may be seen by referring to his exposition of this question,<sup>2</sup> his opinion is supported by very cogent arguments.

The question still remains whether, in the case of the Jubilee, any special reason exists which renders it necessary, under such circumstances, to make a second confession before completing the performance of the prescribed conditions? We have already seen that, according to the more common opinion of theologians, no such necessity exists. But, practically speaking, it would appear advisable to follow the opinion of Suarez, who teaches<sup>3</sup> that a second confession should in this case be made. For Benedict XIV., although perhaps he has not formally decided this question, incidentally refers in his Encyclical *Inter prae-teritos* to the doctrine of Suarez in such a manner as to furnish some grounds for supposing that in his opinion it ought to be

<sup>1</sup> *Concil. Trid.*, Sess. xiii., cap. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Theologia Moralis*. Lib. vi., tract. iii. *De Eucharistia*, n. 257.

<sup>3</sup> *De Sacramento Pœnitentiae*. Disp. 52, sect. iii., n. 7.



regarded as true. His words<sup>1</sup> are:—"Cum [a Suarezio et ab aliis citatis] consideretur quod Confessio praescripta refertur ad indulgentiam, et quod consequenter confessio mortalium peccatorum usque ad terminum quo Indulgentiae fructus obtinetur, commissorum requiritur, jure et merito docent quod ille qui confessus est et Basilicarum visitationes incaepit si ante ultimam visitationem in mortale peccatum incidit iterum confiteri debet; . . . Ad repetendam item confessionem illum etiam obligari addunt qui peccati alicujus in Confessione prius facta, per innoxiam oblivionem non enunciati, reminisceretur...*Atque huic nos solidiori sententiae*, n. 47, *adhesimus*...peccatorem oneri obnoxium relinquentes ut prius confiteri debeat, quam postremam compleat Basilicarum visitationem,"

Some writers on the Jubilee recommend that in order to avoid, as far as possible the necessity of making a second confession, the Jubilee confession, should be deferred until the other requirements of the Bull have been complied with. But it must be borne in mind that although not required as a condition for gaining the indulgence, it is according to the common teaching of theologians most desirable that the prescribed works should be performed in the state of grace. Hence the Sovereign Pontiffs have frequently expressed their earnest desire that persons who are in the state of mortal sin should receive the Sacrament of Penance before complying with the other requirements of the Jubilee Bull. Thus, for instance, Benedict XIV. says in his Encyclical *Inter praeteritos*<sup>2</sup> "Optandum omnino esset, et melius . . . si antequam visitatio Basilicarum inciperetur, fructuosa praemitteretur confessio, ut visitationes ipsae in statu gratiae fierent, atque iteraretur confessio si quis, visitationibus inceptis, in lethale aliquod peccatum prolaberetur." But, it is hardly necessary to add, in cases where it would be difficult to induce persons to make a second confession for the purpose of gaining the Jubilee, it is obviously the more prudent course to defer the confession and communion until the other conditions have been observed.

Before the time of Benedict XIV., a very serious practical difficulty existed regarding the case of children not yet admitted to First Communion. Cardinal De Lugo<sup>3</sup> was of opinion that in consequence of their inability to perform a work, the absolute necessity of which is set forth in the Bull of Jubilee, they could not gain the indulgence. To other writers, however, it

<sup>1</sup> *Bullarium Benedicti XIV.* Encycl. *Inter Praeteritos* (3 Dec., 1749), n. 79.

<sup>2</sup> *Bullarium Benedicti XIV.* Encycl. citat.

<sup>3</sup> *De Sacramento Penitentiae.* Disp. xxvii., n. 118.

seemed improbable that any members of the church should be excluded from participating in a favour—such as the indulgence of a Jubilee—granted *omnibus et singulis Christifidelibus*. Some of these, for instance Theodore a Sancto Spiritu<sup>1</sup> and Collet,<sup>2</sup> considered that in this case it is necessary to make use of the power of commuting the works enjoined, which by the Bull of Jubilee is granted to all approved confessors. But Viva<sup>3</sup> and many other writers were of opinion that it is not necessary to obtain any commutation of this condition, so that without going to communion, such children could gain the indulgence by performing the other works which the Pope enjoins. “Cum prohibeantur pueri communionem sumere,” says Viva, “idque norit Summus Pontifex dicendum non exigi ab iis communionem quia ex jure ‘*conditio de jure impossibilis, etiamsi apponatur, habetur pro non apposita*’; ergo cum relate ad pueros ista conditio, quod communicent, sit de jure impossibilis, relate ad illos habetur pro non apposita.”

The difficulty was practically removed by Benedict XIV.,<sup>4</sup> who, in one of the Encyclicals which he issued in reference to the Jubilee of 1750, explained that children who could not be admitted to communion within the time allowed for gaining the Jubilee were to be considered as *legitime impediti*, as far as regards this condition, and that in their case the performance of some other work of piety, to be determined by the confessor, should be substituted. This decision, it is obvious, involved an extension of the power of commutation which is conferred on all approved confessors, and by virtue of which they are authorised to substitute the performance of other works of piety in the case of persons unable to comply with some of the requirements of the Bull of Jubilee. For, under ordinary circumstances, this power does not extend to three of the prescribed conditions, namely, Confession, Communion, and the prayers for the intentions specified by the Pope.

The rule laid down by Benedict XIV. was acted upon by his successors until 1846, when his present Holiness, in granting his first Jubilee, gave<sup>5</sup> to all approved confessors the power of *dispensing* with this condition in the case of such children:—“*Facultatem dispensandi super communionem cum pueris, qui nondum ad primam communionem admissi fuerint, pariter concedimus.*”

By this clause, since it did not require a commutation of

<sup>1</sup> *Tractatus Historico Theologicus de Jubilæo*, cap. vii., sect. i., nn. 5, 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Traité des Indulgences et du Jubilé*, chap. v. art. 2, nn. 2, 4.

<sup>3</sup> *De Jubilæo*. Quaest. viii., art. 4, nn. 4, 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Bullarium Benedicti XIV.* Constit. *Convocatis* (25th Nov., 1749) n. 48.

<sup>5</sup> *Acta Pii IX.* Encycl., *Arcano*, (20th Nov. 1846).



this condition, the necessity of substituting the performance of any other work of piety was removed—"Ce n'était plus seulement du pouvoir de *commuer*," says M. Loiseaux,<sup>1</sup> "mais c'était de celui de *dispenser* que furent alors investis les confesseurs.

. . . . Comme cette clause permet aux confesseurs de dispenser purement et simplement il n'est pas nécessaire qu'ils remplacent cette œuvre par une autre, comme cela doit se faire dans le cas de commutation." And since the Encyclical *Nemo certe ignorat*,<sup>2</sup> in which are set forth the conditions to be observed and the special faculties conferred during the present Jubilee contains a similar clause, no doubt can be entertained that all approved confessors have on this occasion also, the power of simply dispensing children from the necessity of observing this condition—"Christifidelibus . . . . quocunque impedimento detentis qui memorata opera præstare nequeverint, ut illa confessarius . . . in alia pietatis opera commutare, eaque injungere quae ipsi poenitentes efficere possunt, cum facultate etiam dispensandi super communione cum pueris, qui nondum ad primam communionem admissi fuerint, pariter concedimus et indulgemus."

W. J. W.

## THE DANGERS OF THE LIGHT LITERATURE OF THE DAY.

IF there be one thing more than another that distinguishes the present age from those gone by, it is perhaps the increasing desire of reading, especially what is called light literature, such as novels and romances, and the like. And this desire is growing greater every year, extending to all classes, and with numbers has become a regular passion. The writer of an article in *Chambers' Encyclopædia*, which is I believe one of the latest published, remarks on this subject, "For the last thirty years novels have been multiplied to a degree which is most alarming, and literally incalculable . . . every mode of life, and every kind of opinion, social, artistic, philosophic, and religious, has sought to recommend itself by adopting this fascinating garb . . . . the *extraordinary increase*," he adds, "of this potent, and therefore perilous branch of literature, cannot fail to excite much curious reflection in thoughtful minds." One reason of this *extraordinary increase* is, that,

<sup>1</sup> *Traité du Jubilé*, chap. v., art. 2, sec. iii., n. II.

<sup>2</sup> See *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*. Vol. 5, No. LVI., May, 1869.

whereas in every branch of trade the demand creates the supply, in this it not only creates it, but is in turn created by it. Very many works, which but a few years ago were a kind of luxury, read only by the rich, owing to their high price, are now, from their wide circulation, brought down within the reach of all classes. Now, of course along with the growing thirst for this kind of reading, or rather as a consequence of it, there is also the increasing danger to the faith and morals of Catholics. Nearly all the works of the day, from the quarterly reviews and monthly magazines down to the lowest penny journal, and novels especially, are written by non-Catholics, whose standard of faith and morals is essentially false ; who, with comparatively few exceptions, write for lucre, cater to the voluptuous taste of fashionable society, studying only to produce the most marketable commodity ; and their whole tone and spirit, even the best meaning of them, are uncatholic. On this account therefore I think it will not be without some advantage to say a few words on the danger and evil effects of reading bad books. And to make the matter more clear and orderly, I shall speak of them first by way of contrast to good and pious books, and secondly considered in themselves. There is a maxim in philosophy which says, that “Contraries have the same reason—*Eadem contrariorum est ratio* ;” and the application of this maxim will enable me to point out what I have proposed in the first place to infer, that is, from the good effects produced by good and pious reading, the contrary effects of bad and irreligious works. It was a saying in fact of the prince of pagan philosophers, and one adopted by some of the fathers of the church, that books are the food of the mind ; in other words, that reading is to the mind what food is to the body, if good a nourishment, if bad an injury, and in proportion to its badness a regular poison. But whether good or bad it is always sure to produce certain effects, just like food with the body, it is assimilated with the mind, is converted into and becomes, so to speak, part and parcel of its very substance. Now as regards the reading of good and pious books ; the best and wisest of all ages are agreed that a taste for good reading, even (considered only) as a worldly advantage, is one of the most delightful and unfailing sources of pure pleasure and happiness ; good reading places you<sup>1</sup> “in contact with the best society in every period of history, with the wisest, noblest, purest characters that have adorned humanity. It makes you, as it were, a citizen of all nations, a cotemporary of all ages. It makes you associate with their thoughts, it places before

<sup>1</sup> Herschel Address at the University of Edinburgh.



your eyes the way in which the best informed, and the most learned have spoken and acted in their intercourse with the then world. It is hardly possible but the character should take a higher and better tone, the whole tenour of your life be influenced by those who were so far above the average of humanity." And as for pious reading in particular, all the saints and spiritual writers, who have touched on the subject, say that it is one of the most powerful means in the conversion of the soul, and its advancement in grace ; and this is true more especially of course of the Holy Scriptures.

For when we consider the author of those sacred books, that they came originally from heaven, were dictated by divine wisdom, contain the wisest lessons of instruction suited to every circumstance of life, formed on the experience of all preceeding ages, and perfected by the unerring spirit of inspiration ; we must see at once how indisputable is their superiority in every respect to all other works. We have there the cause of all our misery traced to its proper source, the remedy shown, and freely offered, the truths of salvation communicated in language of surpassing beauty, and adorned with all the excellences of composition. "Love the Holy Scriptures," says St. Jerome, "and wisdom will love you ; choose them, and it shall save you ; honor them, and it shall embrace you . . . be these as precious pearls on your breast." The same may be said to a certain extent of all pious reading, I shall only quote one passage of St. Bernard, on those words of the Gospel, "Seek and you shall find, knock and it shall be opened to you ;" he writes, "Seek by *reading*, and you shall find by prayer ; knock by meditation, and it shall be opened to you in contemplation ;" clearly implying that pious reading is the first step in the ladder that leads to salvation. Now, of all that could be said in praise of good and pious reading, the very opposite holds true of bad books. They are the first step in the ladder of the reprobate, in that steep of vice, that descent, of which a heathen poet has written "... facilis descensus Averni . . . Sed revocare gradum, hoc opus, hic labor est." "The descent is easy ; but to retrace one's steps is a task by few accomplished." The evil impressions they leave are hardly ever effaced from the mind. But, let us consider them on their own merits. Their usual theme, as we all know, the subject they generally treat of, is profane love. This is the burden of their story, the key-note of nearly all the light literature of the day. And the indulgence of this passion is held forth as the highest aim, a duty in fact, or at least a necessity of human nature, beyond resistance or control, at the worst a pardonable

weakness. All these works, as a rule, suppose and go to establish the holiness of the natural inclinations as a principle in morals, the grossest passions as sacred impulses, the final and legitimate expressions of right and duty. *They* appeal, for the most part, to the morbid sentiments, and mainly depend for their attractions on the soft suggestions and subtle allurements of a refined sensuality. Hence their heroes and heroines are represented as fatally conquered by the concurrence of circumstances; mere helpless creatures of impulse, succumbing to necessity. Now all this is only just what might be expected, it is perfectly in keeping with their principles when urged to their legitimate conclusions. For bear in mind; on the one hand, these writers entirely discard the supernatural. Every motive of thought and spring of action is human, the whole machinery is natural, of the earth earthly. God, or grace, or any aid from on high is quite beside their plan! All the weapons of their warfare are carnal. On the other hand, you have the fiercest struggles, the most intense passions, and violent temptations of which human nature is conscious brought into full play. In fact the ability of the writer is estimated by his power in describing such. This is called fidelity and truth to nature. Now it is quite easy to foresee the result of all this, how it must end with those who are engaged in such struggles of their own seeking. The Catholic faith teaches that we are unable to form a good thought, much less perform a meritorious work, without the grace of God. That we cannot overcome any grievous temptation without his especial assistance. What wonder then that the heroes and heroines of fiction, written by those who disbelieve all this, should be represented as the sport of passion, which they are unable to resist, helpless victims of fate, driven to their own ruin and degradation. Even in the works of one<sup>1</sup> of the most deservedly esteemed of these writers, who died a few years since, you have a mistrust of humanity, a hopeless sense of its infirmity running through almost all of them, in a sort of mournful undertone, beneath his sparkling wit and satire. The entire system of morality with these writers is like an arch without a key-stone; the one great essential is wanting, the divine aid, and the motives adequate to meet and control the influence of passion. They point out the evil, but fail to supply the remedy. Take any of the most popular novelists of the day, whose works are universally read, and lauded by the press as models of excellence, and see what are the highest motives of conduct put forward by them. Simply a sense of honor or self-respect, the

<sup>1</sup> Thackeray. See *The Church and the World* (1868).



teaching of experience, or fear of consequences, and such like, just the same that an enlightened pagan might propose, all falling short of, or rather directly opposed to, the spirit of christianity. Yet all their virtue is resolved into these; *they* are made the sole basis of moral obligation: and then, after doing away with the religious sanctions which could have any real force and efficacy, they are obliged to fall back on unassisted human nature, left to its own resources, which are simply powerless, which at best may restrain the hand from evil deed, but cannot keep the heart from evil thought and defilement. And hence all sorts of impruriencies, not to say<sup>1</sup> indecencies, are justified by them on the ground of their springing from the excitements of natural passion. It is not too much, therefore, to assert that these works are in general the deadly enemy of true piety; for they tend to pervert the judgment, and enervate the mind of the reader, and to produce a diseased state of the affections; so that by degrees the whole equilibrium of character is destroyed, the springs of conscience loosened, and the mind thrown off its balance; and in time of strong temptation the soul, losing strength to resist, falls down in collapse, powerless and exhausted.

What is worse, these passions and vices (or weaknesses as they are termed) are there presented in combination with the most engaging qualities. The lives of the heroes and heroines are invested with a halo of romantic interest, so as to excite sympathy rather than abhorrence. You have physical beauty, and softness, and delicacy in union, and contrast with moral deformity, and the most daring wickedness, to make them the more fascinating. This is the character of the novels that are continued through the monthly numbers of most of the fashionable Magazines of the day. Some persons may say, they only read them for amusement, know them to be mere romance, inventions of the writer, and therefore run no danger in reading them. That is a great mistake; admiration cannot be deep without being practical, we cannot give our sympathy to the false pride and philosophy, the passions and qualities attributed to the personages of modern fiction, without feeling in a greater or less degree their influence on our own hearts, without our minds being deeply imbued with them; our own thoughts will take their colour, and our own minds a bias and disposition from them. The pores of the soul are so to speak, laid open, and it is sure to catch the contagion. And this is true, not merely of those works whose tone is low, taste bad, colouring voluptuous, morality gross or

<sup>1</sup> Thackeray. See *The Church and the World* (1868).

questionable; but even more so of those that are apparently pure and harmless, whose sentiment is the most delicate and refined. These are the most dangerous. Works that are openly gross, disgust those who are not already corrupt, or at least beginning to be so; but there are others that studiously avoid such to excite no alarm, that are read by the innocent and confiding, and they are the most fearfully seductive, they sap by degrees the very foundations of virtue, they infuse, before it is felt, a deadly poison, they create a temper of mind and spirit that paves the way for corruption.

Suspicion is lulled by the kindly tone<sup>1</sup> and fair professions, the judgment deceived by the honied sophistry, and the fancy dazzled by the brilliant imagery like a veil thrown over them to conceal their true proportions, so that the spell on the reader's mind becomes irresistible. The great art lies in contrasting a certain surface appearance of innocence and simplicity, with the most ingenious and refined expression of sensuality and immodesty, in presenting sin and guilt with a brilliant varnish over them, veiling their real nature by making them appear the natural result of truth and impulsiveness. Now and then it is true, a voice is raised to disclaim any sympathy with vice, but then in faint warnings that read like extenuations, the reproofs are so tender and gentle as to seem rather allurements and enticements. The virtues on the other hand, there represented, are of an over-strained and extravagant cast. The highest standard of conduct then set before them, is the lax judgments and loose maxims, and the still laxer and looser practices of modern fashionable society. Besides this there is hardly one of them that does not contain a covert attack on Catholic faith or morals. Everything belonging to the Catholic religion is caricatured; her devotions and ceremonies distorted in the most scoffing tone; religious orders of both sexes turned into the most unfeeling ridicule as though good for nothing, "...fruges consumere nati." This is the case with those who are looked up to as the most respectable and least offensive writers of the day. Hence the faith and morals of their readers are gradually undermined: the process may be slow, but it is sure. Tell me your company, says the proverb, and I'll tell you who you are. A person's character is judged by the company he frequents. Now of all bad companions, the worst is a bad book, if, for no other reasons, because it is the most constant, and it is that of which we are least ashamed; even the most wicked sometimes blush at bad company, through self respect at least.

<sup>1</sup> Thackery. See *The Church and the World* (1868).



Lord M'Auley remarks, "that dead authors are more fascinating than living people," and so their subtle and deadly poison is instilled into our minds, their pages are the avenues of vice ; through which it gets easy entrance into the soul.

If they had no other bad effect, and this is but the least bad, they always create a distaste for anything like useful or solid information, in fact, a disgust for all serious duty. Like children fed on sweets and dainties, the mental palate of their readers becomes vitiated, and rejects what is really substantial, it gets a continual craving for excitements ; they live on these stimulants, and literally devour them. Hence you often hear persons say they read such a novel without leaving it out of their hands, stay up half the night to finish it. Now the wrong views of life, the exaggerated picture of men and manners, these works contain, the dangerous impulse they give to the hopes and expectations, quite unfit their readers for ordinary life. Their every day duties become monotonous and dull, a regular drudgery in fact. The whole train of their affections, the current of their thoughts sets into an artificial channel. Novel readers, I speak of habitual, and all I have said, or have to say, is true in proportion, as they indulge this habit, become unreal, affected, pretentious ; their former companions, their own brothers and sisters, become wearisome, too slow for them. They live in a world of fancy, a kind of dream-land, brooding over imaginary scenes and pictures, until they are almost cheated into the belief of their reality, and the result is, they become a useless burden to themselves and their family, and when they settle down in life they continue so. A fair way to judge of these books is this, would any good or worthy person like to have those he reads of for his intimate friends or acquaintance, much less as brothers and sisters ; would parents like to have their sons and daughters *such* ? The reading of novels especially, destroys in the mind the connection between feeling and acting, and consequently tends to make those who are given to it artificial and insincere.<sup>1</sup> In the language of one of the most distinguished writers of the present age, "Such works contain many good sentiments : (I am taking the better sort of them ;) characters, too, are introduced, virtuous, noble, patient under suffering, and triumphing at length over misfortune. The great truths of religion are upheld, we will suppose, and enforced ; and our affections excited and interested in what is good and true. But it is all fiction ; it does not exist out of a book which contains the

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Newman's Parochial Sermons. Vol. 2, 30.

beginning and end of it. *We* have nothing *to do* we read, are affected, softened or roused, and that is all; we cool again,—nothing comes of it. Now observe the effect of this. God has made us feel in order that we may *go on to act* in consequence of feeling; if then we allow our feelings to be excited without acting upon them, we do mischief to the moral system within us, just as we might spoil a watch, or other piece of mechanism, by playing with the wheels of it. We weaken its springs, and they cease to act truly. Accordingly, when we have got into the habit of amusing ourselves with these works of fiction, we come at length to feel the excitement without the slightest thought or tendency to act upon it; and, since it is very difficult to begin any duty *without* some emotion or other (that is, on mere principals of dry reasoning) a grave question arises, how, after destroying the connexion between feeling and acting, how shall we get ourselves to act when circumstances make it our duty to do so? For instance, we will say we have read again and again, of the heroism of facing danger, and we have glowed with the thought of its nobleness. We have felt how great it is to bear pain, and submit to indignities, rather than wound our conscience; and all this, again and again, when we had no opportunity of carrying our good feelings into practice. Now, suppose at length we actually come into trial, and let us say, our feelings become roused, as often before, at the thought of boldly resisting temptations to cowardice, shall we therefore do our duty, quitting ourselves like men? rather, we are likely to talk loudly, and then run from the danger. Why?—rather let us ask, why *not*? what is to keep us from yielding? Because we *feel* aright? nay, we have again and again felt aright, and thought aright, without accustoming ourselves to act aright, and, though there was an original connexion in our minds between feeling and acting, there is none now; the wires within us, as they may be called, are loosened and powerless.

And what is here instanced of fortitude, is true in all cases of duty. The refinement which literature gives, is that of thinking, feeling, knowing and speaking, right, not of acting right; and thus, while it makes the manners amiable, and the conversation decorous and agreeable, it has no tendency to make the conduct, the practice of the man *virtuous*.

Observe, I have supposed the works of fiction, I speak of to inculcate right sentiments; though such works (play-books for example) are often vicious and immoral. But even at best, supposing them well principled, still after all, at best, they are, I say, dangerous in themselves."



## LETTERS OF BALMEZ.

## III.—EXISTENCE OF HELL, OR ETERNITY OF PAINS.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Since, according to what you indicate in your last, I see we shall have a serious dispute on religious matters, the security you give me that your extravagance has not run to the extreme of calling into doubt the existence of God, has filled me with indescribable consolation; this levels extremely the road to discussion, for it is not possible to advance a single step in it without agreeing on this fundamental truth. And it was not without motive I desired to be satisfied about the ideas you professed on this subject; for I can never forget what happened to me with another Skeptic, whom I suspected of doubting even of the existence of God, or at least of forming a wrong conception of it; asking him in consequence a few questions, he came out with a strange response, which would be facetious if it were not sacreligious. Remarking to him that before all discussion it was necessary to agree on this point, he answered, with the greatest serenity imaginable:—"I think we can go forward; for I believe it is of little importance to ascertain if God be something distinct from nature, or if He be nature itself!" To such a length goes the confusion of ideas, disordered by impiety! and this man in other respects was of more than ordinary education, and of very clear intellect!

I at once give you a thousand satisfactions for having presumed to indicate my misgivings on this head, though I hardly repent for such conduct, because it has produced at least one great good, which is, that it caused you to explain yourself on the subject in such a way, that, revealing as you do much good sense, it makes me conceive great hopes that my efforts shall not be in vain. A thousand times have I read those judicious words of your letter, in which you explain the point of view from which you consider this important truth. Allow me to transcribe them in mine, and to recommend to you warmly never to forget them. "I have never troubled my head much with seeking for proofs of the existence of God; history, physics, metaphysics, would supply me with everything I want for such a demonstration, but I ingenuously confess that for my own conviction I do not need so much scientific apparatus. I pull out my watch, and on contemplating its curious mechanism, and its ordered movement, no one would be capable of persuading me that all that was made by chance, without the intelligence and labour of the artist: the universe undoubtedly shows forth somewhat more skill than my watch; some one then, must have fabricated it. Atheists talk to me of chance, of combinations of tones, of nature, and I know not of what all; but, with these gentlemen's pardon, all those words are void of sense." I have nothing to suggest to one who appreciates the value of the two systems with such equity; I esteem these words as simple as they are profound, more than a volume filled with reasons and proofs,

Coming to the point of which you speak in your letter, I will commence by telling you it has amused me to find you open the discussion by attacking the dogma of the eternity of punishments. I did not expect you would make so early an attack on this flank; and, between ourselves, this anomaly gives me to understand you have got some little fear of hell. The matter is not superfluous; it is serious, urgent; in a few years hence we will know from experience all about it, and well may you say that, "for those who are now deceived the price of that knowledge will be dear indeed."

I have no objection to enter on religious questions in this way; but I must remark that it is not the best method of rendering them as clear as would be

desirable. Catholic doctrines form a whole, in which there is seen such connection and reciprocal dependence that one cannot be rejected without rejecting all; and on the contrary, admitting certain capital points, it is impossible to resist the admission of the rest. It happens very often that the impugnors of those doctrines select one of them for attack, taking it in complete isolation, and crowding together difficulties which naturally present themselves, considering the debility of man's intellect. "This is inconceivable, they say, the religion which teaches it cannot be true;" as if Catholics said the mysteries of their religion were within the reach of man, as if they were not continually assuring us that there are many truths to the elevation of which our limited comprehension cannot rise.

When we read or hear of a phenomenon, or any event whatever, we inform ourselves above all things of the intelligence and veracity of the narrator; and, being well assured on this head, no matter how strange the thing may appear, we do not take the liberty of rejecting it. Before the circumnavigation of the globe there were few who comprehended how it was possible that a ship which sailed to the west could return by the east; but was this enough to refuse to give credit to the narration of Sebastian de Eleano when he succeeded in carrying out the bold design of the unfortunate Magellan? If one of our ancestors rising from the tomb were to hear of the wonders of industry in civilized countries, should he carefully examine the relation he hears of the functions of this or that machine, of the agents which propel it, the class of work it produces, and reject at once what might appear to him incomprehensible? Certainly not; what he should do, acting in conformity with reason and prudence, would be to assure himself of the veracity of the witnesses, to examine whether it were possible they could have been deceived, or whether they could have any interest in deceiving him; but once he became convinced that none of these circumstances existed, he could not without temerity refuse to give credit to what he might be told, no matter how inconceivable it might be to him, and though it should appear to pass the limits of possibility.

In like manner should one proceed when he comes to treat of religious matters; what he should examine is, whether revelation really exists, and whether the Church is the depository of revealed truths. These two bases once firmly established, what matters it whether this or that dogma appear more or less plausible, whether reason be more or less humbled in not being able to comprehend them? Does revelation exist? Is this truth revealed? Is there any competent judge to decide whether it is or not? What does that judge say on it? Behold the logical order of ideas, behold the logical order of questions, behold the way to inform oneself in these matters; everything else is to wander, to expose oneself to lose one's time in disputes which lead to nothing.

Far from me the intention of avoiding, by means of these observations, the body of the difficulty; but it is not out of place to have made them, that they may be recollected when necessary. I am going now to take up the difficulty. You say "you find it very repugnant to give credit to what preachers are continually saying about the pains of hell, and that you often heard things so horrible that they almost became ridiculous." I reserve it for hereafter to tell you something about those horrors; for the present, and not knowing what motives of complaint you have on the subject, I will content myself with remarking that the Catholic dogma has nothing to do with this or that idea that might have occurred to a preacher. What the Church teaches is, *that those who die in a bad state of conscience, that is in mortal sin, suffer a punishment which will have no end.* Behold the dogma: whatever may be said about the position of the place of this punishment, about the degree and quality of the pains, is not of faith; it belongs to those points on which it is lawful to hold different opinions, without wandering from the Catholic belief. What we do know, for the Scripture says it expressly, is, that these pains are horrid; well then, for what do we want to know more? Terrible pains, and that too without end!—is this idea alone not sufficient to deprive us of all curiosity regarding all other questions that might be started on the subject?

"How is it possible, you say, that a God infinitely merciful could chastise with such vigour?" How is it possible, I answer, that a God infinitely just, should not chastise with such vigour, after having endeavoured to call us to the



way of salvation, through the many means with which He supplied us during the course of our life? When man offends God, the creature outrages the Creator, a finite an infinite Being; this, then, demands a chastisement in some sense infinite. In the order of human justice an attack is more or less criminal, according to the class or category of the person offended; with what horror a son who ill-treats his parents is regarded! What circumstance is there more aggravating than to offend a person in the very act of his bestowing a favour on us? Well, then, make application of these ideas; recollect that in man's offence against God, there is the rebellion of nothingness against an infinite Being, there is the ingratitude of the son to his father, there is the disrespect of the subject towards his supreme Lord, of a weak creature against the Sovereign of heaven and earth. How many motives there are to intensify the fault! how many reasons to augment the severity of the punishment! For a simple attempt against the life or property of an individual, human law chastises the guilty with the pain of death; that is with the greatest of all pains that exist in the world, exerting itself, doing violence to itself in a certain sense to inflict an infinite chastisement, since it deprives the victim of all the goods of society for ever. Why, then, cannot the Supreme Judge too, chastise the guilty with punishments which shall last for ever? And mark well that human justice is not satisfied with repentance; the crime once consummated, the penalty follows it, and it is not enough that the criminal may have changed his mode of living; God asks for a contrite and humble heart; He does not desire the death of the sinner, but that he be converted and live; nor does He discharge the fatal blow on the head of the delinquent without placing life and death before him, without leaving to him the choice, without offering him a friendly hand with the aid of which he might be able to remove from the edge of the precipice. Whom, then, can man blame but himself? In what are these ideas repugnant or cruel? It is easy to deceive the incautious, by pronouncing emphatically *eternity of pains* and *infinite mercy*; but examine the matter profoundly; attend to all the circumstances connected with it, and you will see that the difficulties which presented themselves at first sight disappear like smoke. The secret of the most deceptive sophisms consists in the artifice of presenting to view one side of objects only; of approximating two ideas, which, if they appear contradictory, it is because the intermediate ones that connect and harmonize them are not attended to. It is easy to observe that the most celebrated authors amongst the enemies of religion often solve the most grave and complicated questions with an ingenious remark or a sentimental reflection. As all things bear so different aspects, it is not difficult for a sharp genius to seize upon two points, the contrast of which may wound the mind of the reader in a lively manner; and if to this be added something that can interest the heart, it does not cost much trouble to upset in the mind of the incautious the most well-grounded system of doctrines.

Now that I have mentioned sentimentalism, I cannot pass over the abuse that is made of this class of arguments by speaking to the heart in many cases, in which one should address the intellect alone. Thus in the subject of which we are treating, how could a sensible heart resist the horrid spectacle of a poor wretch condemned to suffer for ever? It has been said that great thoughts come from the heart; and in this, as in all propositions that are too general, there is one part true and another false; for if it be indubitable that in many things sentiment is an excellent auxiliary to comprehend certain truths, it is no less so that it should never be taken as a principal guide, and that it should never be permitted to domineer over the eternal principles of reason. The rights and duties of parents and children, of husband and wife, and all family relations, will not be comprehended, perhaps, so perfectly if while analyzed at the bare light of a dissecting philosophy, the inspirations of the heart are not listened to at the same time; but, on the other hand, the sound principles of morality will be upset, and disorder will be introduced into families, if, prescinding from the severe dictates of reason, we obstinately persevere in regulating our conduct by the suggestions of the volubility of our affections.

I am greatly deceived if there be not found here one of the most fruitful sources of the errors of our epoch. If we observe well we shall find that the human mind is traversing a period whose distinctive character is the simultaneous

expansion of all the faculties. These lose perhaps under certain aspects, the one absorbing a great portion of the strength and energy which in other situations would belong to another ; but that which gains undoubtedly is sentiment ; not in what it has in generosity and elevation, but in as much as it is a pleasure, an enjoyment of the soul. This we remark, that in literature it is not the imagination that prevails, nor argumentation, but sentiment in its rarest and most extravagant colours, summoning to its assistance reason and fancy, not as friends, but as dependants. Whence it results that philosophy suffers also from the same defect : and that the austere principles of eternal morality rarely come forth from her tribunal well balanced. Thus licentious sentiment labours hard to deify enjoyment ; it seeks an excuse for all perverse actions, it qualifies crimes as slips, the most ignominious falls as faults, transgressions as wanderings, it endeavours to exile from the world all severe ideas, it chokes remorse, and offers to the human heart one sole idol, pleasure ; one sole rule, egotism.

You see, my dear friend, that the existence of hell does not square well with so much indulgence ; but the error of men does not destroy the reality of the thing. If hell existed in our father's time, it also exists in ours ; and in no way is the fact changed, either by the austerity of our ancestors' way of thinking, or by our indulgence and delicacy. When the soul becomes separated from this mortal flesh, it shall find itself in the presence of the Supreme Judge, and thither it shall not bring the world as its advocate. It will be alone, with its conscience displayed patently to the eyes of him, to whose sight nothing is invisible, from whom nothing can be concealed.

These reflections on the relation between the character of the expansion of the human mind in this century, and the ideas which have sprung up against the eternity of pains, are susceptible of many applications to other analogous matters. Man has believed himself able to change and modify the Divine laws, in the same way as he does human legislation ; and has purposed introducing into the decrees of the Sovereign Judge the same suavity that he has given to those of earthly magistrates. The whole system of criminal legislation clearly tends to diminish the penalties attached to guilt, by rendering them less afflictive, by stripping them of whatever they had of the horrid, and by economising man's sufferings as much as possible. We, who live in this age, are all more or less infected with this suavity. Capital punishment, flogging, everything that carries with it a horrible or afflicting idea, is insupportable to us ; and it requires the efforts of philosophy and all the counsels of prudence to preserve in criminal codes some rigorous punishments. Far from me to oppose myself to this current ; and would that to-morrow were the day on which society would not require for its good order and government to make blood and tears flow ; but I should also wish that abuse would not be made of this exaggerated sentimentalism, that it would be remarked that all is not philanthropy that covers itself with its cloak, and that it would not be lost sight of that, humanity, well understood, is something more noble and elevated than that egotistical and feeble sentiment which does not allow us to see others suffer, because our weak organization makes us participators in their sufferings. Such a person faints at sight of a destitute wretch, and yet he has a heart hard enough to refuse him a little alms. What are sensibility and humanity in such a case ?—the first an effect of the organization, the second pure egotism.

But God does not look at things with the eyes of man, nor are His immutable decrees subjected to the caprices of our sickly reason ; and there can be no greater forgetfulness of the idea we ought to form of an eternal and infinite Being than to insist on His will's accommodating itself to our insensate desires. So accustomed is the present age to excuse crime, and interest itself for the criminal that it forgets the compassion which on an undoubtedly more just title is due to the victim ; and gladly would it leave the latter without reparation of any kind, with the sole object of sparing the former the sufferings he has deserved. Accuse the dogma of the eternity of punishment as much as you wish, of severity and cruelty, say that such a tremendous chastisement cannot be reconciled with the Divine mercy ; we shall answer that neither can the want of this chastisement be reconciled with the Divine Justice ; we will say that the world would be surrendered to chance ; that in a great many of its events the



most repugnant injustice would be discovered if there were not a terribly avenging God, who is waiting for the culprit on the other side of the tomb, to demand from him an account of his perversity during his peregrination on earth.

What?—do we not at every step behold injustice haughty and triumphant, mocking the abandoned orphan, the destitute sick, the ragged and hungry poor, the unprotected widow, and insulting with its luxury and dissipation the misery and other calamities of those unfortunate victims of its oppressions and plunders? Do we not contemplate with horror heartless fathers, who, by their dissipated conduct, fill with anguish the family of which God has made him the head, hurrying to the grave a virtuous consort, plunging their children into misery, and transmitting to them no other inheritance but the sad recollection and the baneful results of a scandalous life? Do we not sometimes find unnatural sons, who cruelly insult the grey hairs of him who gave them being, who abandon him in misfortune, who never speak a word of consolation to him, and who, with their irregularity and their insolent petulance, shorten the days of his afflicted old age? Do we not find infamous seducers, who, after having surprised the candour and stained the innocence of youth, cruelly desert their victim, surrendering it to all the horrors of ignominy and desperation? Ambition, perfidy, treason, fraud, adultery, malediction, calumny, and other vices that enjoy such impunity in this world, where the action of justice is so restricted, where there are so many means of eluding and suborning it—have not all these to meet with an avenging God, who will make them feel the weight of his indignation?—must their not be One in heaven to hear the moans of innocence demanding vengeance?

It is not true, no, it is not, that the culprit experiences already in this life chastisement enough for his faults; gnawing remorse indeed torments him, the infirmities his irregularities have produced grow on him, the disastrous consequences of his perverse conduct weigh him down; but neither is he wanting in means to blunt somewhat the sharp sting of his conscience, neither is he devoid of artifices to neutralize the evil effects of his revels, neither is he scarce of resources to come clean out of the false positions in which his excesses involved him. And besides, what are these sufferings of the wicked in comparison with what the just suffer? Sickness presses them down, poverty molests them, malediction and calumny blacken them, injustice tramples on them, persecution leaves them no rest; tribulations of spirit are added, too, and, like their divine Master, they suffer in this life the torments, the anguish, the opprobrium of the cross. If his patience be great, if he knows how to resign himself as a true christian, the just man renders his sufferings somewhat tolerable; but he does not, for all that, cease to feel them, and frequently more severe ones than those that have fallen on the man stained with a thousand crimes. Without the punishments and rewards of the other life, where is justice?—where providence?—where the stimulant for virtue, and the curb for vice?

You ask me, my esteemed friend, if I comprehend perfectly what the object of God can be in prolonging for all eternity the pains of the damned; and you answer in anticipation the reason I might assign, viz.: that thus divine justice is satisfied, and men are kept apart from the ways of vice, and the fear of such a terrible chastisement. You say, as regards the first point, "that you have never been able to conceive the reason of such rigour; and that though the relation that exists between the eternity of punishments, and the species of infinity of the offence for which it is imposed, can be traced, still there remains yet some obscurity you cannot dissipate." You are far astray, my dear friend, if you imagine that the same does not happen to every one; for it is known that the human intellect becomes cloudy as soon as it touches on the portals of infinity. For myself I will say, that I do not conceive these truths with entire clearness either; and that though firm as is the certainty I have of them, I cannot flatter myself with the thought of their appearing to me with that evidence which those appertaining to a finite and purely human order are capable of; but far from being discouraged by this mist which proceeds from our debility, as well as from the sublimity of the objects, I have often considered, that if I should refuse assent for this motive, I could not believe many truths of which it would be impossible for one to doubt, even though I made an effort. I am certain of the truth of the creation, not only from what revealed

religion teaches me, but also from what natural reason dictates to me; and yet, when I meditate on it, when I desire to form a clear and distinct idea of that sublime act, when God says: "*Let there be light, and light was made;*" my intellect labours under a certain weakness, which does not permit it to comprehend with entire perfection the transition from not being to being. I am certain, and you too, of the existence of God, of his infinity, eternity, immensity, and his other attributes; but is it in our power to form clear ideas of what is expressed by these names? Certainly it is not; and if you read all that has been written on it by the most renowned theologians and philosophers, you will find that more or less they laboured under the same failing as ourselves.

If I wished to give greater extension to these reflections, it would be easy to discover a thousand examples of this debility of our understanding, even in physical and natural things; but this would involve me in long discussions about human sciences, and draw me away from the principal object. Besides, I have no doubt that what I said will be sufficient to prevent this obscurity in which certain objects are involved, from making an unfavourable impression on a man of sound sense; whilst we can acquire a sufficient certainty of them through a safe channel, it is not right to abstain from giving our assent to them on account of the presence of certain difficulties more or less serious, more or less embarrassing.

There are not many subjects in which more satisfactory reasons can be assigned in support of a truth than those indicated above in favour of the justice of the eternity of punishments; whatever may be the conception you form of my reflections, you cannot at least deny they are not to be despised on account of the simple obstacle of a difficulty, which is founded in an exaggerated sentimentalism rather than in solid and convincing reasoning. Therefore, it only remains to me to remind you that the question is not of knowing whether our understanding comprehends or not with all clearness the dogma about hell, but of investigating whether in reality this dogma is true, and whether the foundations on which we build it have characteristic marks that may convince us that really it has been revealed by God. Of what advantage would it be to us to comprehend it more or less clearly, if we should have the tremendous misfortune of having to suffer it?

As regards the second point indicated in your letter, I do not agree with you that a punishment of limited duration would exercise on the minds of men an equivalent impression, and one of identical results, as regards the regulation of their conduct. You pretend that if it were accompanied with the circumstance of long duration, or of terrible torture, it would be sufficient to curb the passions, and impose a limit on wicked desires; and with this observation you upset the reason Catholics assign for the existence of hell, viz., that it is a safeguard of morality. But it appears to me you have not gone deeply enough into this subject; and you have not remarked that though it is true, the idea of torment frightens and terrifies us, when it has to be suffered in this life, it produces but a very slight impression if it has to be reserved for the other. I shall give two proofs of this—one experimental, the other scientific.

The dogma of purgatory certainly carries with it a terrible idea; and so books of devotion, as well as preachers are continually painting that place of expiation with the most frightful colours. The faithful believe it so, they hear it incessantly, they pray for their departed relatives and friends who may be detained in it; but frankly speaking, is the fear people have of purgatory great? Would it of itself be a strong enough dyke to oppose to the impetus of the passions? Let every one answer for himself from experience, and let those who have had occasion to observe it answer for others. We are told the pains endured there are terrible, it is true; their duration may be very long certainly; the soul shall not escape without paying the last farthing, undoubtedly; but those pains shall have an end, we are sure they cannot last for ever; and placed between the risk of long sufferings in the other life, and the necessity of bearing slight annoyances in the present, we prefer a thousand times to venture the former to enduring the latter.

Reason points out the causes of this, that experience places before our eyes every day; to know them a slight consideration of human nature is enough. Whilst we live on this earth, our spirit is united to our body, which unceasingly transmits the impressions it receives from everything that surrounds it. It is true our soul possesses some faculties which, elevated by nature above things corporeal and sensible,



are directed by other principles, are employed on more lofty objects, and inhabit, if we may say so, a region which of itself has no connection with whatever exists of a material or earthly nature. Without ignoring the dignity of these faculties, nor the loftiness of the region in which they dwell, it is needful to confess that such is the influence exercised on them by others of an inferior order, that often make them descend from their elevation, and, instead of obeying them as mistresses, reduce them to the state of slaves. When things do not come to this extreme, it at least frequently happens that the superior faculties are without performing their functions, as if they were sleeping, so that the intellect scarcely descends in obscure luxuriance the truths which form its principal and most noble object, and the will does not tend towards it, except with great carelessness and sloth. There is a hell to fear, a heaven to hope for; but all this is in the other life, it is reserved for a very distant epoch; they are things which appertain to an entirely distinct order in a new world in which we firmly believe, but from which we receive no direct actual impressions; and hence it is that we require to make an effort of concentration and reflection in order to impress on ourselves the immense interest they have for us, and in comparison of which nothing of all that surrounds us is anything. In the meantime, some object of earth strikes our imagination and excites our sentiments; now impressing us with some fear, now soothing us with some pleasure; the other world disappears from before our eyes, like an object lost sight of in some remote corner, the intellect again falls into its sluggishness, the will into its languor; and if the one and the other are excited anew it is to contribute to the greater expansion of the other faculties.

Man is almost always guided by the impressions of the moment; he sacrifices the future to the present, and when he weighs in the scale of his judgment the advantages and the inconveniences an action can produce for him, the distance or the proximity of the realization of these inconveniences and advantages is one of the circumstances that influence his election most. How is it this should not occur as regards the affairs of the other life when the same is verified with respect to those of the present? Is not the number of those who sacrifice riches, honour, health, life to a momentary pleasure infinite? And why is this? Because the object that seduces is present, and the evils distant; and man deludes himself with the hope of avoiding them, or he resigns himself to suffer them, like a person who casts himself down a precipice with his eyes bound.

From this it is inferred that it is not true, as you affirmed, that the fear of a long punishment would be capable of producing the same, or a like effect, as the eternity of hell. It is not true; on the contrary, it may be asserted that from the moment in which the idea of eternity be separated from that of pains they will lose the greater part of their horror, and be reduced to the same class as those of purgatory. If the chastisements of the other life are to produce a fear capable of restraining us in our depraved inclinations, they must have a formidable, frightful character, the mere recollection of which, presenting itself to our mind now and then, may produce a salutary shuddering which will last in the midst of the dissipation and distractions of life, like the sound of sonorous metal which vibrates a long time after the stroke is given.

I will not finish this letter without answering the objection insinuated by you, and with which you feel apparently very satisfied, because as you say, "though it is no more than a conjecture, it cannot be denied it is one that is very specious, very philosophical, and, perhaps, not destitute of foundation." You then explain the system which has pleased you so much, and which consists in considering the dogma of hell as a formula in which is expressed the idea of intolerance which presides in the doctrines and conduct of the Catholic Church. Allow me to transcribe your own words, for in this way we shall avoid the danger of misunderstanding each other. "It is easily seen the intellect and heart of man were to be subjected by binding them with a ring of iron; the means of realizing it were wanting in human things, and it was found necessary to make the justice of God intervene. Might it not be suspected that the ministers of the Catholic religion, more deceived, perhaps, than deceivers, have appealed to the resource common among poets, of clearing up a complicated situation by calling in the aid of some god, or speaking in literary terms—by employing the machine? I am greatly deceived if I cannot discover in the pretended justice of an inexorable God, the Catholic priest with his inflexible

obstinacy." You are somewhat harsh, my esteemed friend, in the passage I am after inserting, and no matter what surprise my words may cause you, I make bold to tell you that far from finding you philosophical as usual, I see you first very inexact, and afterwards too rash—inexact because you suppose the dogma of the eternity of pains belongs exclusively to Catholics, whereas Protestants also profess it; rash, because you have endeavoured to convert into an expression of the ruling thought of Christianity, a fact generally believed by the human race.

The prurience so common in our epoch, even among writers of the first class, of giving a philosophical reason founded on a new and sharp observation, has sadly carried you away, causing you to lose sight of for an instant what no one who is a middling historian is ignorant of. In short, you wished to signify that this was an invention of the Christian priests, though respecting their good intention and candour, by supposing them victims of an illusion; but how could you have forgotten that centuries before the appearance of Christianity the belief in the existence of hell was widely extended and deeply rooted.

You are somewhat satirical with the "good monks who delight in frightening children and women with the dreadful descriptions of torments forged in wild and rude imaginations, and which a man of sound sense and good taste can with difficulty hear without laughing or becoming disgusted." It is easily seen you wish to make the poor preachers pay dearly for the annoyance your good mother used to give you by bringing you to hear sermons, when you could have been more pleasantly employed at your play and diversions; but be it said without any intention of giving offence, and solely in defence of the truth, you here make a sad stumble in which your only consolation is your having many companions in your misfortune, amongst those who mock, with too much levity, the dogmas and practices of our religion.

You laugh at the *exaggerations of the monks* on this subject, which appear to you insupportable on account of their want of reason and their bad taste. Well, then, I challenge you to produce from amongst those you have heard from the mouth of a preacher, the description that may appear to you the most extravagant, and I here oblige myself to quote for you another on the same subject, which will not be behind it, either in frightfulness, extravagance, or horror. And do you know whose those descriptions and dashes of the pen shall be?—nothing less than Virgil's, Dante's Tasso's, and Milton's. You did not take time to think that behind the good Capuchin whom you attacked so furiously you would stumble on so respectable a reserve in matters of reason and good taste. Sometimes precipitation of judgment is more injurious to us than ignorance itself. It often happens that we despise an expression in hatred or contempt of the person who uses it; an expression which would appear to us admirable if we heard it from the mouth of another who commanded more of our respect. For this reason Montaigne pleasantly said that he amused himself by scattering through his writings the sentences of grave philosophers without naming them; with the view that his critical readers believing they had to deal with Montaigne alone might insult Seneca, and pull Plutarch's nose.

It is not easy to describe exactly the variety of the horrors of hell, but it is certain that christians as well as gentiles have agreed in painting them with frightful colours. Virgil was neither monk, nor preacher, nor christian, nor was he wanting in *good taste*, and yet it is hard to bring together more horrors than he places before us, not only in hell, but even on the road.

\* \* \* \* \*

Just in the gate, and in the jaws of hell,  
Revengeful cares, and sullen sorrows dwell;  
And pale diseases, and repining age;  
Want, fear, and famine's unrestricted rage:  
Here toils, and death, and death's half-brother, sleep,  
Forms terrible to view, their sentry keep;  
With anxious pleasures of a guilty mind,  
Deep frauds before, and open force behind."

Before arriving at the fatal mansion we meet with *the tresses of vipers*, with *hydras that roar with a terrible noise*, with *monsters armed with fire*, together with *forbidden joys, mala mentis gaudia*, weeping and revengeful remorse, *luctus et ultrices curæ*.



But let us follow him still, and the horror increases till it becomes extreme.

“The furie’s iron beds, and strife that shakes  
Her hissing tresses, and unfolds her snakes.

\* \* \* \* \*

Of various forms, unnumber’d spectres more ;  
Centaur’s, and double shapes, besiege the door.  
Before the passage horrid hydra stands,  
And Briareus with all his hundred hands :  
Gorgons, Gergon with his triple frame,  
And vain Chimœra vomits empty flame.  
Hence to deep Acheron they take their way,  
Whose troubled eddies, thick with ooze and clay,  
Are whirl’d aloft, and in Coeytus lost :  
There Charon stands, who rules the dreary coast ;  
A sordid god: down from his hoary chin  
A length of beard descends ; uncombed, unclean.  
His eyes, like hollow furnaces on fire ;  
A girdle, foul with grease, binds his obscene attire.

\* \* \* \* \*

The hero, looking on the left, espy’d  
A lofty tower, and strong on every side,  
With treble walls, which Phlegethon surrounds,  
Whose fiery flood the burning empire bounds,  
And press’d betwixt the rocks, the bellowing noise resounds.  
Wide is the fronting gate, and raised on high  
With adamantine columns, threatens the sky.  
Vain is the force of man, and heaven’s is vain,  
To crush the pillars which the pile sustain.  
Sublime on these a tower of steel is reared,  
And dire Tisiphone there keeps ward.  
Girt in her sanguine gown, by night and day,  
Observant of the souls that pass the downward way.  
From hence are heard the groans of ghosts, the pains  
Of sounding lashes, and of dragging chains.

\* \* \* \* \*

These are the realms of unrelenting fate:  
And awful Rhadamantus rules the state:  
He hears and judges each committed crime;  
Inquires into the matter, place, and time.  
The conscious wretch must all his acts reveal;  
Loth to confess, unable to conceal:  
From the first moment of his vital breath,  
To his last hour of unrepenting death.  
Straight, o’er the ghost, the fury shakes  
The sounding whip, and brandishes her snakes:  
And the pale sinner, with her sisters, takes.  
Then of itself, unfolds the eternal door:  
With dreadful sounds the brazen hinges roar.  
You see, before the gate, what stalking ghost  
Commands the guard, what sentries keep the post.  
More formidable hydra stands within;  
Whose jaws with iron teeth severely grin.

\* \* \* \* \*

There Tityus was to see, who took his birth  
From heaven; his nursing from the foodful earth.  
Here his gigantic limbs, with large embrace,  
Infold nine acres of infernal space.  
A ravenous vulture in his open’d side,  
Her crooked beak and cruel talons try’d;  
Still for the growing liver digg’d his breast;  
The growing liver still suppli’d the feast.

Still are his entrails fruitful to their pains:  
 Th' immortal hunger lasts, th' immortal food remains.  
 Ixion and Pirithous I could name;  
 And more, Thessalian, chief of mighty fame.  
 High o'er their heads a mouldering rock is placed,  
 That promises a fall, and shakes at every blast.  
 They lie below, on golden beds display'd  
 And genial feasts, with regal pomp, are made.  
 The queen of furies by their sides is set,  
 And snatches from their mouths th' untasted meat."  
 Which if they touch, her hissing snakes she rears:  
 Tossing her torch, and thunders in their ears.  
 Then they, who brothers' better claim disown,  
 Expel their parents, and usurp the throne;  
 Defraud their clients, and to lucre sold,  
 Sit brooding on unprofitable gold;  
 Who dare not give, and ev'n refuse to lend  
 To their poor kindred, or a wanting friend;  
 Vast is the throng of these; nor less the train  
 Of lustful youths, for foul adultery slain.  
 Hosts of deserters, who their honour sold,  
 And basely broke their faith for bribes of gold:  
 All these within the dungeon's depth remain,  
 Despairing pardon, and expecting pain.  
 Ask not what pains; nor fathers seek to know  
 Their process, or the forms of law below.  
 Some roll a mighty stone; some laid along,  
 And, bound with burning wires, on spokes of wheels are hung.  
 Unhappy Thiseus, doomed for ever there,  
 Is fixed by fate on his eternal chair:  
 And wretched Phlegias warns the world with cries  
 (Could warning make the world more just or wise).  
 Learn righteousness, and dread th' avenging deities.  
 To tyrants others have their country sold,  
 Imposing foreign lords, for foreign gold:  
 Some have old laws repealed, new statutes made;  
 Not as the people pleas'd, but as they paid.  
 With incest some their daughter's bed profaned.  
 All dared the worst of ills, and what they dared, attained."

(Dryden's Translation of Virgil.)

*Triple walls, bathed with a river of fire, groans, noise of lashes, clanking of chains, serpents, and the hydra with a hundred mouths, a vulture pecking the liver, and other things similar: behold what the poet represents in the mansion, as he himself says, of defrauders, adulterers, those who are cruel towards their parents, the incestuous, traitors to their country, and those guilty of other crimes. I doubt very much whether you have heard things more horrible. And as if the frightful picture he was after painting with inimitable pencil were not enough, he exclaims:—*

"Had I a hundred mouths, a hundred tongues,  
 And throats of brass, inspir'd with iron lungs,  
 I could not half those horrid crimes repeat,  
 Nor half the punishments those crimes have met."

Be it as it may: within half a century the question of hell shall be practically solved for the two of us. I pray heaven it may be happily so for both; but if you have the rashness to run chance for what may happen, I will bewail your fatal blindness, beseeching the Lord to deign to enlighten you before the day of wrath arrives, on which, in the presence of the Supreme Judge, your guardian angel will cover his face, not knowing what to allege on your behalf, to free you from the tremendous sentence. Your humble Servant,

J. B.



# THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

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JANUARY, 1870.

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## THE RESURRECTION OF GALLICANISM.

UNDER the above title, the "*Etudes Religieuses*," a monthly periodical conducted by the Jesuit Fathers, reviews with equal power and moderation the work just published by Monseigneur Maret, in support of Gallican doctrines. It will be observed that in meeting the arguments and objections of his adversary, the writer mainly adopts a line of reasoning with which the advocates of Catholic doctrine are familiar, as being the simplest and the most convincing. He confines himself, unless when dealing with facts, to the plain exposition of principles; he endeavours to remove the clouds of ambiguity and misconception by which the Roman teaching has been obscured or disfigured; and without entering upon the scriptural and patristic grounds on which his thesis rests, he relies, as well he may, on the native beauty of truth as its best vindication. We rarely have the good fortune to meet, in English dress, a temperate and authoritative enunciation of what precisely papal infallibility implies; and it is chiefly for this reason we lay before our readers, with some slight condensation, the able article of our cotemporary. After a few introductory observations, it proceeds:—

We cheerfully admit that while Monseigneur Maret presents his ideas with the confidence of full conviction, he does so also with the zeal of a prelate who desires to render an eminent service to the Church; and if it is indeed the old Gallican system which is revived in his pages, never before was it presented to the world with such attractiveness and moderation, and with a tone so full of respect for the Roman Pontiffs. How great soever the distance which separates our belief from that expressed in his pages, we cannot but recognize that his

language breathes a sincerely Christian spirit, and the desire of being useful to the Church is manifest. . . . The principal question treated by him is that of papal infallibility, and it is to this point we mean to limit discussion. The question whether the interests of the Church require that this infallibility be proclaimed in the approaching council we are not competent to discuss, and we should be extremely sorry to hazard an opinion on this delicate problem. It is not enough that a doctrine be true ; there are also considerations of opportuneness regarding which the members of the council are the sole judges. To occupy the public mind with such inquiry seems to us, at such a time, at the least unnecessary. Catholics have but one thing to do: to wait in a respectful attitude, and to accept beforehand with a firm confidence, the oracle of the Holy Ghost, which will be conveyed to us, on this occasion as on all others, through the organ of the Œcumenical Assembly.

I.—Monseigneur Maret tells us, first of all, "that without making himself responsible for all that has been taught under the name of Gallicanism, or by any particular assembly or declaration, he takes up his pen in defence of three propositions which appear to him certainly true, and which have never been censured. These maintain, first, that the pontifical monarchy is efficaciously limited by episcopal aristocracy ; secondly, that spiritual sovereignty and dogmatic infallibility are composed of various elements ; thirdly, that these elements must combine to establish an absolute rule of faith (Preface, p. xxvi.) . . . . These three propositions, he adds, comprise the imperishable essence of the tradition of our church, the strong and noble doctrine of our fathers."

"A celebrated school," says he, "and worthy of respect, acknowledges without hesitation that bishops are not merely vicars of the Pope ; that they are *true princes*, possessing an authority peculiar to themselves, and partly of divine origin. The theologians of this school admit that the Pope could not suppress the Episcopate and govern the church by Apostolic vicars. They grant that bishops can participate in the general government of the church in the measure determined by himself. In spite of these concessions, it is no less evident that in the system of this school, the Pope possesses a pure, indivisible, absolute and unlimited monarchy. He possesses the rights of pure monarchy, because he finds no authority in the church either *beside* or *above* his own ; he enjoys indivisible monarchy, because it admits of no *necessary* partition ; absolute monarchy, because he alone makes the law, and imposes absolute obedience to the law he makes ; unlimited monarchy since he is answerable to God alone for the use of his authority ;



notwithstanding the formulas which affirm its limited character, the pontifical monarchy remains, therefore, a power counterpoised by no other check than the duties imposed by Christian faith and morality." (vol. i., 130)

This then is what he means to combat: *pure, indivisible, absolute, unlimited sovereignty*; what he calls elsewhere government by *the mere will* of the Pope; of the Pope *in isolation*, and *judging alone*; *separate and unconditional infallibility*; *apart from the concurrence of the bishops, whether this be antecedent, concomitant or subsequent, express or tacit*; therefore, *absolute irresponsibility*, the superiority of the *Pope over the canons*, in a word, *dictatorship*.

We have taken pains to bring together these different expressions which the writer uses again and again, and which contribute to put his thesis in a clearer light. The maintenance of such doctrine appears to him in contradiction with the true constitution of the church; this is what he purposes to prove, and as he expresses it, "here is the whole question."

With every apology to the illustrious Dean of Sorbonne, we must say, the question so conceived is badly expressed. We are persuaded that had he studied more deeply the theologians he condemns, he would have abstained from misrepresenting them; perhaps, indeed, he would have abstained from writing. For if we only look at their teaching in its true point of view, and restore its true character, we shall at once witness the fall of all this scaffolding of arguments put together with so much labour, and accumulated in the course of two portly volumes.

Before proceeding further, let us remove a confusion of terms which pervades the entire work. Ecclesiastical *sovereignty* and *infallibility* are not identical. The latter, it is plain, affects only doctrine; it applies only to official teaching, that is to say, to that part of legislation which embraces faith or morals. Now, sovereignty extends much beyond this; it implies the entire administration, the entire government of religious society. These two things are, no doubt, closely related, but they must not be confounded. In their exercise, at least, they are plainly separable, for infallibility requires conditions which sovereignty does not always suppose. Having drawn the reader's attention to this difference, in order to prevent misunderstanding, let us add that the discussion in hand refers chiefly to the *subject* in whom resides the prerogative of infallibility within the church.

Our first inquiry then, must lead us to ascertain clearly what is taught on this point by ultramontane theology. We will address ourselves to its two principal representatives: Bellarmine, because Monseigneur Maret looks on him as its leader;

and Muzzarelli, because this is the author whom he especially endeavours to refute.

These learned theologians begin by establishing that the government of the church is chiefly monarchical (Bellarm. *de Rom. Pont.* lib. i. c. ix. Muzzarelli *in præm.*) and that the Pope possesses governing powers in their plenitude; then they prove by unanswerable arguments that his teaching *ex cathedra*, namely, that which is addressed to the entire church in matters of faith or morals and commands obedience, is irreformable and infallible (Bellarm. lib. iv. c. iii. et seq. Muzzarelli, *in præm.*)

Such is their doctrine. Is this pure, absolute, unlimited, separate, irresponsible sovereignty? Interrogate the great controversialist, and he answers by this categorical assertion: "All Catholic doctors agree that the government of the church, deposited by God in the hands of men, is no doubt monarchical, but limited and moderated by aristocracy and democracy. (lib. i. c. v.) Leaving aside the democratic element, which is not now in question, let us turn to Muzzarelli, and inquire in what does this *aristocratic limitation* consist. "For my part," he says, "I think that the *aristocratic limitation* added by our Saviour to the monarchy of Peter, consists chiefly in what follows: first, as regards jurisdiction this Episcopate does not depend on the will of Peter, who cannot abolish it in the church; again, bishops have by divine right, ordinary jurisdiction over their particular and respective churches, so that the Pope himself cannot enact that one be truly bishop of a diocese and not enjoy this jurisdiction although he may, in certain cases, suspend or restrain its exercise; moreover, it is beyond question that each bishop has also his share of solicitude in the government of the universal church, provided it be with Peter and in dependence on him. Regarding judgments in matters of faith or morals, bishops also, whether assembled in council or otherwise, are by divine right *judges of the faith*, although they are subordinate to the supreme definition of the Roman Pontiff, as we have read it in Peter d'Ailly. These prerogatives unquestionably are deduced from Holy Scripture. It is therefore true that ecclesiastical government differs in many respects from absolute monarchies, in which the prince enjoys unlimited power." (De Auct. Rom. Pont. in concil. t. i. p. 20.)

And it is true, we will add, that it may be said that the Pope sees no authority *above his own* in the church, but it cannot, rigorously speaking, be maintained that he sees none *beside his own*; for the episcopate exists by divine right, and none can destroy it.

What matters it, replies Monseigneur Maret, *since the Pope,*



*standing apart, makes the law, and imposes absolute obedience to the law he makes?*

Muzzarelli has met the objection : " As we remarked above we must not forget that there is an ambiguity in this proposition attributed to the ultramontanes, that the Pope, even standing apart, has the privilege of infallibility in decrees concerning faith and morals. For no one can affirm this of the sovereign Pontiff to the exclusion of the episcopal body agreeing with him, unless in the illusory hypothesis which would put on one side the Pope alone, and on the other the episcopate opposing him in a definition of faith or morals. And if any ultramontane thinks so, he has allowed himself to be duped and led astray by a vain chimera." (Prœm. p. xcvi.)

It is nevertheless this chimera which the venerable Bishop of Sura assails when he speaks of a Pope who *stands apart*, who *judges alone*, of an infallibility *exclusive of the concurrence of the bishops*, whether it be *antecedent, concomitant or subsequent, express or tacit*. To attribute such a meaning to the Roman doctrine is certainly to misrepresent it.

"No!" continues Muzzarelli, "because we maintain papal infallibility, we do not deny the influence exercised over the Pope's decrees by the consent of the entire church. Nay, rather, this consent is necessary, that the promises of Christ may be fulfilled. For our Saviour did not promise His assistance to Peter alone, but to all the successors of the Apostles who should agree with Peter, who should remain united to their head, who should belong to that body in which Peter, by divine institution, occupies essentially the first place. And it is precisely from this we conclude the Pope to be infallible, and decrees pronounced *ex cathedra* to be absolutely certain, even before the adhesion of the episcopate; for if this adhesion were to fail, and the majority of the bishops were to dissent from such a decree, the promises of Christ would have failed, as also the living and proximate rule of faith." (*De Auct. R. Pont. in conc. tom. ii. p. 12.*)

In point of fact, do the Roman Pontiffs decide without consulting tradition? Do they not constantly keep before their eyes the great maxim of Vincent of Lerins : *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*? And when they publish a decree, what else is it but what the church believed already, although perhaps less clearly and explicitly? Now, by whom is this belief maintained if not by those who are set over the different churches, and who live in communion with the Vicar of Jesus Christ? Who watch over this tradition, who can testify concerning it, if not the pastoral body taught and directed by

the first pastor? There is no question here, whether such or such a mode of previous investigation, such or such a form of consultation, be deemed necessary; what is certain is, that in any hypothesis, no definition shall be issued in which we shall not observe the influence of the belief of the church, *vim consensionis universæ ecclesiæ*, or from which the influence of the episcopate shall be excluded, *per exclusionem corporis episcopalis*; it is therefore quite unnecessary to recur to the Gallican school to secure the bishop, in communion with the Pope, a *divine and inalienable right to the general government of the church*.

II. But in such a system, it is objected, councils become useless! (Mgr. Maret, vol. ii. p. 233). By no means. All Mgr. Maret maintains is the *moral necessity* of convening councils; and such is precisely what Bellarmine holds (*De Concil*, lib. i. c. x.). All, even the most advanced, are unanimous on this point. "All agree," says Muzarelli, "that the Sovereign Pontiff is obliged to convoke general councils, especially when new errors appear, or there is hope thereby of extinguishing more readily a rising heresy, or of arresting its progress. But even if the troubled state of the times will not permit the bishops to assemble, *the Pontiff should not rely on his own isolated judgment, or expect from God a personal revelation; but he should exert all the diligence which such great interests demand, employ all the means usual in such emergencies, and then only, count on the assistance of the Holy Spirit and the guidance of Heaven*. And therefore, in the annals of the Church we find all controversies of faith or morals generally decided by the Popes either in the numerous councils held in the west, or in especial synods of the Roman Church." (tom. i., p. xc.).

For this reason, what we call a definition *ex cathedra* was formerly known as a *synodical* decision. And the assemblies from which a Pontifical decree emanated often numbered several hundred bishops. Surely this is very far from the *dictatorship* with which we are threatened; this hardly savours of that *absolute irresponsibility* which Mgr. Maret represents as the necessary result of ultramontane theories.

Who has more vigorously defended Papal infallibility than Bellarmine; and yet he does not hesitate to assert that if ever a Pope should incur just suspicion of heresy, or if he become tyrannical and will not yield to respectful remonstrance, a council should assemble, either, in the first supposition, to depose him, or in the second, to give him a salutary reprimand (*De Concil*, lib. i, c. ix.). It is true he previously denies the supposition of heresy in the Vicar of Christ,



even in his private capacity; but, as he remarks, this is only a *pious probable opinion*, and must not therefore be laid down as the basis of the Church's constitution. (*lib. iv., c. vi.*) Further, he even goes so far as to maintain that, if against all likelihood, the Pope refuse to assemble a council when necessity plainly requires it, and if God do not interpose, either by changing his will or by removing him from life, such an unworthy head may be considered *suspected of heresy*, and be treated in consequence. (*lib. i., c. xvi.*) If this be not sufficient, after a respectful warning, open force may be employed against him.

These are not, as Mgr. Maret holds, inconsistencies in Belarmine; they are, on the contrary, perfectly logical conclusions from the ultramontane doctrine. No doubt, we maintain that the Pope has no superior, no judge in the world; but at the same time we assert that should the Pope fall into heresy he would cease by the very fact to be the spiritual head of Catholic society (*Suarez, De Fide, disp. x., sect. vi.*) The canon *Si Papa*, lays down as much; it says: "*Papa cunctos ipse judicaturus, a nemine est judicandus, nisi deprehendatur a fide devius.*" (*Decret. 1a, p., dict. xl. c. vi.*) The great Pontiff, Innocent III., proclaims the same repeatedly. Far from these assertions clashing, they are perfectly reconcilable with ultramontane principles; and while they allow the Pope his full authority, they merely deprive him of that *absolute irresponsible* power which would admit of no counterpoise, and, in certain cases, would leave room for no remedy.

Thus disappear, one after another, the odious imputations with which Papal infallibility is charged. Nevertheless, if this prerogative is not incompatible with the utility and necessity of councils, does it not deprive the assembled bishops of freedom of discussion?

Here our author concentrates all his energies. Bishops, he reminds us, are by divine right *judges* in matters of faith. "One of two things," he says, "either you must deny bishops the right of being *truly judges* in general councils, or you must deny the Pope the power of imposing on them his own decisions. If you advocate the first, you ignore the constant tradition of every general council, you are forced to deny or falsify incontestable facts, to trample under foot the rights and usages of twenty centuries, and flatly to contradict your own admission." (*vol. ii., p. 161.*)

Before proceeding to discuss with Monseigneur Maret certain particular events, let us propound a few general principles on this head.

The Pope often contents himself with transmitting his in-

structions to the general council without defining anything; this course he has pursued up to the present, whenever the point in question was not absolutely clear. In this case what is the duty of the assembled bishops? Bellarmine answers without hesitation, that they are not bound to conform to those instructions, because otherwise they would not exercise to its full extent their functions of judges, and their suffrages would not be entirely free (*lib. ii. c. xi*). The fathers, then, need suffer no restraint from the opinions of the legates; they will decide solely according to their own convictions, but, we must add, at their own risk; for their judgment will be infallible and irreformable only when agreement shall be established between the head and the members.

Still, we must confess this was not always the course pursued. In many dogmatic questions where, the truth was evident, popes have transmitted to councils definitions ready framed and accompanied with all the solemnity which distinguishes decrees *ex cathedra*; whence it follows, that according to ultramontane theology, such definitions were infallible and irreformable. Must we conclude from this, that with regard to these august documents, bishops lost their right of *judges of the faith*, or that the exercise of that right was forbidden them?

It is true that in this particular instance they could no longer hesitate between two contrary affirmations; but did not the same thing take place in every instance of controversy in matters of belief? When Arius denied the divinity of our Lord, could the Catholic prelates chose between affirming and denying? When Nestorius contested the hypostatic union and destroyed the Incarnation of the Word—when Eutiches confounded the two natures by an impossible alliance, had the orthodox bishops who met in council the option between faith and heresy? How many Œcumenical assemblies in which there was no freedom of discussion, if free discussion necessarily implies that nothing should be decided beforehand in questions to be brought to their tribunal! Monseigneur Maret agrees in this; bishops are not to create dogmas, since they are all contained in scripture and tradition; but they are judges of the most suitable formula for the expression of revealed truth: they declare if such or such expressions are in harmony with the sources of Christian inspiration; besides, they select those which they consider the most exact—the best adapted—they consecrate them by their decision and render them obligatory. Now, all this may be done even after the Pope has spoken, as is expressly laid down by the accredited representatives of the doctrine we profess.



"At all times and places," says Muzzarelli, "the bishops retain their original function of *judges of the faith*; and this, they can exercise as well with regard to dogmas defined in general councils as with regard to those contained in constitutions emanating from the Holy See, to confirm their truth and give them greater weight by their approval. And in this consists the difference between the acceptance by the bishops and that of the simple faithful. The former is not only an act of obedience, but it is also a true judgment in a matter of faith; and hence it is called a canonical and authorised confirmation; the latter, on the contrary, is no more than an act of submission which does not imply the right of judging. . . . And we must make the same remark concerning the confirmation by the bishops dispersed of the decrees of a general council; amongst others, of those of the Council of Chalcedon, at the desire of the Emperor Leo. . . . I cannot see why the infallibility inherent to the doctrinal decisions of council or pope should forbid bishops to submit them to a new discussion, in order to confirm the truths they enunciate. Nay, from this many signal advantages will result. It will go farther to silence heretics, it will confirm the courage of the faithful, when all shall find that the Church does not decide blindly or precipitately, but that it is after mature reflection, and with perfect freedom that she embraces and follows the decrees of councils and popes." (*De Auct. Rom. Pont. t. ii. p. 213.*)

This is plain. And let it not be thought that these are merely the opinions of the author we have quoted; he simply expresses the convictions of his school, which are shared in by the Gallicans themselves. And if the lawfulness of a new examen in certain cases, regarding matters already decided upon infallibly—if this be contested,—it becomes absolutely impossible to understand or explain the action of several Œcumenical Councils.

This principle eliminates another ambiguity of expression, and another difficulty. Monseigneur Maret considers it absurd to maintain that the discussion by the bishops in council concerning a papal constitution defining the faith can take place solely by virtue of a concession of the Holy See. Be it so; not only do the assembled prelates in such a case evidently carry out the intentions of the Sovereign Pontiff, who convenes them, or at least approves their assembling, but besides they exercise their inalienable right. The Roman doctrine admits so much; it is the first to establish that a bishop does not accept like others, a papal decree; first he examines it, he verifies the harmony even of its most received expressions with

the sacred monuments of Scripture and tradition ; when he gives his approval it is with full knowledge, he himself judging and defining ; hence the forms which generally accompany his signature : *ego definiens subscripsi ; ego judicans subscripsi*. Our readers will thank us for quoting one more passage from the learned Muzzarelli. "These holy assemblies give a more persuasive character to our faith, by reason of the numerous testimonies and the exalted approval by which they invest it. For laws emanating from a deliberative assembly are more readily accepted by the people than if they proceeded from the king alone. Nay more, nothing is better calculated to inspire the faithful with respect and obedience for papal decrees than to see that the decisions promulgated by his own authority have never been modified or reformed by councils. Moreover, in these august assemblies, the faith is set forth in a clearer light, and is examined and expounded with more ample and complete discussion ; the assembled bishops combine as in a common treasury their science and their wisdom, the tradition of the fathers and doctors speaks in tones of greater explicitness. Again, the acts of the council setting forth the authorities and the reasons on which their decrees are based, constitute an immortal monument of the prudence and circumspection with which the church proceeds in all her judgments ; and they become a well furnished armoury in which henceforth theology will seek its weapons against the sophistry of heretics. In fine, what is no small advantage, the bishops returning to their respective sees, will be the more zealous to extirpate error through the holy ardour with which they shall have inspired one another, and will apply themselves with greater activity to see to the execution of laws to the framing of which they themselves contributed." (*Præm. p. i. c.*) We have said enough. And now we ask if the advocates of papal infallibility are the preachers of purely personal government, if they represent the constitution of the church as a sort of irresponsible dictatorship ? or rather, while they proclaim aloud the monarchical power instituted by Christ, do they not also afford ample scope to that aristocratic element whose right indeed it is to *temper and control*, but can never displace authority or pervert its character ?

(*To be continued.*)



## THE ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF IRISH NAMES.\*

UNDER the above-named title has appeared, within the last few months, a most interesting and valuable book, which cannot fail to enlist the warmest sympathies of the admirers of Celtic literature and history, both at home and on the Continent of Europe. To many of our expatriated countrymen beyond the Atlantic, and in Australia, and wherever "the sea-divided Gael" may be found, Mr. Joyce's book will awaken fond recollections of the scenes of early childhood, and mayhap, too, bring painful reminiscences to the exile's breast of ruined homesteads and desolated hearths—scenes endeared by youthful associations as well as by early historic pre-eminence. The author remarks in his preface, that his book is the first attempt made on this subject, but in saying this, he gives those who laboured, though incidentally, in the investigation of local nomenclature, their full meed of praise.

In July, 1869, a book on the Gaelic topography of Scotland appeared, written by Col. J. A. Robertson, F.S.A. This work will not bear comparison with Mr. Joyce's book, either in learning or research. The translations of many of the names are incorrect, and the spelling of others quite at variance with true Celtic orthography. The writer also is given to indulge, more than is just or becoming, in theories relative to the Gaelic language, which will appear strange and unfounded to genuine scholars of the early Celtic tongue. He endeavours to make the Gaelic of Scotland a distinct and an older family of language than that of Ireland. Irish readers must suspect that there is now an attempt made by certain antiquarians of the Dempster school, to rob Ireland of the honour of having the oldest and most genuine Celtic, in which, like "the saint-stealer," they must suffer defeat and discomfiture.

Scotchmen, usurping the old name of the Gael of Erin, have long since seized on and retained the ancient Scottish monasteries in Germany, founded by Celtic Missionaries, and in many instances endowed with Irish money. These venerable relics of the ancient zeal and piety of our forefathers in propagating the gospel among the Germanic nations, have been lately sold out, and the proceeds are now expended in building a "Scotch College" in Rome, which, to the uninitiated, speaks wonderfully of the zeal and munificence of the modern North Britains, but in which, however, the Irish Celt

\*"The Origin and History of Irish Names," by P. W. JOYCE, A.M., M.R.I.A.; Dublin: M<sup>c</sup>Glashan & Gill, 1869.

can only see the utter extinction of one of his country's proudest reminiscences.

Mr. Joyce, in his researches, has availed himself of the labours of the most celebrated authorities. The notes of Dr. O'Donovan, Editor of the *Annals of the Four Masters*, and the *Cronicon Scotorum*, edited by Wm. Hennessy, Esq., with those which are to be found in the many valuable and interesting volumes, by Dr. Reeves, the late Dr. Todd, and other writers, are freely used, but few indeed could handle these materials in the master-like manner of Mr. Joyce. Some writers of the Ledwich and Vallancey schools, attempting to interpret topographical names, made in most instances very absurd blunders. Their charlatanisms have been too often perpetuated by some modern writers. Gough's edition of Camden's *Britannica*, Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary*, *Guide Books*, &c., &c., may be adduced as examples. Now that the Irish land question is taking a hold of the public mind, this book on topographical names will do good service in dispelling, under the new light in which Mr. Joyce has placed them, ancient prejudices and misconceptions on the part of those who are strangers to our early history and antiquities, and will, it is to be hoped, awaken a new and vigorous interest in those who are as yet, as it were, "strangers in their own land."

A cursory glance over this book will show most readers, that every name, no matter how uncouth to English speakers or apparently absurd, is fraught with meaning and intelligence to the Irish scholar, and it teaches, in most instances, the history and local features of every townland in this island.

The lovers of the marvellous, too, will find ample play for their imagination in its legendary and mythical interpretations, not to notice thousands of names connected with the civil and ecclesiastical history of Ireland. In a first attempt of this kind there must be always considerable allowance made for oversights and inaccuracies, by reason of the changes of spelling, and the corruptions occurring in local names. For these the author apologises by comparing himself to a settler in a new country, who has to tread his weary way through the wilderness of difficulties, so that the reader must make full allowance for the mistakes, which are wonderfully few, considering the difficulties attending such investigations. Time and thought are required in an essay of this kind, and to the eagerness of the author to get through his self-imposed task must be attributed the few mistakes that may be discovered, as also to the neglect of the Horatian precept of "*Prematur in nonum annum.*" However, our go-a-head times will scarcely



tolerate the maxims of a slower age, and it is just as well, as a book with even a few faults will be always desirable when a want exists for its speedy appearance, to awaken a new interest in a hitherto untrodden bye-way of history, in which those attempting to travel were often left to grope with uncertain guides.

In the notices of the names given in Ptolemy's geography of Ireland, the author, following the later editions of that writer, has been led somewhat astray. He says, "some writers have erroneously identified Εδρον ἐρημος with Ireland's Eye." An edition of Ptolemy, in small 4to, printed at Basle in 1533, and edited by the celebrated Erasmus, is much fuller in the details of ancient Hibernian geography than succeeding editions of the same writer. In page 71 occurs twice Ιδρον ακρον equivalent to Ben Edar. Also, Ιδρουν αι εκβολαι referring evidently to the estuaries of the Liffey, the Dodder, and Tolka in the Bay of Dublin, and the Moyne and Portmarnock streams, which form the estuary on the north-west of Howth, which is now called the Baldoyle channel. These rivers flow through the plain called in the Irish Annal "Sean Magh-n-Ealta Edair," i.e. the old plain of the flocks of Edair, from its being the first plain in Erin divested of its forests. Edair lived a century before the Christian era; from him the plain takes its name, and its extreme point was called Ben Edar, i.e. the peak or promontory of Edar. In page 73 is given a list of the *islands* around the coast. Among them is Εδρον ἐρημος, i.e. the desert or uninhabited island of Edron. The letters representing the latitude and longitude are different from those occurring where Ιδρον ακρον is given. In this instance is to be observed the very accurate description of ancient Hibernian geography displayed in the MSS. from which Erasmus printed his edition: so true, indeed, that one cannot avoid recalling the oft-quoted passage in the life of Agricola, by Tacitus, cap. 24. When speaking of Ireland, he says: "Melius aditus portusque per commercia et negotiatores cogniti." The remarks on places in the nomenclature of which the word "Aiffirion," enters i.e. *offerenda*, the sacrifice of the mass, recall sad scenes in the history of the past two centuries; when the persecuted missionary eschewing for awhile his assumed garb of serving man or tutor, celebrated in the caverns and hollows of the earth the holy mysteries of a proscribed faith, while a sentinel was posted on some neighbouring eminence to give timely warning should the "priest-hunter" with his myrmidons approach the scene of these hallowed rites. The readers of the story of "Shawn-na-Soggarth" can realize the state of our forefathers before the

middle of the last century. The peasantry cherish the memory of these places, where once were offered these holy rites, and we must be indeed grateful that our lot is not cast in these melancholy times.

The general class of readers, not very deeply initiated in the arcana of ancient Irish lore, will find much to instruct them in the account of the O'Mores of Leix. Athy, in the County Kildare, epitomises the history of some celebrated battles in its vicinity in the second century. A Munster hero named AE, fell in one of these combats on the banks of the Barrow, where the town of Athy now stands, and thus gave his name to the place, *i.e.* the ford of AE.

Mr. Joyce gives the authentic derivation of Baltinglass, and repudiates that given in guide-books, the paternity of which belongs to the Rev. Mr. Horgan, who erected beside his church at Blarney a round tower; its want of proper details and proportions make it a burlesque on the venerable originals it aims to imitate. O'Donovan and O'Curry, locating the battle of Mugna, at Ballachmoon, between Carlow and Castledermott, in which, in the year 903, Cormac MacCullinan, the Bishop-king of Cashel was slain, are followed by Mr. Joyce. There can be no doubt that Ballymoon, in Hydrone, situate to the east of Leighlin-bridge, was the scene of this battle. A note taken from the Usher MSS. printed in the ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD for November, 1869, in the additions to Archdall's Monasticon, with other authorities in the book of Leinster and the book of Lecan, which state that it was in Hydrone, ought to settle this beyond cavil.

Passing over much of interest we reach the chapter on towns and villages. O'Donovan and Dr. Petrie are quoted to identify the site of the new Bailey light-house with the ancient Dun-Criffan. The writer of this review very reluctantly, indeed, must disagree with these authorities, and claims that honour for the old Bailey hill, where, till comparatively recent times, it may be presumed that the Cyclopean walls of Duncriffan existed. In the year 1665, two light-houses were ordered to be built on the Hill of Howth, one was probably on the rock called Webb's castle, midway between the new and old Bailey, the second on the summit of the old Bailey hill, to the erection of which may be attributed the destruction of the primitive cahir, which there overhung the sea, like Dun Angus on Arran. A tower forty feet high, by twenty feet in diameter, was then raised; on it burned a beacon lighted with coals, the cinders of which are concealed under the grass-grown mound at the base of



the old light-house, which was dismantled after 1814, when the new light-house was built on the eastern point of the promontory stretching into Dublin Bay. The level plateau on the top of the hill is called the "Old Bailey green." It was the *Faithche*, or *campus martius* of the ancient fortress; on it was marshalled the "Fenian militia," who here, under their chief Fin MacCumhal, kept watch and ward, to repel the Roman invaders then expected to our shores. For a century before this period there was a "Mac-murrough" lurking in the Roman camp in Britain, and telling the masters of the world that with one legion they could enslave his own countrymen, an advice which they seem to have kept in mind, awaiting only a more favourable time to act on it.

"Expulsum seditione domestica, unum ex regulis gentis exceperat, ac specie amicitiae in occasionem retinebat \* \* \* Sæpe ex eo audiui, legione una ex modicis auxiliis debellari obtinerique Hiberniam posse." Tac, Vita, Agricolaë, cap. 24.

The Dinnsenchus of Rath Essa, now Rathass, on the Boyne, states that Eochy Fedlock, A.M., 3923, the father of Medb or Meav, Queen of Connaught, gave to his daughter Etain, or Eithne, the choice of a dower. She selected Rath Essa, as from it she could see the three most remarkable places in Bregia (then comprising the Counties Dublin, Meath, and part of Louth): Tara, Brugh on the Boyne (New Grange), and Duncriffan. This passage appears to identify the Duncriffan of the Dinnsenchus with this hill, which is 475 feet above the sea. Its modern namesake being much lower down, and scarcely a hundred feet in height, and having besides a very limited area on its summit, makes it probable that it was never of ancient importance. It lies so low under the hill of Howth that no part of Meath or the country to the north-west can be seen from it.

From the old Bailly, Screen near Tara and the heights above the Boyne can be discerned, in a favourable state of the atmosphere; Crimphain Niadh Niar, King of Erin, gave his name to this fortress. Going on an expedition to Britain and Gaul, he returned carrying to Ireland much precious spoil, of which the native annalists give a glowing account. Six weeks after his return, and in the 16th year of his reign, as they relate, he died, by a fall from his horse on Duncriffan, in the ninth year of the Christian era. His remains lie entombed in one of the three cairns crowning the highest peaks of Ben Edar. Another rath or dun at Howth, called Dun Edair, was built A.M. 3,501, by Surgies, a Milesian chief of

the party of Eremon ; he fell at the battle of Geisill, near Tullamore, in the same year. It is to be distinguished from Duncriffan. Its remains occupied the top of the hill over the harbour called "the Hill of Dunboe," because it was here that Aithirne took refuge with the cows and other spoil collected from the Leinstermen who surrounded him at Dunboe. This siege is detailed in the tract called the Talland Etair. Book of Leinster, fol. 74, b. i.

The chapter on the Irish Saints is of very great interest ; it shows the difficulties that have to be encountered by Irish hagiologists in the identification of saints bearing the same name. Researches of this kind are beset with many difficulties, especially where no assistance is to be had from local traditions regarding the "Patron day" on which their memory was celebrated. It is much to be regretted that when these "Patrons" were partially suppressed, now nearly a century ago, to prevent the idleness and dissipation which supplanted the genuine piety and fervour of an age of more simple faith and devotion—that at least a record of the dates of these festivals was not kept, as such would give invaluable aid in unravelling the tangled records of many of these holy personages. Near Malahide is the church of St. Marnock—beside it a holy well, "St. Marnock's well." Up to sixteen years ago it was in its original state, sunk deep in a hollow of the sandy "burrow of Portmarnock." It was approached by a flight of steps down the sloping bank, on which stood a pillar-stone, having on its edge an Ogham inscription. A portion only of this stone can now be discovered, it has some well marked scores or letters. The other fragments were used in building the well, over which a pump was placed (now about to be removed, and the well restored to its original state by the owner of St. Marnock's, John Jameson, Esq., who also built, at his own expense, a substantial wall around the cemetery and church, to preserve them from trespass and desecration).

Up to eighty or ninety years ago a "Patron" used to be held here on the 15th of August, and on the Sunday following. The Irish calendars give many saints of the name of Ernan, to which, by adding the prefix *mo*, and the affix *oc* or *og*, we have Mo-Er-noc, or Marnock. The martyrology of Donegal, on the 18th of August, gives "Ernin," *i.e.* Mernog of Rath-noi, in ni-Garrchon, *i.e.* in Fotharta of "Leinster ; and of Cill-Draigneach-in-ni-drona." Ernan was a priest of the third order of Irish saints. His memory was celebrated at Kildrina, in the barony of Idrone, in the county of Carlow, and at Rathnew, in Wicklow. The tradition of Port-



marnock, identifies him also with this church. The patron held on Lady-day, in August, and on the Sunday following, does not militate against this appropriation, as it is well known that the nearest holiday or Sunday were selected for holding these patrons, such being more convenient for either pleasure or devotion among the labouring population.

An old man living at Portmarnock, told the writer that his father witnessed the great-grand-mother of a neighbouring nobleman whose family were then Catholic, performing her devotions on Lady-day at St. Marnock's well. One of his descendants has returned to the ancient faith, of which he is now a minister, and holds a distinguished post in the Papal court at Rome.

Unfortunately there has not been discovered a record of the exact date of the "Patrons" of the neighbouring parishes of Coolock and Ratheny. St. Brendan's well is still known; it is beside the stream under Coolock church. Whether it was dedicated to St. Brendan, of Clonfert, "the navigator," who died the 16th of May, 576, or to St. Brendan of Biorra (Burr), who died November 29, A.D. 571, is not yet discovered. St. Assain's, or Ossin's well at Ratheny, was in the field between the Railway station and the Howth road, it was also beside the same streamlet. About two years ago it was covered up, to prevent the villagers from trespassing on the field.

The martyrology of Donegal, at April 27, gives a St. Asan, or Aazanus recording no more than his name. There was an Ossen, a descendant of King Laeghaire, who was a bishop, he lived at Rathossan, near the west gate of Trim, and died February 17, A.D. 686. The *Cronicon Scotorum* records the death of a Bishop Ossen, of the Monastery of Fintan Munnu, in the year 683. It is to be regretted that inquiries made at Ratheny cannot settle this point, for which it is hoped some ancient written authority may yet be discovered.

The notices of St. Modomnoc and St. Molagga record a fact of interest for naturalists. Modomnoc spent some time in Wales with his kinsman St. David, at Menavia or Kilmuine (*i.e.* the Church of the Shrubbery). To him was entrusted the care of the bees belonging to the monastic family. Modomnoc returning to Ireland was about to set sail, when a swarm of these bees followed him into the vessel, he returned to restore them, they followed him a second and a third time, and Modomnoc, acting as at first, St. David at length dismissed him with a blessing, and gave him the bees, which he carried to Ireland. St. Molagga was also at Kilmuine with St. David. On his return to Erinn, he got from his patron a bell, called the "Boban-

Malagga ;" landing at Dublin, he relieved the Regulus of the territory of a wasting disease, and received as his reward the church of Lanbeachaire (*i.e.* the house of the bee-keeper,) in Fingal, for it was there that he placed the bees that Modomnoc brought to Ireland. Mr. Joyce, following perhaps the authority of Dalton's account of Breemore near Balbriggan, makes that church the Lanbeachaire of Colgan. There is reason to suppose that the little oratory under Shelmartin hill at Sutton, called "St. Fintan's Church," was the Lambeachaire<sup>1</sup> of the acts of SS. Modomnoc and Molagga. Local traditions maintain that the house now called Sutton Abbey, was the site of a monastery. The hamlet of Sancer, to the east, facing Dublin bay, is sometimes spelled *Sean-choir*, which in the absence of direct tradition, seems to hail from an ecclesiastical source. St. Berach, of Termon-Barry, in the County Roscommon, is also connected with some other places in Fingal. Kilbarrack, near Baldoyle, takes its name from him. It was given to him by the Regulus of the territory, who was likely Foelan, (died 665) King of Leinster, who had been in his youth the "Alumnus of St. Kevin" of Glendaloch, where also at the same time St. Berach was pursuing his studies. The church at Sutton, just alluded to, got its name from him. Here likely St. Berach had his hermitage or *Dhuirtech*. His life, given in Colgan, Feb. 15th, states that his first name was Fintan, and that he was called Berach from his steady and firm progress in learning and piety. "Berach recte ad scopum collimans."

Tullamaine, near Callan, in Ossory, is translated by Mr. Joyce, "Middle hill." A monastic establishment flourished here up to the end of the 12th century. The annals of the Four Masters record, that in A.D. 1026, it was plundered by the men of Ui-murradhaigh (now the country between Kilcullen and Castledermot, in Kildare), and that its "Vice Abbot" was slain in retaliation, likely for the death of their king Murchearthach Ui-Dunlaing, who fell in combat with the Ossorians when they were preying, some time before, upon the territory of Ui-muireadeaght. In A.D. "1121 the Cloictheach of Teallach-n-Inmainne, in Osraighe, was split by a thunder-

<sup>1</sup> Archbishop Alan, in the *Repertorium Viride*, writing of the Church of Balrothery, has "Sicut et Lambecher altera apuce Brumore." He does not say where the first Lambecher was situated. Templeogue, south of Dublin, in the territory anciently called Hy Dunchada, was locally called "Tamalogue," *i.e.* Tech Molagga. Lambecher is stated to have been in Fingal, so that St. Fintan's at Sutton may be discovered in the course of investigation, to have been the *primary* Lanbeachaire.



bolt, and a stone flew from the Cloictheach, which killed a student in the church." This name, as given in the annals at the dates quoted, shows that it means the hillock of Diman or Inmain, a personal name, of whom there is nothing recorded. Some writers endeavour to maintain that St. Kieran, of Ossory, preached in Ireland before St. Patrick. They prolong his life to a fabulous period, to establish that theory, the discussion of which is foreign to the object of this review. A fact is recorded of him in the traditions of Southern Ossory, and the surrounding country, not noticed in the written authorities on St. Patrick. When he came to preach to the people of Iverk, it happened that St. Kieran was already there before him, at his church now called Kilkieran Circa, 439. St. Patrick was received rather reluctantly by the people. However, a banquet was prepared, and a poisoned hound<sup>1</sup> set before the saint, who, being conscious of their design, blessed the banquet, whereupon the hound took to its legs and scampered away. St. Patrick, indignant at this unworthy treatment, "cursed" the people of the country, and called them "Durnans"—churls—a soubriquet which has ever since clung to them; and he moreover prophesied that the hand of every man should be against them for ever. The traditions of the neighbouring country maintain the veracity of this legend.

The people of Iverk are unpopular with the inhabitants of the neighbouring baronies in the counties of Waterford and Tipperary. This feeling is due to the old hostilities which were entertained by the people of the Desies against the Ossorians, who expelled them from their territory, after the Desies had been driven from the Desei Temrach (now the barony of Deece, in Meath). Having finally settled in the present county Waterford; they also received Magh Femin, now the barony of Middle Third, county Tipperary. From this they drove the Ossory men, and kept them confined to their own original territory. The author of the life of St. Ædan or Mogue of Ferns, given in Colgan, was, perhaps, imbued with the same prejudice when he tells us that a man of the Ossorians crossing the Suire came to Desert-nairbre (now Bollen-desert, or Churchtown, above Carrick-on-Suire), to steal corn from St. Mogue. Let the writer of this life tell his own story:

"Molens stūs Maidocus quodam die triticum in molendino vir quidam Ossargiensium invite farinam accepit ab eo (omnes

<sup>1</sup> The Seal of St. Kyran's College, Kilkenny, has a shield, charged on the dexter side with a bishop in Pontificals, representing St. Kieran the patron saint; below his feet lies a hound. The sinister side has an Irish cross and shamrocks.

fatres viri Dei foris ministrabant). Item idem vir superadictus mutato habitu cœcans num oculum venit quasi luscus ad Maidoc petenus farniam ab eo. Ait ei Si. Maidoc. Quare hoc fecisti? pro nomine Dei mei dabo tibi, sed tu luscus eris usque ad mortem tuam, et quamdiu mansurum est genus tuum, vir cœcus non deerit ab eo." ACTA SS. p. 210. Legends such as these, though belonging more to imagination than to fact, have some historical value. Abstracting from their improbability which is not to be maintained, but only as far as they are auxiliary to historical events into which, in the course of ages, they have got entwined, so that in dealing with them, the "good grain" must be separated from the chaff—as it is only by genuine and honest criticism that we can reach the true kernel of history. Or apart from that course we must relate them as Livy does the legends of ancient Roman history—to give them as we find them, and leave comment to the reader. In the life of St. Patrick now coming from the press, an assertion is gratuitously made regarding one of the old churches founded by Palladius. The writer of this life places the "Ecclesia Finte" in Dunlavan, for which there is not even the shadow of authority. Lanigan, O'Donovan, Dr. Dodd, and others, have failed to discover its exact locality. In a paper published in the June number of the "ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD" for 1866, on Killeen Cormac, in the barony of E. Narragh and Reban, county Kildare, the writer of this review suggested that Killeen Cormac may be the "Ecclesia Finte" or "cell-Fiine" of the acts of Palladius. The remarkable and unique monuments there—one most probably the tombstone of Dubthach Mac-ua-Lugair—and the quotations from venerable Irish authorities, might perhaps satisfy the most critical antiquary as to the correctness of the identification, which is now more than a mere conjecture, as has been accepted by some of the most competent judges. In the same series are some very valuable papers on the Italian legends of St. Patrick, by the Very Rev. Mgr. Moran. It is to be hoped that these also will not be overlooked in a history professing to be the most perfect yet written on our national apostle.

Mr. Joyce is very successful in the chapter on legends and mythological names, into which the Pooka legend enters largely.

There is at Howth a sea-rock called "Puck rock"—Carriga-phoca—its legend reads thus: One of the sons of Nesson, from whom Ireland's eye was called "Inis Meic Nesson," was one day studying the Holy Scriptures; the demon or pooka was so importunate in annoying the holy man, that forgetting



himself for the moment, he hurled the volume at his tormentor, who fled away to avoid the blow aimed at him, he alighted on the rock to which the tradition refers. It split in twain under the pooka; he fell into the chasm, and impressed his form on the side of the rock. Imaginative people think that they can discern the figure of the pooka, with a book and chains at his side. The book, others say, fell into the sea, and old crones tell how, nearly 300 years ago, a fisherman hauled it up on his fishing-line near the "Nose of Howth." It was like all the "drowned" books of Irish legends, none the worse of its immersion. Nor was it even wetted by its detention for centuries in the caverns of the sea. It is needless to relate, that this wonderful discovery excited great curiosity among the Howth folks, and "Betty Plunket," (the daughter of Sir John Plunkett, of Beaulieu, and wife to Christopher, the 20th baron, called "the Blind Lord" of Howth, who died A.D. 1589), got possession of this marvellous book. The parson of Howth, a certain Father Shanley, being likely a collector of curiosities, was anxious also to get it into his hands. He proposed to the Baroness of Howth to celebrate "100 souls' masses," in case she gave him possession of it. He did not succeed, as the book was retained at the castle. This curious legend refers to the ancient MSS. of the four Gospels, written on Ireland's eye, about the middle of the 7th century. It is now called "the Garland of Howth." It was preserved with the deepest veneration in the old church on Ireland's Eye, in Archbishop Alan's time, A.D. 1528—1534. It subsequently came into the possession of the Howth family, from whom it is said Archbishop Ussher got it; from him it passed into the library of Trinity College, Dublin, where it now is.

More information on this subject can be gleaned from a work published in London, by the Society of Antiquaries entitled "Descriptive remarks on illuminations in certain ancient Irish MSS. by the late Dr. Todd (the last literary effort of his pen), illustrating some most marvellously executed illuminations from the "Book of Kells," "the Garland of Howth" (written early in the seventh century), &c., copied with the utmost fidelity and art by Miss Stokes. She has already distinguished herself by her illuminations illustrating Dr. Ferguson's poem on the Cromleck on Howth. So faithful to the originals, and so wonderfully minute in detail are her illuminated drawings, that Dr. Steuart, in the "Sculptured stones of Scotland," says. vol. ii. pref. lxxxi., n. "The mantle of the early illuminators has fallen upon Miss Stokes." Not an exaggerated expression of praise, when it is known that Berlin ar-

tists only, could reproduce in chromo-lithograph the productions of her pencil, to publish which, a sum of £300 was given by the London Society of Antiquaries. Dr. Todd, writing of the *Garland of Howth* gives Alan's history of it, which is nearly identical with the legend just told. It makes one of the sons of Nesson walk across the sea, "*per spatium ferme unius miliaris*," ordering the demon, "*cum ysopo aque benedictæ plenus*," to enter the chasm of the "*Powke Rocke*." On this occasion he let his book fall into the sea. It was called "*the Kerlowre*, *i.e.* *Ceathair Leabhair*, or the quadruple book, *i.e.* the four gospels. It was soon after picked up by some sailors, and restored to the owner. The tradition regarding Father Shanley and the Baroness of Howth, refers likely to some other phase of its history—perhaps to the time when it was taken away for ever from its island sanctuary, and brought to the castle of Howth. Archbishop Alan says it was kept in the island in his own time, but it is likely it was soon after carried to the mainland, owing to the dispute of the Baron of Howth with the see of Dublin for the possession of the island, and the subsequent changes effected by the political and religious revolutions of the sixteenth century. The reader of this very protracted review must rather find fault with Mr. Joyce than with the reviewer. His book, opening so extensive a field of discovery hitherto uncultivated, has led him on to subjects so very interesting, that it is hard to know when to end investigations—like the gold digger, every glittering grain of the precious metal tempts him on, so that to leave off is often an irksome and unwelcome task.

The Irish public owe a deep debt of gratitude to his labours, as yet only commenced, as it is understood that Mr. Joyce intends to work still more in this hitherto-forgotten mine of national literature, in which he deserves all success. His book should be in the hands of every student of the history of Ireland. For the traveller and tourist it will awaken a still deeper interest, not only in its natural beauties, but still more in its historical recollections.

J. F. S.



## QUESTIONS REGARDING THE JUBILEE.

### VI.—THE POWER OF ABSOLVING FROM RESERVED SINS AND CENSURES.

In the Encyclical *Nemo certe ignorat*, the Holy Father grants to all approved confessors, during the present Jubilee, the special faculties with which confessors are usually invested on such occasions :—the power of absolving from reserved sins and censures, of commuting certain vows, of dispensing in irregularities, and of commuting in certain cases the performance of the works which are enjoined as conditions for gaining the Jubilee.

The clauses which confer the power of absolving from reserved sins and censures are as follows :—“*Omnibus christi-fidelibus. . . licentiam concedimus ut sibi ad hunc [jubilaei] effectum eligere possunt quemcunque confessarium ex actu approbatis a locorum Ordinariis. . . . qui eos ab excommunicationis, suspensionis, aliisque ecclesiasticis sententiis et censuris a jure vel ab homine quavis de causa latis vel inflictis praeter infra exceptas, necnon ab omnibus peccatis, excessibus, criminibus, et delictis quantumvis gravibus et enormibus etiam locorum Ordinariis sive Nobis et Sedi Apostolicae speciali licet forma reservatis et quorum absolutio in alias quantumvis ampla non intelligeretur concessa, in foro conscientiae et hac vice tantum absolvere et liberare valeat.*”<sup>1</sup>

It is obvious, in the first place, that by virtue of this concession, every approved confessor is invested with full power to absolve from all those sins the absolution of which is ordinarily reserved to the Bishop of his diocese, in other words from all the diocesan reserved cases :—“*Ab omnibus peccatis, excessibus, criminibus et delictis quantumvis gravibus et enormibus etiam locorum Ordinariis . . . reservatis.*”

Notwithstanding the universality of the terms employed by the Pope, which would seem to preclude the possibility of any controversy regarding the extent of the power which is thus conferred, a question has been raised by theologians as to whether this clause authorises confessors to absolve from sins which were not reserved by the Bishop until after the Jubilee had been published? But there can be no doubt that confessors are empowered to absolve from such sins as well as from those which had been reserved before the publication of the Bull of Jubilee. For, the nature of the privilege conferred

<sup>1</sup> See *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Vol. 5, No. LVI., May, 1869, pp. 385-9, where the Encyclical is given in full.

in the Encyclical is this, that any one of the faithful who has not previously gained the Jubilee, and who goes to confession at any time before the close of the Ecumenical Council, can be absolved by any approved confessor from all the reserved sins of which he may accuse himself in confession. His Holiness makes no distinction, and consequently no distinction is to be made, between sins which have been reserved since the publication of the Encyclical and those which had been reserved previously. "La concession," says Loiseaux, "est generale; nous ne devons donc pas la restreindre, et nul motif ne nous pousse à le faire."<sup>1</sup>

The same reasoning is decisive against the opinion of a few writers who consider that the power granted in the Bull does not extend to any sins which have been committed in the hope of more easily obtaining absolution from them by virtue of the extraordinary powers conferred on confessors during the time of Jubilee. "Ubi lex," says De Lugo, "non distinguit, nos non debemus distinguere: si ergo in jubilaeo datur licentia absolvendi . . . non debet restringi ad illa sola quae non sunt facta ob confidentiam privilegii."<sup>2</sup>

The power of absolving from sins which are ordinarily reserved to the Pope is also granted in the Encyclical:—"Ab omnibus peccatis . . . etiam locorum Ordinariis, sive Nobis et Sedi Apostolicae speciali licet forma reservatis." But, putting aside those sins to which a reserved censure is annexed, and which are referred to in another clause of the Encyclical, the Papal reserved cases are, as Saint Alphonsus<sup>3</sup> tells us, only two. From these, confessors are empowered to absolve by virtue of the clause just quoted: for although the reservation of one<sup>4</sup> of them is contained in the Constitution *Sacramentum Pœnitentiae*, the power of absolving from it is, as we shall afterwards see, not restricted by the clause which is inserted in the Bull of the present Jubilee regarding the reservations contained in that Constitution.

We may now proceed to examine the extent of the power which is conferred by the clause regarding reserved censures:—"Ab excommunicationis, suspensionis, aliisque ecclesiasticis sententiis et censuris a jure vel ab homine . . . latis vel inflictis, praeter infra exceptas . . . etiam sedi Apostolicae

<sup>1</sup> *Traité du Jubilé*, chap. vi., art. 2, sect. i., par. I, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *De Sacramento Pœnitentiae*. Disp. 20, sect. viii., n. 130.

<sup>3</sup> *Theologia Moralis*. Lib. vi. Tract iv., n. 580. Quær. ii. See also GURY, *Compendium Theologiae Moralis*, De Censuris, n. 953. 4<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> The following are the words of the Constitution, "Qui vel per seipsum innocentes confessarios impie calumniatur vel sceleste procurat ut il ab aliis fiat." See GURY, *loc. citat.*



*reservatis et quorum absolutio in alias quantumvis ampla non intelligeretur concessa."*

The first question which may be raised in reference to this clause is, whether it empowers confessors to absolve from the censures annexed to the sin of heresy, and from the other censures contained in the Bull *In Cæna Domini*.<sup>1</sup> The difficulty in both cases arises from the doctrine which is taught by almost every writer of authority on this subject, namely, that the power of absolving from the censures contained in this Bull is not conferred by any general indult in which those censures are not expressly mentioned, "*Quando conceditur,*" says Suarez, "*generalis facultas absolvendi a casibus reservatis Summo Pontifici, sub ea concessione non comprehenduntur casus reservati in Cænæ Bulla, etiamsi expresse non excipiantur. . . . Quia illae censurae . . . habent specialem gravitatem et reservationem, ratione cujus non censentur comprehendi sub clausula generali; et ideo quando conceduntur, semper exprimuntur juxta stylum Romanae Curiae.*"<sup>2</sup> Thus, for instance, it is now practically certain that the power of absolving from these censures, is not granted to Bishops, by virtue of the chapter *Liceat* (*Concil. Trident. Sess. xxiv., cap. 6., De Reformatione*) which empowers them to absolve "*in quibuscunque casibus occultis, etiam Sedi Apostolicae reservatis.*"<sup>3</sup> And hence, too, Benedict XIV., in order to invest confessors with the power of absolving from the censures of this Bull, inserted a clause to that effect in the Bull of Jubilee, "*Ac Nobis et Sedi Apostolicae etiam in Bulla die Cænæ Domini legi solita, seu per alias quascunque Apostolicas constitutiones quomodocunque . . . reservatis.*"<sup>4</sup>

A similar principle is laid down by the canonists and theologians in reference to the power of absolving from the censure annexed to the sin of heresy. Indeed this point has been defined by the Congregation of the Inquisition in a decree confirmed by Alexander VII., "*Sanctissimus D. N. Alexander VII. . . ad removendam omnem dubitandi occa-*

<sup>1</sup> It is hardly necessary to observe that this Bull, the first words of which are *Pastoralis Romani Pontificis vigilantia*, received the designation by which it is more generally known, from the fact that until the pontificate of Clement XIV., it was promulgated every year, at Rome, on Thursday in Holy Week. Its author is not known; but there can be no doubt of its great antiquity. It is given in full by Ferraris (*Bibliotheca. In verb. Excommunicatio. Art. ii.*) and by La Croix. (*Theologia Moralis. Lib. vi., pars. ii. n. 2054.*) For a list of the censures which it contains, see LIGUORI, *Theologia Moralis. Lib. vii., De Censuris, nn. 281, 309-11*; GURY, *Compendium Theologiae Moralis. De Censuris, n. 970.*

<sup>2</sup> *De Censuris. Disp. 7. sect. v. n. 11.*

<sup>3</sup> See Saint Alphonsus. *Theologia Moralis. Lib. vii. De Censuris n. 83.*

<sup>4</sup> *Bullarium Benedicti XIV. Constit. Benedictus Deus (25 Dec. 1750.) No. 4.*

sionem, et ne circa id in posterum ullo tempore haesitari contingat, . . . decrevit facultatem absolvendi ab haeresi in jubilaetis vel aliis similibus concessionibus non censi comprehensam, nisi expressis verbis concedatur facultas absolvendi ab haeresi.”<sup>1</sup> In consequence of this decision it is generally held that although this censure is contained in the Bull *In Cæna Domini*, the power of absolving from it is not conferred by any indults in which it is not expressly mentioned, even though they should contain the clause, “absolvendi etiam a censuris in Bulla Cœnae reservatis.” “Eadem ratione,” says Suarez, “inferunt scriptores praesertim moderni, in concessione generali omnium censurarum Papalium, etiam contentorum in Bulla Cœnae, non intelligi comprehensam excommunicationem propter peccatum hereseos.”<sup>2</sup> And hence, Benedict XIV., in explaining the clause of his Constitution *Convocatis*—“Ab omnibus censuris nobis et Sedi Apostolicae, etiam in Bulla die Cœna Domini legi solita seu per alias quas-cunque apostolicas Constitutiones quomodocunque reservatis”—which set forth the special faculties granted to confessors during the Jubilee of 1750, writes:—“Ampla facultas absolvendi a censuris in Bulla Cœnae reservatis concessa est, ex quo aliqui contenderunt, posse etiam deduci facultatem absolvendi ab Haeresi . . . de qua in dicta Bulla *In Cæna Domini* mentio fit; declarare opportunum putavimus. . . . id minime subsistere, cum hujuscemodi facultas expresse semper nominari debet nec unquam vigore cujusvis verborum amplitudinis concessa dici possit.”<sup>3</sup>

If, then, the power of absolving from the censures of the Bull *In Cæna Domini* is granted only by virtue of a special clause to that effect; and if, notwithstanding the insertion of such a clause, the power of absolving from some of those censures—namely, those which are annexed to the sin of heresy—still remains reserved to the Holy See, can we suppose that confessors are empowered to absolve from any of these censures by virtue of the clauses already quoted from the Bull of the present Jubilee, in which no express reference is made to them?

Although the censures in question are not explicitly mentioned by His Holiness, there cannot, it would seem, be any doubt that the power of absolving from them is conferred on the present occasion. For it is to be observed that the Encyclical *Nemo certe ignorat* contains a clause which was not

<sup>1</sup> *Decret. S. Rom. et Universalis Inquisitionis* (23 Mar. 1656). See Benedict XIV., *De Synodo Diocesana*, Lib. 9, cap. iv. n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *De Censuris*. Disp. 7, sect. v., n. 12.

<sup>3</sup> *Bullarium Benedicti XIV.* Constit. *Inter praeteritos* (3 Dec. 1749) No. 85.



found in the Bulls of Jubilee issued by Benedict XIV., nor, indeed, in any such Bull until the pontificate of Pius VI., and which, it would seem, empowers confessors to absolve from all the censures of the Bull *In Cæna Domini*. It is as follows:—"Ab omnibus . . . Sedi Apostolicæ speciali licet forma reservatis, et quorum absolutio in quacunque alia quantumvis ampla concessione non intelligeretur comprehensa." The latter portion of this clause can refer only to the censures in question, and hence the writers who have undertaken to explain its meaning teach that by virtue of it, the power of absolving from these censures is conferred. Bouvier lays down this doctrine as altogether certain<sup>1</sup>; and Loiseaux, who also adopts it, supports it by an argument which seems unanswerable:—"Cette clause," he asks, "ne produira-t-elle pas d'autre effet que celle usitée par Benoît XIV? . . . Les souverains Pontifes ont, sans doute, voulu ajouter quelque chose au pouvoir des confesseurs; que serait-ce, sinon le pouvoir d'absoudre de l'hérésie?"<sup>2</sup> In fine, all doubt regarding the correctness of this interpretation has been removed by the decree of the Sacred Penitentiary, already published in the *Record*,<sup>3</sup> regarding the present Jubilee. Since then the clause, "ab omnibus reservatis . . . quorum absolutio in quacunque alia quantumvis ampla concessione non intelligeretur concessa," is sufficiently explicit to confer the power of absolving from heresy, we may, as is obvious from the principles already laid down, infer with much greater reason that it empowers confessors to absolve from all the other reserved cases of the Bull *In Cæna Domini*.

There is, therefore, no doubt that during the present Jubilee confessors are empowered to absolve from all reserved censures with the exception only of those which are expressly excluded in the Encyclical:—"Neque intendimus . . . ullo modo derogare Constitutioni cum appositis declarationibus editæ a fel. rec: Benedicto XIV., Praedecessore Nostro, quæ incipit "Sacramentum Pœnitentiæ," quod inhabilitatem absolvendi complicem et quoad obligationem denuntiationis." In reference to this clause, it is necessary to observe that it does not deprive confessors of all power over the reserved cases enumerated in the Constitution referred to; it provides only that, as regards the two points which are here specified—"inhabilitas absolvendi complicem et obligatio denuntiandi"—the reservations imposed by Benedict XIV. remain in force.

<sup>1</sup> *Traité des Indulgences*. Part. iv., chap. iii., art. ii., sect. i.

<sup>2</sup> *Traité du Jubilé*. Chap. vi., art. ii., sect. i., par. i., n. 7.

<sup>3</sup> See *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*. Vol. 5, No. LIX., August, 1869, p. 743.

Having now ascertained the extent of the Jubilee faculties, as regards the sins and censures from which confessors are empowered to absolve, we may, in the next place, examine some questions regarding the persons in whose favour those special powers can be exercised.

In answer to a question regarding the present Jubilee, the Sacred Penitentiary has decided in accordance with the principle laid down by Benedict XIV.<sup>1</sup> that these faculties are available only for those persons who intend to perform the works set forth in the Encyclical as conditions necessary for gaining the plenary indulgence:—"An confessarii uti possunt facultatibus erga eum . . . qui non habeat voluntatem peragendi opera injuncta et lucrandi Jubilaeum? *Resp.* Negative."<sup>2</sup>

From this principle, the truth of which had been admitted, at least since the time of Suarez, by all canonists and theologians, the great majority of those writers infer that a person who, availing himself of those faculties, obtains from an ordinary confessor absolution from some reserved censures or sins, thereby contracts an obligation to perform the works enjoined by the Pope as conditions for gaining the indulgence of the Jubilee. Ferraris goes so far as to say that this is the unanimous opinion of theologians:—"Omnes doctores conveniunt quod peccet; variant tamen an venialiter an mortaliter."<sup>3</sup> This statement, however, is not strictly correct; for the existence of this obligation is expressly denied by Sanchez,<sup>4</sup> De Lugo<sup>5</sup> and Henriquez.<sup>6</sup> "Quia hic [poenitens]," says Sanchez, "nil promisit, nec obligationem aliquam illi imposuit confessarius, nec Jubilaeus talem obligationem petit, nec de tali Pontificis intentione constat: et si ea esset, facile posset [Pontifex] eam explicare."<sup>7</sup> But it is undoubtedly the common opinion of theologians that such an obligation exists. For, they say, when a favour is granted on certain conditions, every one who participates in it binds himself by an implied promise to comply with those conditions; and hence, from the principle already explained regarding the manner in which the special faculties of the Jubilee are granted, it clearly follows that every one who avails himself of them, undertakes an obligation of performing the works which are enume-

<sup>1</sup> *Bullarium Benedicti XIV.* Constit. *Convocatis*, jam citat. No. 24; Constit. *Inter praeteritos*, jam citat. No. 62.

<sup>2</sup> *Decret. S. Penitentiariae* (1 June, 1869). See *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, vol. 5, No. LXIX. August, 1869, p. 543.

<sup>3</sup> *Bibliotheca.* In verb. *Jubilaeum*, art. ii., n. 31.

<sup>4</sup> *Opus Morale in Decalogum.* Lib. iv., chap. liv., n. 54.

<sup>5</sup> *De Sacramento Penitentiae.* Disp. xx., sect. n. 100.

<sup>6</sup> *De Penitentia.* Lib. vi., cap. xvi., n. 6.

<sup>7</sup> *Loc. sup. citat.*



rated in the Bull. "Si post absolutionem virtute Jubilaei obtentam," says Suarez, "omittit reliqua opera necessaria ad indulgentiam Jubilaei obtinendam, . . . illud est in fraudem Jubilaei, et contra virtuale pactum inclusum in facultate ad illum finem concessa."<sup>1</sup> And again:—"Dico sufficienter probari pactum implicitum . . . ex natura rei in tali actione . . . nec videtur dubium, quin haec sit praesumpta intentio Pontificis talem facultatem concedentis."<sup>2</sup> But the existence of this intention is no longer a matter of mere conjecture or of presumption; for Benedict XIV.,<sup>3</sup> by adopting the doctrine, and, indeed, the words of Suarez, has supplied the proof desired by Sanchez, and has thus removed all doubt regarding the existence of this obligation. It remains, then, only to examine whether its violation involves a mortal or a venial sin.

Bonacina,<sup>4</sup> Gobat,<sup>5</sup> Bellegambe,<sup>6</sup> Ferraris,<sup>7</sup> and Saint Alphonsus<sup>8</sup> consider that there are not sufficient grounds for asserting that a mortal sin is committed. "Quia," says Bonacina, "nulli gravem facit injuriam (talibus poenitens), sibi que tantum nocet."<sup>9</sup> On the other hand Suarez,<sup>10</sup> Viva,<sup>11</sup> and Collet<sup>12</sup> are of opinion that the sin is mortal. "Ratio est," says Viva, "quia videtur intervenire tacitum pactum inter Pontificem et poenitentem; ita scilicet ut Pontifex concedat hujusmodi media et poenitens ea acceptet, obligando se ad finem ponendum: ergo si absque causa omittat deinde ponere opera injuncta et lucrari Jubilaeum, violabit pactum tacitum in re gravi et consequenter peccabit graviter."<sup>13</sup> And, since the nature of the obligation depends upon the intention of the Pope in granting those special powers to confessors, it would seem from a passage in the Encyclical *Inter praeteritos* that there can be but little doubt of the correctness of Viva's opinion; for, after stating that a difference of opinion in reference to this question exists amongst theologians, and that according to Suarez, Vasquez, Filliucius, and other

<sup>1</sup> *De Poenitentiae*. Disp. 31, sect. iv., n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *De Virtute et Statu Religionis*. Tom. 2, tract vi, lib. 6, cap. xvi., n. 11.

<sup>3</sup> *Bullarium Benedicti XIV.* Constit. *Inter praeteritos*, jam citat., No. 62.

<sup>4</sup> *De Sacramento Poenitentiae*, Disp. v., quaest. 7., punct. 5., sec. v., n. 18.

<sup>5</sup> *Opera Moralia*, Tract iii. *De Jubilaeo*, Chap. xxxiv. n., 262.

<sup>6</sup> *Enchiridion de Jubilaeo*, Part iii, sect. x., quaest. 5.

<sup>7</sup> *Bibliotheca*, In verb. *Jubilaeum*, art ii., n. 31.

<sup>8</sup> *Theologia Moralis*, Lib. vi., n. 537, Quaer. 3.

<sup>9</sup> *Loc. sup. citat.*

<sup>10</sup> *De Poenitentia*, Disp. 31, sect. iv., n. 5.

<sup>11</sup> *De Jubilaeo*, Quaest xi., art v., n. 2.

<sup>12</sup> *Traite des Indulgences et du Jubile*, Chap. vi., sect iii., n. 18.

<sup>13</sup> *De Jubilaeo*, Quaest xi, art v. n. 2.

writers the obligation binds *sub gravi*: Benedict XIV. adds :—"Haec sententia, subsistente ratione fulta est."<sup>1</sup>

It is also to be observed that if a person who has been absolved by virtue of the Jubilee faculties, should afterwards fail to perform the works necessary for gaining the Jubilee, his omission, although culpable, will not affect the validity of the absolution which he has received, nor will he thereby incur a new censure or reservation. This principle, as far as regards the remission of his reserved sins, is an obvious inference from the doctrine unanimously taught by theologians in reference to the nature of sacramental absolution. "Dicendum est," says Suarez, "illum hominem manere absolutum a tali peccato, quia absolutio . . non potuit esse pendens ex futuro eventu ; quia hoc repugnat formae sacramentali . . . Unde illa facultas licet data fuerit in ordine ad futurum effectum, non tamen dependenter ab illo, ut a conditione de futuro, sed ad summum ut a conditione de praesenti, id est, a praesenti intentione faciendi omnia necessaria ad talem effectum."<sup>2</sup>

Absolution from censures indeed is sometimes given *ad reincidentiam*, that is to say, a censure is sometimes removed in such a way that it will be again incurred if the person absolved should fail to comply with a certain obligation. "Absolutio *ad reincidentiam*," as Laymann explains it, "cum certa conditione datur quam nisi absolutus infra praefinitum tempus, adimpleat . . ineandem vel potius similem censuram incidat."<sup>3</sup> But Benedict XIV. distinctly teaches that although a person who is absolved from censures by virtue of the Jubilee faculties contracts an obligation of performing the works enjoined as conditions for gaining the Jubilee, the absolution is not given *ad reincidentiam*, so as to render him liable to any reservation or censure, in case he should fail to fulfil this obligation :—"Quoniam," he says, "absolutio a censuris in casu de quo agitur, minime quidem *cum reincidentia* sed absolute data est ac datur, idcirco...declaravimus illum [qui consilium mutet, nec praescripta opera adimpleat] nequaquam censuris quibus solutus fuerat, innodatum remanere."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Bullarium Benedicti XIV.* Constit. *Inter praeteritos*, jam citat. No. 86.

<sup>2</sup> *De Poenitentia*, Disp. 31, sect. iv., n. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Theologia Moralis*, Lib. 1, tract 5, *De Censuris*, pars. i., cap. vii., n. 8.

<sup>4</sup> *Bullarium Benedicti XIV.* Constit. *Inter praeteritos*, jam citat., No. 85.

(To be continued.)



## DOCUMENT.

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI PII DIVINA PRO-  
VIDENTIA PAPAE IX., CONSTITUTIO QUA  
ECCLESIASTICAE CENSURAE LATAE SÉN-  
TENTIAE LIMITANTUR.

PIUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI AD PERPETUAM  
REI MEMORIAM.

Apostolicae Sedis moderationi convenit, quae salubriter veterum canonum auctoritate constituta sunt, sic retinere, ut, si temporum rerumque mutatio quidpiam esse temperandum prudenti dispensatione suadeat, Eadem Apostolica Sedes congruum supremae suae potestatis remedium ac providentiam impendat. Quamobrem cum animo nostro iampridem revolveremus, ecclesiasticas censuras, quae per modum latae sententiae, ipsoque facto incurrendae ad incolumitatem ac disciplinam ipsius Ecclesiae tutandam, effrenemque improborum licentiam coercendam et emendandam sancte per singulas aetates indictae ac promulgatae sunt, magnum ad numerum sensim excrevisse; quasdam etiam, temporibus moribusque mutatis, a fine atque causis, ob quas impositae fuerant, vel a pristina utilitate, atque opportunitate excidisse; eamque ob rem non infrequentes oriri sive in iis, quibus animarum cura commissa est, sive in ipsis fidelibus dubietates, anxietates, angoresque conscientiae; Nos ejusmodi incommodis occurrere volentes, plenam earumdem recensionem fieri, Nobisque proponi iussimus, ut, diligenti adhibita consideratione, statueremus, quasnam ex illis servare ac retinere oporteret, quas vero moderari aut abrogare congrueret. Ea igitur recensione peracta, ac Venerabilibus Fratribus Nostris S. R. E. Cardinalibus in negotiis Fidei Generalibus Inquisitoribus per universam Christianam Rempublicam deputatis in consilium adscitis, reque diu ac mature perpensa, motu proprio, certa scienia, matura deliberatione Nostra, deque Apostolicae Nostrae potestatis plenitudine hac perpetuo valitura Constitutione decernimus, ut ex quibuscumque censuris sive excommunicationis, sive suspensionis, sive interdicti, quae per modum latae sententiae, ipsoque facto incurrendae hactenus impositae sunt, nonnisi illae, quas in hac ipsa Constitutione inserimus, eoque modo, quo inserimus, robur exinde habeant; simul declarantes, easdem non modo ex veterum canonum auctoritate quatenus cum hac Nostra Constitutione

conveniunt, verum etiam ex hac ipsa Constitutione Nostra, non secus ac si primum editae ab ea fuerint, vim suam prorsus accipere debere.

EXCOMMUNICATIONES LATAE SENTENTIAE SPECIALI MODO  
ROMANO PONTIFICI RESERVATAE.

Itaque excommunicationi latae sententiae speciali modo Romano Pontifici reservatae subiacere declaramus:—

1. Omnes a christiana fide apostatas, et omnes ac singulos haereticos, quocumque nomine censeantur, et cuiuscumque sectae existant, eisque credentes, eorumque receptores, fautores, ac generaliter quoslibet illorum defensores.

2. Omnes et singulos scienter legentes sine auctoritate Sedis Apostolicae libros eorumdem apostatarum et haereticorum haeresim propugnantes, nec non libros cuiusvis auctoris per Apostolicas litteras nominatim prohibitos, eosdemque libros retinentes, imprimentes et quomodolibet defendentes.

3. Schismaticos et eos qui a Romani Pontificis pro tempore existentis obedientia pertinaciter se subtrahunt, vel recedunt.

4. Omnes et singulos, cuiuscumque status, gradus seu conditionis fuerint, ab ordinationibus seu mandatis Romanorum Pontificum pro tempore existentium ad universale futurum Concilium appellantes, nec non eos, quorum auxilio, consilio vel favore appellatum fuerit.

5. Omnes interficientes, mutilantes, percutientes, capientes, carcerantes, detinentes, vel hostiliter insequentes S. R. E. Cardinales, Patriarchas, Archiepiscopos, Episcopos, Sedisque Apostolicae Legatos, vel Nuncios, aut eos a suis Dioecesibus. Territoriis, Terris, seu Dominiis ejicientes, nec non ea mandantes, vel rata habentes, seu praestantes in eis auxilium, consilium vel favorem.

6. Impedientes directe vel indirecte exercitium jurisdictionis ecclesiasticae sive interni sive externi fori, et ad hoc recurrentes ad forum saeculare ejusque mandata procurantes, edentes, aut auxilium, consilium vel favorem praestantes.

7. Cogentes sive directe, sive indirecte iudices laicos ad trahendum ad suum tribunal personas ecclesiasticas praeter canonicas dispositiones: item edentes leges vel decreta contra libertatem aut jura Ecclesiae.

8. Recurrentes ad laicam potestatem ad impediendas litteras vel acta quaelibet a Sede Apostolica, vel ab ejusdem Legatis aut Delegatis quibuscumque profecta eorumque promulgationem vel executionem directe vel indirecte prohibentes, aut eorum causa sive ipsas partes, sive alios laedentes, vel perterrefacientes.



9. Omnes falsarios litterarum Apostolicarum, etiam in forma Brevis ac supplicationum gratiam vel justitiam concernentium per Romanum Pontificem, vel S. R. E. Vice-Cancellarios seu Gerentes vices eorum aut de mandato Ejusdem Romani Pontificis signatarum: nec non falso publicantes Litteras Apostolicas, etiam in forma Brevis, et etiam falso signantes supplicationes hujusmodi sub nomine Romani Pontificis, seu Vice-Cancellarii aut Gerentis vices praedictorum.

10. Absolventes complicem in peccato turpi etiam in mortis articulo, si alius Sacerdos licet non adprobatus ad confessiones, sine gravi aliqua exoritura infamia et scandalo, possit excipere morientis confessionem.

11. Usurpantes aut sequestrantes jurisdictionem, bona, redditus ad personas ecclesiasticas ratione suarum Ecclesiarum aut beneficiorum pertinentes.

12. Invadentes, destruentes, detinentes per se vel per alios Civitates, Terras, loca aut jura ad Ecclesiam Romanam pertinentia; vel usurpantes, perturbantes, retinentes supremam iurisdictionem in eis; nec non ad singula praedicta auxilium, consilium, favorem praebentes.

A quibus omnibus excommunicationibus huc usque recensitis absolutionem Romano Pontifici pro tempore speciali modo reservatam esse et reservari; et pro ea generalem concessionem absolvendi a casibus et censuris, sive excommunicationibus Romano Pontifici reservatis nullo pacto sufficere declaramus, revocatis insuper earumdem respectu quibuscumque indultis concessis sub quavis forma et quibusvis personis etiam Regularibus cujuscumque Ordinis, Congregationis, Societatis et Instituti, etiam speciali mentione dignis et in quavis dignitate constitutis. Absolvere autem praesumentes sine debita facultate, etiam quovis praetextu, excommunicationis vinculo Romano Pontifici reservatae innodatos se sciant, dumodo non agatur de mortis articulo, in quo tamen firma sit quoad absolutos obligatio standi mandatis Ecclesiae, si convaluerint.

#### EXCOMMUNICATIONES LATAE SENTENTIAE ROMANO PONTIFICI RESERVATAE.

Excommunicationi latae sententiae Romano Pontifici reservatae subiacere declaramus:

1. Docentes vel defendentes sive publice, sive privatim propositiones ab Apostolica Sede damnatas sub excommunicationis poena latae sententiae; item docentes vel defendentes tanquam licitam praxim inquirendi a poenitente nomen complicis prouti damnata est a Benedicto XIV. in

Const. *Suprema* 7, Julii 1745. *Ubi primum* 2. Junii 1746. *Ad eradicandum* 28, Septembris 1746.

2 Violentas manus, suadente diabolo, iniicientes in Clericos, vel utriusque sexus Monacos, exceptis quoad reservationem casibus, et personis, de quibus iure vel privilegio phrimitur, ut Episcopus aut alius absolvat.

3. Duellum perpetrantes, aut simpliciter ad illud provocantes, vel ipsum acceptantes, et quoslibet complices, vel qualemcumque operam aut favorem praebentes, nec non de industria spectantes, illudque permittentes, vel quantum in illis est, non prohibentes, cuiuscumque dignitatis sint, etiam regalis vel imperialis.

4. Nomen dantes sectae *Massonicae*, aut *Carbonariae*, aut aliis ejusdem generis sectis quae contra Ecclesiam vel legitimas potestates seu palam, seu clandestine machinantur, nec non iisdem sectis favorem qualemcumque praestantes; earumve occultos coriphaeos ac duces non denunciantes, donec non denunciaverint.

5. Immunitatem asyli ecclesiastici violare iubentes, aut ausu temerario violentes.

6. Violantes clausuram Monialium, cuiuscumque generis aut conditionis sexus vel aetatis fuerint, in earum monasteria absque legitima licentia ingrediendo; pariterque eos introducentes vel admittentes; itemque Moniales at illa exeuntes extra casus ac formam a S. Pio V. in *Constit. Decori* praescriptam.

7. Mulieres violantes Regularium virorum clausuram, et Superiores aliosve eas admittentes.

8. Reos simoniae realis in beneficiis quibuscumque, eorumque complices.

9. Reos simoniae confidentialis in beneficiis quibuslibet, cuiuscumque sint dignitatis.

10. Reos simoniae realis ob ingressum in Religionem.

11. Omnes qui quaestum facientes ex indulgentiis aliisque gratiis spiritualibus excommunicationis censura plectuntur Constitutione S. Pii V. *Quam plenum* 2 Januarii 1554.

12. Colligentes eleemosynas maioris pretii pro missis, et ex iis lucrum captantes, faciendo eas celebrari in locis ubi Missarum stipendia minoris pretii esse solent.

13. Omnes qui excommunicatione mulctantur in Constitutionibus S. Pii V. *Admonet nos* quarto Kalendas Aprilis 1567., Innocentii IX. *Quae ab hac Sede* pridie nonas Novembris 1591., Clementis VIII. *Ad Romani Pontificis curam* 26. Junii 1592. et Alexandri VII. *Inter ceteras* nono Kalendas Novembris 1660. alienationem et infeudationem Civitatum et Locorum S. R. E. respicientibus.



14. Religiosos praesumentes clericis aut laicis extra casum necessitatis Sacramentum extremae unctionis aut Eucharistiae pe viaticum ministrare absque Parochi licentia.

15. Extrahentes absque legitima venia reliquias ex Sacris Coemeteriis sive Catacumbis Urbis Romae ejusque territorii, eisque auxilium vel favorem praebentes.

16. Communicantes cum excommunicato nominatim a Papa in crimine criminoso, ei scilicet impendendo auxilium vel favorem.

17. Clericos scienter et sponte communicantes in divinis cum personis a Romano Pontifice nominatim excommunicatis et ipsos in officiis recipientes.

#### EXCOMMUNICATIONES LATAE SENTENTIAE EPISCOPIS SIVE ORDINARIIS RESERVATAE.

Excommunicationi latae sententiae Episcopis sive Ordinariis reservatae subjacere declaramus :

1. Clericos in Sacris constitutos vel Regulares aut Moniales post votum solemne castitatis matrimonium contrahere praesumentes ; nec non omnes cum aliqua ex praedictis personis matrimonium contrahere praesumentes.

2. Procurantes abortum, effectu sequuto.

3. Litteris apostolicis falsis scienter utentes, vel crimini ea in re co-operantes.

#### EXCOMMUNICATIONES LATAE SENTENTIAE NEMINI RESERVATAE.

Excommunicationi latae sententiae nemini reservatae subjacere declaramus :

1. Mandantes seu cogentes tradi Ecclesiasticae Sepulturae haereticos notorios aut nominatim excommunicatos vel interdictos.

2. Laedentes aut perterrefacientes Inquisitores, denuntiantes, testes, aliosve ministros S. Officii, eiusve Sacri Tribunalis scripturas diripientes, aut comburentes, vel praedictis quiblibet auxilium, consilium, favorem praestantes.

3. Alienantes et recipere praesumentes bona ecclesiastica absque Beneplacito Apostolico, ad formam Extravagantis *Ambitosae* De Reb. Ecc. non alienandis.

4. Negligentes sive culpabiliter omittentes denunciare infra mensem Confessarios sive Sacerdotes a quibus sollicitati fuerint ad turpia in quiblibet casibus expressis a Praedecess. Nostis Gregorio XV. Constit. *Universi* 20. Augusti 1622. et Benedicto XIV. Constit. *Sacramentum poenitentiae* 1. Junii 1741.

Praeter hos hactenus recensitos, eos quoque quos Sacro-

sanctum Concilium Tridentinum, sive reservata summo Pontifici aut Ordinariis absolutione, sive absque ulla reservatione excommunicavit, Nos pariter ita excommunicatos esse declaramus ; excupta anathematis poena in Decreto Sess. IV. *De editione et usu Sacrorum Librorum* constituta, cui illos tantum subiaccere volumus, qui libros de rebus Sacris tractantes sine Ordinarii approbatione imprimunt, aut imprimi faciunt.

#### SUSPENSIONES LATAE SENTENTIAE SUMMO PONTIFICI RESERVATAE:

1. Suspensionem ipso facto incurrunt a suorum Beneficiorum perceptione ad beneplacitum S. Sedis Capitula et Conventus Ecclesiarum et Monasteriorum aliique omnes, qui ad illarum seu illorum regimen et administrationem recipiunt Episcopos aliosve Praelatos de praedictis Ecclesiis seu Monasteriis apud eandem S. Sedem quovis modo provisos, antequam ipsi exhibuerint Litteras apostolicas de sua promotione.

2. Suspensionem per triennium a collatione Ordinum ipso iure incurrunt aliquem ordnantes absque titulo beneficii, vel patrimonii cum pacto ut ordinatus non petat ab ipsis alimenta.

3. Suspensionem per annum ab ordinum administratione ipso iure incurrunt Ordinantes alienum subditum etiam sub praetextu beneficii statim conferendi, aut iam collati, sed minime sufficientis, absque eius Episcopi litteris dimissorialibus, vel etiam subditum proprium, qui alibi tanto tempore moratus sit, ut canonicum impedimentum contrahere ibi potuerit, absque Ordinarii ejus loci litteris testimonialibus.

4. Suspensionem per annum a collatione ordinum ipso iure incurrit, qui excepto casu legitimi privilegii, ordinem Sacrum contulerit absque titulo beneficii vel patrimonii clerico in aliqua Congregatione viventi, in qua solemnis professio non emittitur, vel etiam religioso nondum professo.

5. Suspensionem perpetuam ab exercitio ordinum ipso iure incurrunt Religiosi eiecti, extra Religionem degentes.

6. Suspensionem ab Ordine suscepto ipso iure incurrunt, qui eundem ordinem recipere praesumpserunt ab excommunicato vel suspenso, vel interdicto nominatim denunciatis, aut ab haeretico vel schismatico notorio : eum vero qui bona fide a quopiam eorum est ordinatus, exercitium non habere ordinis sic suscepti, donec dispensetur, declaramus.

7. Clerici saeculares exteri ultra quatuor menses in Urbe commorantes ordinati ab alio quam ab ipso suo Ordinario absque licentia Card. Urbis Vicarii, vel absque praevio examine coram eodem peracto, vel etiam a proprio Ordinario postea quam in praedicto, examine reiecti fuerint ; nec non clerici pertinentes ad aliquem e sex Episcopatibus suburbi-



cariis, si ordinentur extra suam dioecesim dimissorialibus sui Ordinarii ad alium directis quam ad Card. Urbis Vicarium; vel non praemissis ante Ordinem Sacrum suscipiendum exercitiis spiritualibus per decem dies in domo urbana Sacerdotum a Missione nuncupatorum, suspensionem ab ordinibus sic susceptis ad beneplacitum S. Sedis ipso jure incurrunt: Episcopi vero ordinantes ab usu Pontificalium per annum.

#### INTERDICTA LATAE SENTENTIAE RESERVATA.

1. Interdictum Romano Pontifici speciali modo reservatum ipso jure incurrunt Universitates, Collegia et Capitula, quocumque nomine nuncupentur, ab ordinationibus seu mandatis eiusdem Romani Pontificis pro tempore existentis ad universale futurum Concilium appellantia.

2. Scilicet celebrantes vel celebrari facientes divina in locis ab Ordinario, vel delegato Iudice, vel a jure interdictis, aut nominatim excommunicatos ad divina officia, seu ecclesiastica Sacramenta, vel ecclesiasticam sepulturam admittentes, interdictum ab ingressu Ecclesiae ipso jure incurrunt, donec ad arbitrium ejus cuius sententiam contempserunt, competenter satisfecerint.

Denique quoscunque alios Sacrosanctum Concilium Tridentinum suspensos aut interdictos ipso jure esse decrevit, Nos pari modo suspensioni vel interdicto eosdem obnoxios esse volumus et declaramus.

Quae vero censurae sive excommunicationis, sive suspensionis, sive interdicti Nostris, aut Praedecessorum Nostrorum Constitutionibus, aut sacris canonibus praeter eas, quas recensuimus, latae sunt, atque hactenus in suo vigore perstiterunt sive pro R. Pontificis electione, sive pro interno regimine quorumcumque Ordinum et Institutorum Regularium, nec non quorumcumque Collegiorum, Congregationum, coetuum locorumque piorum cujuscumque nominis aut generis sint, eas omnes firmas esse, et in suo robore permanere volumus et declaramus.

Ceterum decernimus, in novis quibuscunque concessionibus ac privilegiis, quae ab Apostolica Sede concedi cuivis contigerit, nullo modo ac ratione intelligi unquam debere, aut posse comprehendi facultatem absolvendi a casibus, et censuris quiblibet Romano Pontifici reservatis, nisi de iis formalis, explicita, ac individua mentio facta fuerit: quae vero privilegia aut facultates, sive a Praedecessoribus Nostris, sive etiam a Nobis cuilibet Coetui, Ordini, Congregationi, Societati, et Instituto, etiam regulari cuiusvis speciei, etsi titulo peculiari praedito, atque etiam speciali mentione digno a quovis unquam tempore huc usque concessae fuerint, ea omnia, easque omnes

Nostra hac Constitutione revocatas, suppressas, et abolitas esse volumus, prout reapse revocamus, supprimimus, et abolemus, minime refragantibus aut obstantibus privilegiis quibuscunque, etiam specialibus comprehensis, vel non in corpore iuris, aut Apostolicis Constitutionibus, et quavis confirmatione Apostolica, vel immemorabili etiam consuetudine, aut alia quacunque firmitate roboratis, quibuslibet etiam formis ac tenoribus, et cum quibusvis derogatoriis derogatoriis, aliisque efficacioribus et insolitis clausulis, quibus omnibus, quatenus opus sit, derogare intendimus, et derogamus.

Firmam tamen esse volumus absolvendi facultatem a Tridentina Synodo Episcopis concessam *Sess. XXIV. cap. VI. de reform.* in quibuscunque censuris Apostolicae Sedi hac Nostra Constitutione reservatis, iis tantum exceptis, quas Eidem Apostolicae Sedi speciali modo reservatas declaravimus.

Decernentes has Litteras, atque omnia et singula, quae in eis constituta ac decreta sunt, omnesque et singulas, quae in eisdem factae sunt ex anterioribus Constitutionibus Praedecessorum Nostrorum, atque etiam Nostris, aut ex aliis sacris Canonibus quibuscunque, etiam Conciliorum Generalium, et ipsius Tridentini mutationes, derogationes, suppressiones atque abrogationes ratas et firmas, ac respective rata atque firma esse et fore, suosque plenarios et integros effectus obtinere debere, ac reapse obtinere; sicque et non aliter in praemissis per quoscunque Iudices Ordinarios, et Delegatos, etiam Causarum Palatii Apostolici Auditores, ac S.R.E. Cardinales, etiam de Latere Legatos, ac Apostolicae Sedis Nuntios, ac quosvis alios quacunque praeeminentiae, ac potestate fungentes, et functuros, sublata eis, et eorum cuilibet quavis aliter iudicandi et interpretandi facultate, et auctoritate, iudicari, ac definiri debere; et irritum atque inane esse ac fore quidquid super his a quoquam quavis auctoritate, etiam praetextu cuiuslibet privilegii, aut consuetudinis inductae vel inducendae, quam abusum esse declaramus, scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attentari.

Non obstantibus praemissis, aliisque quibuslibet ordinationibus, constitutionibus, privilegiis, etiam speciali et individua mentione dignis, nec non consuetudinibus quibusvis, etiam immemorabilibus, ceterisque contrariis quibuscunque.

Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam Nostrae Constitutionis, Ordinationis, limitationis, suppressionis, derogationis, voluntatis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare praesumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei et Beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum ejus, se noverit incursurum.



Datum Romae apud S. Petrum anno incarnationis Domini-  
cae Millesimo Octingentesimo Sexagesimo Nono, Quarto Idus  
Octobris Pontificatus nostri anno vigesimo quarto.

MARIUS CARD. MATTEI, Pro-Datarius.

N. CARD. PARACCIANI CLARELLI.

Visa de Curia

DOMINICUS BRUTI

Loco ✠ Plumbi

I. Cugnoni.

## LETTERS OF BALMEZ.

### IV.—PHILOSOPHY OF THE FUTURE.

MY ESTEEMED FRIEND,

I am very glad you have afforded me an opportunity of manifesting my opinion of that philosophy which you call of the *future*; for though you criticise it so far as even to ridicule it, it is still evident it has made an impression on you, particularly in what it says of the *destinies* of Catholicism. You call it *philosophy of the future*; and, in fact, there is no other name better suited for qualifying that extravagant science which, without solving anything, without explaining anything, is solely engaged in destroying and pulverizing, responding emphatically to all questions, to all difficulties, to all exigencies, with the word *future*. In the judgment of this philosophy, humanity has always erred, errs even at present; this philosophy knows it, and apparently it alone knows it; so serious and magisterial is the tone with which it announces it. Ask it where is the truth, when will man be able to discover it?—in the *future*. As, in its supposition, all religions are false, all are the work of men, a snare to deceive the masses, a laughing-stock to the wise, and particularly to the professors of that *elevated philosophy*, who alone deserve the name; where in that case is the true religion?—when will men be able to profess it?—in the *future*. No philosopher has succeeded in deciphering the enigma of the universe, of God, and of man; will a fortunate day come on which the long-sought key shall be found?—in the *future*. The social and political organization of the world must be radically changed. No one knows what will be substituted for the present state of things. Who shall enlighten us to solve this thorny problem?—the *future*. The masses of the people suffer fearfully in the most civilized countries; their nakedness, their poverty, their shocking misery, stand in scandalous contrast with the luxuries and enjoyments of the powerful, and the *vita bona* of the philosophers: whence shall come the remedy for such a miserable state of things?—from the *future*. The future for history, the future for religion, the future for literature, the future for science, the future for politics, the future for society, the future for misery, the future for self, the future for the present, the future for the past, the future for everything. The panacea of all ailments, the satisfaction of all desires, the fulfilment of all hopes, the realization of all dreams; the golden age, whose radiant dawns, hidden to the eyes of the profane, are revealed to some spirits only, who have obtained the ineffable privilege of reading the history of the *future*, inscribed in divine

letters. Hence they salute it with joy ; hence they run towards it like a child to the arms of a mother that caresses it ; hence they pass with ironical smile through the midst of this age that *does not comprehend them* ; hence they would live with pleasure the life of the disinterested philosophers of Greece ; and they would retire from the world like anchorites, if their presence were not necessary for announcing the truth, if they dared shrink from the *mission* they have received on earth. Poor men ! victims of an unhappy destiny, they cannot concede to their intellect all the flight their *prophetic inspiration* would demand, they cannot unburthen their breast as freely as they desire, and they have no other consolation left, than to solace themselves a few moments, by *singing* of the coming time which their mind describes and their heart augurs.

Saturnian times  
Roll round again, and mighty years begun  
From their first orb in radiant circles run.

\* \* \* \* \*  
The serpent's brood shall die : the sacred ground  
Shall weeds and poisonous plants refuse to bear ;  
Each common bush shall Syrian roses wear.

\* \* \* \* \*  
Unlaboured harvests shall the fields adorn,  
And clustered grapes shall blush on every thorn, -  
And knotted oaks shall flowers of honey weep :

\* \* \* \* \*  
The labouring hind his oxen shall disjoin,  
No plough shall hurt the glebe, no pruning hook the vine,  
Nor wool shall in dissembled colours shine ;  
But the luxurious father of the fold,  
With native purple, or unborrowed gold,  
Beneath his pompous fleece shall proudly sweat,  
And under Tyrian robes the lamb shall bleat :  
The Fates when they this happy web have spun,  
Shall bless the sacred clue, and bid it smoothly run.

Do not ask them, my esteemed friend, how they have discovered so many prodigies ; who has revealed to them such wonderful secrets : above all, do not demand from them proofs for what they lay down as certain, nor require of them as if they were vulgar thinkers to demonstrate what they assert. These are things of which one has a *presentiment* rather than a *knowledge* ; they have about them something poetical, something aerial ; they are previsions involved in symbolic figures ; and whoever is not satisfied with this is unworthy of philosophy : the flame of genius has not touched his brow, creative inspiration has not budded in his spirit. Besides, who does not already behold some signs of that marvellous transformation ? All are not capable of foreseeing it as clearly as those to whom it has been revealed in mysterious apparitions ; but the infallible symptoms which announce a proximate and universal change can escape no one.

Behold the mighty convex mass of earth,  
The land, the sea, with high heaven's wide scope ;  
All, all rejoice in hope of coming change.

It must be confessed the expedient adopted by these philosophers is by no means a stupid one, and besides it has the indescribable advantage of being very convenient. There is no possible gain to be derived from presently regulating the world ; the point is, to defer all to the future, and everything is settled. Socrates with his torn garment, and afterwards with his hemlock ; Diogenes with his tub, and his burning lamp ; Heraclitus with his tears ; and Democritus with his laughter, did not understand a word of philosophy. To mock the past, to enjoy the present, and to deceive the world with the hope of a brilliant future : behold the most suitable formula that could ever be discovered for avoiding annoyance and coming out clear from all classes of engagements. And if the future correspond not



with their prognostics? some scrupulous individuals may object. We should be pretty fellows if we were to trouble ourselves about what will happen: the matter allows of delay; the period we mark is not short, or rather, to risk nothing, we leave it indefinite; we shall always have it in our power to solicit a fresh postponement; and if any of us go so far as to be definite, fear not he will be so forgetful as to forget the lines:—

My head is sick, his lordship sighed;  
Fear not, my lord, the quack replied,  
For ten years more none of the four shall die.  
The king, his ass, my lord, or I.

Having done due justice to the philosophy of the future, it remains to me to discuss the *nutantem pondere mundum*. I mean, I have to examine the grave complication of the problems that weigh on society, and to see how far the philosophers have reason to talk to us of the transcendent changes which future generations are destined to witness. It is idle to say that many of them consider it certain that these changes will not take place under the influence of religion; that, on the contrary, they think the latter is losing ground, and that one of the principal conditions of the renovation of the world, must be the substitution of philosophy for religion. As in the opinion of some, religions, and particularly Christianity, are nothing else but “a spontaneous offshoot from the ideas of the masses, forcing a passage for itself, and growing into form as these ideas ripen in the popular imagination, under the excitement and hallucination caused by the revelations that are proclaimed by it;”<sup>1</sup> a giant step will be gained in the race of social perfection, when the masses are sufficiently enlightened to contemplate the truth in all its purity, face to face, without the necessity of symbols and coverings, which are only suited to the weakness of limited understandings. It is useless to say I do not agree with M. Jouffroy in his strange definition, and consequently cannot admit the deductions it leads to. I do not believe the masses can ever be well directed (and in the word masses, I include all society) without the influence of religion; and it appears to me as absurd to think that philosophy can ever fill up the vacuum by occupying the place of religion, as that the latter is the spontaneous production of the ideas of the masses.

In this age of philosophico-historical analysis, the demonstration professing to set forth the authentic data showing that Christianity was the spontaneous production of the masses, would be very curious. From what masses did the Gospel come?—was it from the Jewish, or from the Pagan masses? If from the former, how is it that the warmest defenders of the law of Moses were the capital enemies of Jesus Christ? Where is there a single fact, a single word, a single insinuation to show that Jesus learned his sublime teaching from the Jews? Is it not, on the contrary, patent that the words of the Divine Master were received as entirely new, and that they filled those who heard him with astonishment and amazement, scandalizing some by their novelty, and accepted by others with transports of admiration, and with enthusiastic veneration? Blind men! If you have read the Sermon on the Mount, if you have ever meditated on that spring of wisdom and love, which flows from the lips of a Man who had never received any education, tell us:—whence came the doctrines expressed in it? They were scattered, you will say, in the midst of the people; but leaving aside the convincing remark just made, on what grounds do you lay down such a strange paradox? Will you really go so far as to ground your assertion on the philosophy of the epoch?—but, are you alone acquainted with it?—do you believe scientific contemporaneous history has been lost to the world? Besides, you do not even allow religion the honour of being born of philosophy; you make it spring from the head of the masses! Let it be recollected then, and never forgotten, that the religion most admired by its very enemies, for the wisdom and sanctity with which it abounds, was the spontaneous production of the ideas of the masses of the time of Tiberius and Herod! The ridiculous here vies with the sacrilegious!

Until now it was believed that the masses were involved in ignorance; that the

<sup>1</sup> Jouffroy—“Lecture on the Destiny of Man.”

presumption with respect to great thoughts, was in favour of certain privileged geniuses, and that these should shed over the masses the light they needed. Now we shall know for the future that this light pre-exists in them, and not faintly, but prepared to produce its effects, as a ripe fruit, and that when an extraordinary man rises up among the multitude, he is indebted for all he thinks and all he does to that multitude. Undoubtedly, not even in the eyes of its enemies can Christianity appear less admirable than the most elevated philosophical systems ; from which we can infer that these must have the same origin. In fact, religion in this case is nothing more than a philosophy masked in symbols and enigmas ; so that the invention of the former has one particular difficulty over the latter, which consists in successfully selecting the veils with which to cover itself. We can then affirm without fear of mistake, that the philosophy of Socrates, of Plato, of Aristotle, of Bacon, of Descartes, of Malebranche, of Leibnitz, was nothing else but the spontaneous production of the masses ; and, stranger still ! the same fate must befall that of Kant, Hegel, Cousin, and Jouffroy himself, lauded as it is.

It is well to have some one to supply us with such discoveries : some one to reveal with such stupendous sagacity the road which must be followed to arrive at the most lofty wisdom. Oh ! how Descartes erred when he condemned himself to such long meditations, commencing from his very college life, when he obtained a dispensation from rising too early, that thus he might foment, with genial heat, the contemplation to which he abandoned himself ! What a fool Malebranche was to pass his days in the greatest retirement, buried in his study, with the windows closed that the light might not distract him ! These poor philosophers, and their foolish masters and disciples, had got it into their heads that *the number of fools is infinite*, and that whoever desired to be wise, or less foolish, should take care not to allow himself to be too much contaminated by the atmosphere of the vulgar, and even regarding as vulgar the many who try to free themselves from this epithet, no matter how legitimate their titles may be to be ranked in that class. These good men were ignorant that, whether to conceive a system of philosophy, or to invent a religion, it is necessary to mingle with the masses not precisely for the purpose of observing them in their wanderings, in their errors, in their passions, in their caprices, and studying thus the springs of the human mind, and learning to direct it, for we knew this of old ; but with the view of observing the ideas that germinate in them, of following them in their growth and expansion, and on discovering they are ripe, of taking advantage of the critical moment, of giving them form, causing them to become *incarnate*, and then of presenting the result to the astonished masses themselves, saying, "Behold a present from heaven."

Poor masses ! They know not that they adore an idol fabricated by themselves ; that they eat as manna descended from heaven, the very fruit that has sprung from themselves ; and moreover, that for the purpose of presenting it to them, the impostor has scarcely had any more trouble than to collect it when it was *ripe*.

If we Catholics should indulge in such monstrous paradoxes, if we had made bold enough to make such assertions, contrary to sound philosophy, in opposition with history, repugnant to common sense, without proofs of any kind, without the slightest reason, without the most remote foundation to support our conjecture ; if, dissatisfied with the ordinary language, we had laid hold of symbolic expressions, making ideas become *incarnate*, and with the strange whim of applying to them the metaphor *ripe*, and thus presenting to view an extravagant contrast, all the dictionaries of satire would not be able to supply appellations enough to cover with ridicule such an attempt against philosophy and good taste. Let you judge, my esteemed friend, between our adversaries and us ; and let all men of sound sense judge with you.

I infer from what I am after saying, that the prophecy of some philosophers of our epoch, that Christianity is destined to die, and that that philosophy of which they all speak, without telling us in what it consists, will step into its inheritance, is a pure chimera. On this head, the conduct of M. Cousin, founded on the motives which M. Peter Leroux has revealed to us in a number of the *Independent Review*, appears to me astute and even more convenient than astute. The passage is curious, and is worth the trouble of copying : "Many years ago," says M. Leroux, "when conversing with M. Cousin on his apology, not of Socrates, but of the judges of Socrates—a strange paradox, written it would appear for the purpose of making



wry faces at Plato and Xenophon, we upbraided him with this irrational act—which we regarded as a crime of *l'esie philosophie*. M. Cousin interrupted his answer to ask us:—what length of life do you think remains to the religion of our country? that is not the question, I said to him; we are treating of philosophy, of truth; never would philosophers have done anything good, if, in view of the reality, they had interrogated themselves in this way for the purpose of knowing what they should do. I, replied M. Cousin, believe Catholicity has elements of life in her for three hundred years yet (*en a encore pour trois cents ans dans le ventre*), in consequence, I humbly raise my hat in her presence, and I continue at philosophy.”

There was a time in which the mania of announcing the fall of Catholicity spread amongst Protestants, and they were accustomed to fix on the epoch with as much precision as astronomers calculate an eclipse, or the passage of a comet. Certain of the prediction, they proclaimed it with great clamour; but the calculations must have been badly made, for the fatal epoch was accustomed to arrive, and the prognostics remained unfulfilled. Those prophets were sometimes very indiscreet; for they presumed to mark a short period, the course of which was not long enough to allow the announcement to be forgotten. M. Cousin, who must, undoubtedly, have recollected these prophetic mishaps, and like a good conservative, desiring to avoid extremes on the one hand, and on the other the ridicule he would be exposed to if his assertion proved untrue, selected a middle term, between the *secula seculorum* of Catholics, and the short space of the Protestant prophets, and granted to Catholicity a period of three hundred years. In this way, when anyone in this or the succeeding age may wonder that Catholicity still continues to exist, the satisfactory answer, “M. Cousin prognosticated this long ago,” will be ready at hand; and when at the end of the three hundred years, on the expiration of the fatal period, it is seen that Catholicity does not die through inanition, and that it still possesses elements of life—then no one will recollect M. Cousin, and much less his prophecy.

In the moral as well as in the physical order, the first symptom of approaching death, is want of growth and unproductiveness; the near extinction of life is always known by the want of expansion and action. The leaves in trees dry up, the blossoms wither, the fruit does not come forth; in animals heat departs, faculties act sluggishly, action is languid, fecundity ceases. Observe the intellectual and moral world, and you will remark the same phenomena. When a philosophical system falls into disuse, it loses its propagandist action, the number of its proselytes far from increasing, diminishes; there is no new application made of its doctrines, those that have been made are neglected, everything is prepared for its sinking into contempt, and soon after into oblivion. A legislation about to perish, is frequently disobeyed, its very upholders do not dare to make use of it; it does not extend itself to other peoples, it is already a lifeless corpse to which the honours of the tomb alone are wanting. The same happens with institutions, be they of whatever order they may, and no matter what their importance may have been. The death which threatens them at hand, is manifested by infallible symptoms. Cast a glance over history, fix your view on all the social and political institutions, which from one cause or another have laboured under a mortal disease, and you will find that in the last periods of their existence, they resembled those tottering edifices, from which the inhabitants fly in haste lest they be buried in their ruins.

Nothing of the kind is verified with regard to Catholicity. Rooted in Spain, Portugal, Italy, France, Belgium, Austria, in various countries of Germany, in Poland, in Ireland, with wide dominions in America, progressing in England, and in the United States, displaying lively activity in the missions of east and west, diffusing anew religious institutions in distant regions, vigorously sustaining her rights, now with energetic protests, now by enduring persecution, defending her doctrines with great learning and eloquence in the principal centres of intelligence of the civilized world, numbering amongst her disciples illustrious individuals, who are not behind those of any sect whatever,—where are the symptoms of a proximate death?—where the signs that indicate dissolution?

I now see, my esteemed friend, the difficulty you are going to raise; and lest it might not occur to you, I myself will take care to present it without diminishing any of its force. If such be the life existing in Catholicity, if the signs with

which she displays herself be so clear and evident, why do you lament the evils that afflict the Church in the present century?—why recall at every step the glories she acquired in other more favourable epochs? To this I will answer, in the first place, that I did not say Catholicity has not suffered great shocks; I have only sustained that in her actual state no harbingers of death can be discovered. These two assertions are very different; the one has nothing in common with the other. This answer is sufficient, and more than sufficient, to remove the above-mentioned difficulty; but I will, moreover, presume to add, that there is often some exaggeration in speaking of the actual ills of the Church, in comparison with those she suffered in other ages. The decline of faith and morals is often dwelt on too much, not only by the enemies of the Church, but even by her most beloved children. These through zeal and a holy sorrow; those from a spirit of calumny, and through a secret pleasure of announcing the decay of what they desire to see ruined; all contribute to render loud the sobs in which the evils of the epoch are lamented, and to make ignorant or careless men imagine that the Catholicity of to-day, compared with that of former times, from a pacific, rich, powerful, and flourishing kingdom, has become a miserable province, surrendered to a small number of inhabitants, the victims of degradation and anarchy.

With the pardon of those who think thus, and for the consolation of those who would desire to see a more pleasing picture in the Church, I must say that this is not what history teaches us, and that if the evils of our times are lamented so bitterly, it is simply because the present sickness is always the worst.

Whoever desires to comprehend in some measure the history of Christianity, and not to be scandalized at every step by the adverse events it presents in such abundance, should never forget that the religion of Jesus Christ is one of sufferings, of contradictions, of persecutions—that it is a religion of sacrifice—that it was inaugurated on earth by the immolation of the Lamb without spot. Everything that appertains to it bears this seal: the Baptist, the precursor, is decapitated, and his head serves in a revel to quench a horrible vengeance with blood; the Apostles suffer martyrdom in different parts of the world; and after them comes a multitude which no one can number, of all tongues, tribes, nations, conditions, ages, sexes, that suffer torments and death for the faith, and wash their stoles in the blood of the Lamb. Are you disheartened by the apostacies you witness, the errors that spring up, the straying of so many who, through interest, shame, or some other passions, deny your Divine Master?—but do you forget, then, the treason of Judas and the denial of St. Peter?

We see, it is true, a multitude of separated sects, we see how the arrows of sophistry and calumny are pointed against the Church, but is this anything more than the repetition of what has happened in all ages since her foundation? In the first, the immoral heresies of Simon, Cerinthus, Menander, Ebion, Saturninus, Basilides, and Nicholaus, spring up like unclean insects. In the second appear the Gnostics, the Valentinians, the Orphites, the Archontici, the Marcionists, the Montanists, and others. In the third we meet with the sectaries of Praxeas, of Sabellius, of Paul, of Samosata, of Novatus, of Manes; so that whilst the Church had opposed to her the rack, the torture, the knife, the fire, and all kinds of horrid torments, she saw ungrateful children creep out of her own bosom to gnaw her vitals by corrupting the purity of morals and doctrine, by raising chair against chair, and by spreading as doctrines emanating from heaven, the dreams of illusion and imposture.

And what shall we say of the succeeding centuries? The peace of Constantine is spoken of, the advantages that from it resulted to the Church are dwelt on; it is all certain and true; but it is not less so, that that peace was often interrupted, frequently embittered, and that her Divine Spouse did not allow her to forget for a moment that she was in a land of peregrination, that she was militant, and that she was not to enjoy here below the peace and felicity reserved for her, when the Jerusalem of this world shall be absorbed in the celestial one. In the very century in which the cross was planted over the throne of the Cæsars, the Church experienced such trials that the rigours of persecution could hardly cause greater. Who is ignorant of the disturbance and disasters produced by the schisms of the Donatists, the Melecionites, and the Luciferians? The churches of Africa, of Egypt, of Asia, beheld altar erected against altar, the



faithful scandalously divided, and the seamless tunic of Jesus Christ torn into shreds. And what would it be if we should call to mind the many heresies that sprung up at the time, and particularly those of Arius and Macedonius? Oppressing indeed is the toil of those whom the Holy Ghost has appointed to govern the Church of God in our epoch; but oppressive also was that of the bishops who formed the Councils of Nice and Constantinople. Nor were there wanting Emperors who afflicted the Church, by overstepping their faculties, and mixing themselves up in purely ecclesiastical affairs; and there was also a Julian the Apostate, who took pleasure in lowering and humbling her, and there were also venomous writers who spread on all sides their destructive doctrines; and the apologists of religion found themselves compelled to labour without ceasing, and to multiply themselves, if we may say so, in order to attend to the many points that demanded the aid of their learning and eloquence in defence of truth. The names of St. Athanasius, St. Cyril, St. Basil, the two Gregories, St. Epiphanius, St. Ambrose, St. Augustin, St. Jerome, St. John Chrisostom, and other stars of that age, remind us of the hard combats that truth at the time sustained against error—hard, I call them, since to obtain the immortal victory so many giants entered the arena.

Then follows the irruption of the Barbarians; and the Church, far from enjoying the period of rest she would seem to require, finds herself in the midst of the ferocity of the invaders, the devastations which Arianism had made among them, the blind and captious prurience of the Emperors of the East, and the spirit of resistance to authority which spreads in different heresies. How many Councils! how many decisions of Popes! How many writings of men eminent for their sanctity and wisdom! How many disturbances in the nations subjected to the Church! How much wavering in the faith! Where is that peace which some people regret—that undisputed sway, that enviable calm which they suppose surrounded the bark of Peter, while it sailed over a still and tranquil sea? In this way, with various but ever agitated fortune she comes to the tenth century; in it there were no heresies, but in exchange there was a profound ignorance, the mother of corruption, which also in its turn engenders the most detestable errors:—"æternam metuere sæcula noctem." The violences of princes just escaped from barbarism then took body; feudalism was enthroned, the contest of the people with the lords, and of these among themselves, and with the kings, followed; and from this chaos spring up new heresies, of a character more practical, more invasive, more threatening than the old ones. I do not require to remind you, my esteemed friend, of the names of those who now with arms, now with the pen, now from the pulpit, were let loose against the Church; the history of these errors and contests is inseparable from that of Europe; I shall only say that the apparition of Protestantism, though a catastrophe of awful consequences, was not however an entirely new fact, but one which assumed a peculiar character on account of the epoch in which it appeared.

Great ills indeed has the Church to bewail at present, but I doubt very much whether they be equal to those of the sixteenth and following centuries; it appears to me that neither in errors nor in disasters was anything left to the genius of evil to desire. As regards the last century, it is too near us to require to be even mentioned; it is enough to recollect that it was opened with the disputes and obstinacy of Jansenism, and worthily closed with the Constitution of the Clergy, and the persecutions of the Convention.

I have not intended to draw even a slight outline of the contradictions which the Church in all ages has suffered, that they might be compared with those she endures at present: my sole object was to give a touch here and there, which might call up to recollection at least the principal events, which render her history so painful and at the same time so glorious. With this I would desire that the faithful who contemplate with excessive affliction the evils of our epoch, should console themselves, reflecting that it is not so certain as they imagine, that this is the time in which God has permitted the power of the prince of darkness to act with most audacity. At least I for my part entertain strong doubts on this head, which will strike anyone who reads the ecclesiastical annals with attention.

Considering what has happened during the past and present centuries, I may be

told the faith has lost much in France, and reminded that the same has happened in Portugal, Spain and Italy ; but I will answer that it has increased in Ireland, that it has gained great ground in England and Scotland ; and without entering into discussions about the exactness of the compensation, I shall observe that the Church has acquired an immense advantage in our epoch, and it is, that among the more civilized and advanced states there is none that looks on her with persecuting hostility. And let not the example of Russia be cited to the contrary, nor a passing fit of the government of Prussia, nor the anomalies of other countries : the cause of religion is all the more lovely when it is bound up with the recollections of nationality of an unfortunate people ; and the Church looks more beautiful and fresh when she has for persecutors pettiness in politics, and nullity in philosophy.

Some infidels measure the decay of faith, by what they observe in the persons of their acquaintance ; and as these generally entertain the same ideas as themselves, they deduce from it that incredulity is the normal state of men's minds. The same happens here as in what relates to morals. The immoral man discovers immorality in all parts ; for him there is no honest man, no modest woman, no straightforward magistrate, no honourable merchant ; perfidy, corruption, bribery hold sway in all hearts ; and if you remark well his mode of reasoning, his own vices are nothing but the result of his profound conviction that the exercise of virtue is completely impossible. He is not wanting in an excellent disposition, good desires, nor the force of mind necessary for doing good ; but what fruit would he gather from constituting himself the only exception on earth ? The victim of the evil practices and passions of others, he would be a sterile holocaust offered on the altars of virtue, that goddess who abandoned so long ago her sublunary mansions never to return to them again. Is it not true, my esteemed friend, that it is thus that immoral men speak, who have sufficient knowledge to reflect a little on their state, creating thus a species of antidote against the gnawings of their conscience ? Apply what I am after saying to incredulity, and you will discover a perfect analogy. The infidel speaks with men who share his errors : they cast a glance over the state of belief, and as each of them recollects having met with others of the same opinion as himself—at least his masters or disciples—they all add their contingent of incredulity observed in distinct places, and infer without hesitating, that the induction is complete, that all votes are taken, that the faith has not a single partisan, is finally condemned, and exiled for ever from the earth. Such a one, they say, pretends to believe, but it is hypocrisy ; another feigns it for interest ; some other in order not to grieve a devout mother or wife ; for the rest, every man that thinks agrees on this point, the fact is so certain that it is beyond all discussion.

With this security have I heard a person talk, and make these discourses ; but I could not forget what I had seen with my own eyes ; I, who also had not been careless in observing and collecting facts on the same head, could not resign myself to abdicate my opinions, and to suppose all my calculations false. Besides, I discovered an additional motive for not giving much importance to the inductions of my adversary ; without appearing to contradict him, I gave the conversation a turn which might indicate to me from what springs he had drunk in that profound knowledge of the world, the theatre in which he had made his observations on the actual state of belief. I at once saw that the persons and circles he spoke of did not abound in faith, and even though he had not told me, I would have immediately suspected it ; if what he was revealing were not already known to me beforehand. I then spoke to him of another society, as we say, of other circles, of other men ; he had no acquaintance with them, they were not of his line. I brought the conversation to the religious movement of this or that country ; I pronounced the name of a distinguished author, I reminded him of an interesting passage of a select work ; he had not dedicated himself much to this class of literature ; from self-love, he affected to have some knowledge of it at last, with the modesty however of not manifesting it ; but I said to myself that that man was speaking of what he did not know, that in his calculations he deduced universals from particulars, and that all his show of observation on the state of belief, was reduced to what no person of any education is ignorant of.

Society, my esteemed friend, is not all in the capitals ; nor are the capitals formed exclusively of a certain number of circles, no matter how presumptuous and arrogant these may be ; it is necessary to extend the view somewhat



further, when one desires to form a judgment on the state of belief. What happens in political or mercantile movement does not hold here. It is commonly limited to very narrow circles; and to judge of its situation and tendencies, it is generally enough to take one's stand in some of the centres around which they revolve. In matters of religion it is very different; its ramifications are immense, its roots penetrate the vitals of society; the proud capital no more than the miserable village, is exempt from its influence; and so one runs great risk in judging of it from what he has remarked in contracted circles.

But this letter is already growing too long; and so I will sum up by saying that what you so justly call the philosophy of the future, is one of the many chimeras of which the human mind dreams; that it solves no problem, that it tells us nothing about the transcendent questions it proposes to discuss; that its prognostics cannot be fulfilled, and that Catholicity presents no signs of death or decay. As regards the profound changes which, in the opinion of those philosophers, must be wrought in society, I agree with them; but I do not believe they will be effected in the way they imagine. I have no hesitation in acknowledging we are in a state of *transition*; but I am inclined to believe that, far from this, transitions being characteristic of our epoch, it is in a certain sense common to the entire history of humanity, because it is evident the human race is continually *passing* from one state to another. The indefinite perfectibility of which the *philosophers of the future* are incessantly talking, is a subject on which I entertain my doubts; as also about what they consider certain, and beyond all question, viz.: that humanity, even here on earth, is continually advancing towards perfection, and making new conquests every day. The *philosophic* scepticism with which, as I told you in a former letter, I am somewhat infected, prevents me, on hearing any very general proposition announced, from being blinded either by the celebrity or the magisterial tone of the person who announces it; and causes me, in right of my independence, to examine whether the celebrated master could have been deceived. This has happened to me in the present *transition*, and of the continual *march* of society; and of the changes prognosticated for the future; on all these points I will give you my opinions in another letter I intend to write to you some other day. At present I cannot do so; as well because it would lengthen the present too much, as because "*non tantum est otii.*"

I remain your most affectionate friend,

J. B.

# MONASTICON HIBERNICUM;

OR,

## A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE ANCIENT MONASTERIES OF IRELAND.

[N. B.—The text of the “Monasticon” is taken *verbatim* from Archdall: the notes marked with numbers are added by the Editors.]

### COUNTY OF CARLOW.

Idrone, which is now a barony in this county; it is said to have been founded by St. Fortchearn, who was smith<sup>7</sup> to St. Patrick.<sup>c</sup>

*Leighlin*,<sup>d 8</sup> in the barony of Idrone; it is a bishop's see, was

<sup>c</sup>*Act. SS. p. 339, 365. Tr. Th. p. 188. d This is commonly called Old Leighlin.*

(Continuation of Note 6, from page 96.)

a site beautifully elevated over the river Barrow, about two miles south of Bagnalstown. In the year 1806, a fine gold clasp of ancient Irish workmanship was found near the ruins of the church by Mr. Matthew Murphy. It weighed four ounces, and was sold to the Royal Dublin Society. In Ballinree townland, which is also in Sliguff parish, there are in a graveyard the ruins of another old church, which was formerly called *Teampull Molaise*.

<sup>7</sup> In the “Book of Lecan,” and other ancient MSS., is preserved a very interesting poem commemorating all the members of the household of St. Patrick, and, amongst the rest “his three smiths, expert at shaping, Macecht, Laebhan, and Fortchern” (Annals of F. M., p. 137). The same are mentioned in the “Vita Tripartita,” and other early documents connected with the life of our Apostle. Colgan explains as follows why this humble office was assumed by St. Fortchern:—

“Fortchernus humilitati, matri virtutum acquirendae sic incubuit, ut regius juvenis parum esse censuerat pro Christi amore mundum spevisse ac pro specoelestis regni consequendi, terreno patrimonio renunciassse, nisi etiam omnia, in quibus vel dignitatis vel honoris umbra appareret, in sui contemptum declinans, viliora et abjectiora quaeque officia impiger obiret; tantoque reliquis humilitatis exemplo praeluceret, quanto, si mansisset in saeculo, honore praecelleret. Unde in fabrilis arte graviter se exercuit, adeoque in ea profecit, ut in loco qui Rath-Aidhne appellatur, campanulas, calices, aliaque sacra vasa et utensilia fabricare consuetus S. Patricii faber fuerit appellatur.” (*Acta SS.*, p. 634.)

<sup>8</sup> A monastery was founded at Leighlin, now known as Old Leighlin, at a very early date. It soon grew into an important city, and gave name to an Episcopal See. Dr. John Lynch, in his MS. “History of the Irish Bishops,” says that it was originally called *Leighthlannia*, which would correspond in meaning with the English name “White-plain:” “perinde ac si Latine diceret *canam seu candidam valem*.” The present church probably marks the site of the ancient monastery, and, indeed, no spot could have been more happily chosen for purposes of prayer and solitude. “The Cathedral church of the diocese of Leighlin (we thus read in the Ordnance Survey papers) stands at the distance of two English miles west of Leighlinbridge. The site is admirably adapted for a structure dedicated to religious purposes. A nook is formed by the adjacent hills, and here, quite removed



formerly a town of note and a corporation ; and it still retains the privilege of sending representatives to parliament.

*Priory of Regular Canons* ; St. Gobban founded a celebrated abbey here.

A.D. 616. This year the blessed Moel Patrick, and Munganus, the blessed anachorite, suffered martyrdom at Leighlin.<sup>e</sup>

630. A famous assembly of the clergy was held in this abbey, to debate on the proper time for the celebration of the feast of Easter. Two years afterwards St. Gobban surrendered his abbey to St. Moliffa, otherwise called Laferian, who was the son of Cairel and Blitha, and at one time had 1,500 monks under his jurisdiction. Laferian was consecrated a bishop by Pope Honorius, and made legate from the Holy See ; he died April 18th, A.D. 638, and was buried in his own church ; St. Gobban died the year following.<sup>f</sup>

639. Died the abbot Delaffe M'Winge.<sup>g</sup>

725. Died St. Manchen of Lethglenn.<sup>h</sup>

767. Died the abbot Ernagh M'Ehyn.<sup>i</sup>

863. We meet with the death of another abbot of the name of Manchen.<sup>k</sup>

876. Died the abbot Dungall.<sup>l</sup>

916. This year Leighlin was plundered.<sup>m</sup>

<sup>e</sup>Act SS. p. 372. <sup>f</sup>Act. SS. p. 53. *Usher. Annal Inisfal.* <sup>g</sup>M'Geogh. <sup>h</sup>Act SS. p. 332. <sup>i</sup>M'Geogh. <sup>k</sup>Act SS. p. index. <sup>l</sup>Act SS. p. 275. <sup>m</sup>Tr. Th. p. 633.

from any thoroughfare, far away from the busy haunts of men, this relic of antiquity rises its venerable head."

Between Old Leighlin and Ballyknockan there is a path which has at one side a place called *boireann na faranach* the bohreen of the English, and at the other *gleann dearg the red glen*. This last was formerly the name of the whole valley at the mouth of which the cathedral of Old Leighlin stands. See "Ann. F. M.," A.D. 1015.

At the distance of about 100 yards west of the Cathedral church, and close by a stream which rises in the adjoining hills, is the Well of St. Laserian, which is commonly called *St. Molashog's Well*, which name is identical with Laserian. The Pattern used to be kept on the 18th of April, the feast of St. Laserian, but has ceased since 1812, when, in consequence of some riotous proceedings, it was prohibited by the Rev. William Cullen, the parish priest of Leighlin. Two very old ash trees, and a white-thorn, which formerly overshadowed the well, were cut down about 1823, by the late Captain Vigors, of Erindale. About ten yards from the well stands a rude stone cross five feet in height.

St. Gobban was the founder of the monastery of Leighlin. There are several saints of that name in the Irish Calendars, but Colgan judged that most probably our saint was the "St. Gobban of Kill-Lamraidhe, in the west of Ossory," who is honoured on the 6th of December: "Hunc Gobanum existimo fuisse illum celebrem mille monachorum patrem qui postea Ecclesian de Kill-Lamhraighe rexit" (*Acta SS.* p. 750). The "Martyrology of Donegal" styles him "Gobban Fionne, of Kill-Lamhraidhe, in Ui-Cathreann, in the west of Ossory. . . . A thousand monks was the number of his convent, and it is at Clonenagh his relics are preserved. He was of the race of Eoghan Mor, son of Oilíoll Olum" (p. 327). St. Laserian having visited the monastery about the year 600, St. Gobban, struck with his many virtues, placed it entirely under his charge, and went himself to found

933. Died Moylmartin O'Skellan, the divinity lecturer of this abbey.<sup>a</sup>

978. Leighlin was plundered by the people of Ossory.<sup>b</sup>

982. It was again plundered.<sup>b</sup>

1060. Leighlin was this year totally destroyed by fire.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>M'Geogh. <sup>b</sup>Annal. Inisfal. <sup>c</sup>Tr. Th. p. 633. <sup>d</sup>Id.

another religious house at Kill-Lamhraise, in a western district of Ossory. For the Life of St. Lasarian we refer our readers to an interesting series of papers in "The Carlow College Magazine," for 1869. He had no less than fifteen hundred monks subject to his rule in Leighlin, and, by the practice of virtue and their penitential lives, they diffused the fragrance of Paradise throughout the whole island.

St. Lasarian, who is also known as St. Molaïshe, was the first Bishop of the See. In Rome he received his religious training, and was promoted to the Holy Orders of Deacon and Priest at the hands of St. Gregory the Great. When the Synod of Maghlene, in the King's County, was convened in 630, to deliberate on the Paschal controversy, St. Lasarian defended the Roman computation with energy and success. He subsequently proceeded to Rome as one of the delegates from that Synod, and during his stay in the holy city was consecrated Bishop by Pope Honorius I. When returning to Ireland he was appointed Legate, or Special Representative of the Holy See. He celebrated another Synod in his own Episcopal city (which is generally known as the Synod *in campo albo*) in 634, and thenceforth the Roman cycle and celebration of Easter were received throughout all Leinster and Munster. St. Cummián, in his famous letter on the Paschal controversy, written in 633, relates that the deputies from the Synod of Maghlene brought back with them from Rome several relics of the early martyrs, and that several miracles were wrought in Ireland through them. St. Lasarian died in the year 639, and his festival is kept on the 18th of April, at which day St. Ængus thus commemorates him:

"We count the festival of the Seven  
Noble protecting Deacons,  
With Lasarian of burning virtues,  
Abbot of bright-shining Leithglínn."

The See of Leighlin had the privilege of being empurpled with the blood of martyrs in the year 916, when, as our annalists record, the blessed Moel-Patrick, who was a priest and anchorite, and the blessed Mongan, another anchorite, with their companions, suffered death for the faith. Archdall, led astray by a misprint in Colgan's work, places this event in the year 616. See, however, O'Donovan's notes to the "Four Masters," p. 592.

The history of the See of Leighlin during the middle ages till the sad era of the so-called Reformation, may be seen in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, vol. ii., p. 544. The "Annals" of Dowling, published by I.A.S., in 1849, also gives much information regarding this See. Dowling received from Elizabeth the Chancellorship of Leighlin; nevertheless, he does not hesitate to describe the first Protestant Bishop, Dr. Travers, as "cruel, covetous, and vexing his clergy." The Royal Visitation of 1615 gives further particulars. We have taken the following passages from its reports: "Thomas Ram holds with the Bishoprick of Leighlin, which is valued at £40 per annum, the Bishoprick of Ferns, valued at 200 marks per annum, the Deanery of Ferns, value £60 per annum, the Precentorate of Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity in Dublin, value £18 per annum, and the Rectory of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the town of Wexford, value £40 per annum. The Econome of the Cathedral of St. Lasarian should have £60 per annum, but the late bishop Meredith obtained from the Dean and Chapter a grant (demissionem) of it in favour of his son for *sixty-one years*, reserving only an annual rent of £4 12s." It is added that the Deanery was worth £30 per annum, but had in like manner been farmed out by the late incumbent, with permission from the Bishop and Chapter, for £10 per annum.



*St. Stephen's Priory* was founded, or more probably endowed, by Burchard,<sup>9</sup> a Norwegian captain; he was the son of Gurmund; he was buried in the choir of the cathedral, under a marble monument, whereon was his effigies, with the following inscription:

Hic jacet humatus, dux fundator Leniæ  
En Gormondi Burchardus, vir gratus ecclesiæ.

Felix was prior, but we cannot find the particular time;<sup>r</sup> Philip was prior after him in the year 1304;<sup>s</sup> and the next year John was prior.<sup>t</sup>

This priory, being situated in a depopulated and wasted country, and the prior having given refuge and succour to his Majesty's good subjects in this neighbourhood, and intending to pursue that laudable practice, the King, Edward III., therefore granted them a concordatum on the 1st of May, 1372.<sup>u</sup>

We cannot say to what order this priory did originally belong. It was dissolved in the year 1432, by the authority of Pope Eugene IV., and the lands thereunto belonging were annexed to the deanery of Leighlin, at the request of Nicholas Cloal, the dean.<sup>w</sup>

*Leighlin-bridge.*<sup>10</sup> About the end of the reign of King

<sup>r</sup>King, p. 138. <sup>s</sup>Id. <sup>t</sup>Id. <sup>u</sup>Rot. canc. Harris vol. 3. <sup>w</sup>Thady Dowling's Annals. War. Mon.

Leighlin, as stated by Archdall, had the privilege of sending two members to the Irish Parliament; this continued till the Union, when it was disfranchised, a sum of £15,000 being granted to the borough in compensation. This large amount was all handed over to the Board of First Fruits, to be applied in promoting the residence of the Protestant clergy.

<sup>9</sup> It is generally supposed that this inscription, which is given by Dowling, was either an invention of later times or was misinterpreted in its reference to Gurmundus. See the "Conquest of Ireland," l. 3116. At all events, it was a Norman Knight, named *Gilbert de Borard*, who founded, in the reign of King John, the Receptory for Knights Templars at Killarge, and the similarity of his name with that of *Burchard* might have given rise to the confusion which is supposed to exist in the text.

<sup>10</sup> That part of the town of Leighlin-bridge which is situated on the east bank of the Barrow, is in the old parish of Agha; the remainder is in the parish of Wells. This latter parish seems to have derived its name from the number of holy wells with which it abounded in former times. These, however, have now wholly disappeared. The name of *Philibeau's Well*, near the ruins of the ancient church, is the only one which points to this primitive feature of the parish.

In the additions to Gough's Camden it is merely said of Leighlin-bridge: "Here are the remains of a castle, built by the Lacies, and an abbey. This place was destroyed by the Irish in 1577."

The town is situated on the banks of the Barrow, in the centre of the rich valley of Idrone. The following is the description of this valley sent to Sir Peter Carew by his agent, Hooker, in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign: "The soil and country of that barony are very large and great, and in all Europe there is not a more pleasant, sweet, or fruitful land; the same being replete with all things necessary for man in any respect, serving for pleasure or need, for hunting the stag, the hare, the fox, the wolf, for your pleasure at will; for hawking with all kinds of

Henry III. a monastery was founded for Carmelites, or White Friars, by one of the Carews, near to the Black-castle, on the east bank of the River Barrow; it was dedicated to the Virgin Mary.<sup>x</sup>

<sup>x</sup>*War. Mon.*

hawks, at partridge, rail, pheasant, crane, byttern, and a number of other fowl, as much as can be wished and desired. For fishing, there is as much as any fresh water can give; the seas are somewhat distant from this country of Idrone, but yet on the one side a goodly river, called the Barrow, floweth through the whole country, and this so serves the country that upon it they convey all their commodities and merchandize from the sea or from Waterford, even to the house of Leighlin, which house stands full upon the same river" (*Life and Times of Sir P. Carew*, p. 199). The Black Castle, on the east bank of the Barrow, at the foot of the bridge, was erected by Hugh de Lacy about the year 1181, and was one of the earliest and strongest defences of the Norman settlers. Towards the close of the reign of Henry III. a Carmelite monastery was founded a little below the castle, on the same bank of the Barrow, by a member of the Carew family, and was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. In 1408, Gerald fifth Earl of Kildare built another fortress, which he called the White Castle. The monastery was suppressed during Henry the Eighth's reign. In 1546 the Deputy, Sir Edward Bellingham, built a strong wall around the monastery and occupied it as a military station: from that day this transformed monastery became the centre of all the military operations of Leinster, and the goodly Barrow, as it flowed beneath its walls, reflected nought but match-locks and iron skull-caps. It was especially so during the short time that Sir Peter Carew enjoyed the possession of Idrone in the early part of Elizabeth's reign. When, however, this unscrupulous adventurer closed his troubled life, his son was unable to defend his inheritance. Murrrough, the son of Maurice Kavanagh, was in 1557 invited to dine with the Captain who commanded at Leighlin, but after dinner was treacherously seized and murdered. The same fate befel the chief of the O'More's. The death of this latter chieftain is thus chronicled in the "Four Masters" (ad. an. 1556): "O'More was taken by the English and put to death by them at Leighlin. It was grievous to the Irish that their free-born noble chieftains should be overtaken by such an evil destiny, but they could not afford them any assistance." The time of revenge now came. In 1577 the fortress of Leighlin was taken by Rory Oge O'More and the town was destroyed by fire. Dowling, in his "Annals," also records how, in 1580, there was a great slaughter of the English committed by the O'Keatings, at Leighlin; whilst in the same year Sir Peter Carew, the younger, with Captain Cosby and "many other gentlemen of estimation," were slain at Glenmalure by Feagh Mac Hugh, who subsequently, at the instigation of young Maurice Kavanagh, of Garrowchill, burned ten townlands in Idrone, and carried off as prisoners Master Wood, who was one of the Protestant Chapter, and Roger Hooker, Dean of Leighlin. During the Cromwellian era the castle of Leighlin was still considered a place of importance, and we find it surrendering to Ireton's army on his march towards Carlow, in 1649. Even its ruins at the present day prove it to have been of considerable strength. A considerable portion of Bellingham's wall, five feet thick, still remains, enclosing more than an acre of ground. At the south-eastern corner of the enclosure there is a circular flanking tower, nearly perfect; whilst the Black Castle, which still stands completely capped with ivy, the fragments of stone mullions, and Gothic columns and ogee mouldings that are scattered around, sufficiently attest its former magnificence.

Adjoining Leighlin is the parish of Tullowgreen (i. e. *Tulagh-crion*, or "the parched hill,") now Craan, where are the traces of the old church of Tomard, said to have been built by St. Brigid. It now bears the name of this saint, and at a short distance is St. Brigid's Holy Well.

About a quarter of a mile to the south of Leighlin-bridge, on the left Bank of the Barrow, is Ballyknockan, which has been identified by O'Donovan and the Ordnance Survey with the celebrated *Dinrigh* of our ancient Annals. It is exactly

(*To be continued.*)



## THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

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FEBRUARY, 1870.

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### THE RESURRECTION OF GALLICANISM,

(Continued.)

III. **T**HE true idea of Papal Infallibility being thus determined, all the arguments of Monseigneur Maret against it fall of themselves to the ground.

It is especially to history that he appeals. By a lengthened study of the councils, which fills the greater portion of his first volume, he endeavours to persuade us that all tradition is decidedly hostile to our thesis. According to his view, here are the four great facts resulting from this discussion:—1st, The Bishops assembled in Œcumenical Council never hesitated to submit to a new examen Pontifical decrees, however solemn, and even when treating of dogma; 2ndly, whenever they assembled to adjudicate concerning any new heresy, the controversy was finally ended only by their decision; 3rdly, in many instances their decree was contrary to that of the Pope, and yet was held as law; 4thly, in fine, there have been general councils where at least the relative and limited superiority of the council over the Pope was clearly proclaimed.

By briefly discussing these four points, we believe that nothing of the historical argument against Papal infallibility shall remain untouched upon or unanswered.

The argument from the councils presents no difficulty after the explanation we have given above. For, one of two things: either the Pope had given no decision previous to the holding of the council, or, on the contrary, as we freely confess happened more than once, his answer had been already given, with all the characters of a genuine definition. In the first case, it is

plain, the bishops were at full liberty to decide of themselves. In the second, although in point of fact, the dogma was already determined by the Papal constitution, their power as judges did not therefore cease. It remained for them to verify and test the decision, by comparing the words of the Pope with the testimonies of Scripture and Tradition; it remained for them to examine the various formulas, approving some, rejecting others, prescribing those containing dogma, anathematising those by which heresy was taught; in a word, they were called on to confirm and determine the Christian faith by a solemn sentence which might be a rule and a law for all ages to come. Let us take as an example what happened in the Council of Chalcedon in reference to the letter of S. Leo to Flavian. In our judgment, this *divine letter, which has been the admiration of the whole world* (Bossuet, *Hist. des Variations*, liv. xiii.), was not merely an instruction that might lawfully be contradicted; and in this we go farther than Bellarmine. It had been already sent to the western bishops, and was put by them, particularly in Gaul, on the same footing as the symbol of faith;<sup>1</sup> the prelates of the East had, for the most part, received it with no less respect; and while it was being read in the council, they cried out, says Bossuet, at each sentence: *Peter has spoken by the mouth of Leo*. It was therefore at that moment confirmed; and if the discussion which ensued furnishes valid objection against us, we cannot see how Gallicans themselves could meet it.

But even the most advanced ultramontane, cannot find in this any serious difficulty. No doubt, the will of the Pope was that the council should hold no discussion concerning the faith, and that they would simply ratify the condemnation of heresy. He did not mean, however, to forbid an inquiry undertaken with a view to establish the truth, to enlighten dissenters, and to bring back to repentance the partisans of Dioscorus and Eutyches. This the fathers understood perfectly, and after a few days devoted to this examen, they inserted in its entirety the doctrinal constitution of the Holy Pontiff among their Decrees. Hence S. Leo writing to Theodoret did not fear to exclaim: *Gloriamur in Domino qui nullum nos in fratribus nostris detrimentum sustinere permisit: sed quae nostro ministerio prius definiverat universae fraternitatis irre-*

<sup>1</sup> In the magnificent reply of the forty-three bishops of Gaul to S. Leo, we remark this passage: *Quae apostolatus vestri scripta, ita ut Symbolum fidei, quisquis redemptionis sacramenta non negligit tabulis cordis adscripsit; et tenaci, quo ad confundendos hæreticorum errores paratior sit, memoriae commendavit.* (Labbe, t. iii.)



*tractabili firmavit assensu, ut vere a se prodiisse ostenderet quod prius a Prima Sede formatum totius christiani orbis iudicium recepisset.* (S. Leo, epist. cxx.) And yet the consciousness of his power does not make the great Pope forget the rights of those who obey, especially when they are bishops. Hence he adds in the same letter: "*The glory of the Episcopate shines with greater splendour in councils, when the power of those highest in authority is so exercised that the liberty of those below them is religiously respected.*" Such is the divine economy which harmonises all things. The Gallicans point to the councils, and tell us that there we see the constitution of the Church in action. Now it is precisely to these the Roman Pontiffs appeal when they wish to put in its clearest light the privilege of infallibility attached to their ministry. Scarcely can we find one of these assemblies in which the Papal prerogative is not referred to, and without a single voice being raised in contradiction.

The second objection on which Monseigneur Maret insists repeatedly throughout his work is this: it is strictly forbidden to discuss the decisions of a council, and to renew controversies, which a council has finally set at rest. This prohibition exists only with regard to councils. The council consequently is the sole judge without appeal, and to it alone belongs absolute infallibility.

Truth and falsehood are here mixed in almost equal proportions. Yes, it is a fundamental principle in the Church not to submit the decisions of a general council in dogmatic questions to a fresh deliberation; this the assembled Fathers have proclaimed on a number of occasions; this also the Holy Father Pius IX. declared the other day to the Archbishop of Westminster. But it is a principle no less fundamental that the definitions of the Holy See, when issued in solemn and obligatory terms, shall not be discussed anew. "*Nunquam licuit,*" says Boniface II., in a Roman council held in 531, "*de eo rursum quod statutum est ab Apostolica Sede tractari.*" (Labbe, t. iv. p. 1705.) And Pope Gelasius, writing in 495 to the bishops of Dardania, reminds them that his is the right to judge all the churches, while to none is it lawful to reverse his sentence.—(Labbe, t. iv. p. 1203.)

These maxims, of their nature, are absolute; notwithstanding this, for the good of souls they have sometimes been modified to a certain extent. For example, at Florence, was not a long discussion entered into with the Greeks on many points of dogma, long previously defined? At Trent, were not many questions debated concerning which no Catholic could possibly

entertain a doubt? Monseigneur Maret observes (t. i., p. 471.) that the Fathers in treating of decrees issued by previous councils did not claim the right to reform them. We answer that it is precisely the same when there is question of a decision properly so called emanating from the Holy See, and that the judgment of the bishops upon it will ever be such as may confirm and not disturb the faith.

Muzzerilli furnishes us with a most important distinction between two kinds of irreversible definitions.—There are some concerning which fresh discussion is impossible; there are others, on the contrary, which, although equally certain, may still admit of a final investigation, that the unity of faith may appear more evident. Have the bishops with their head already given their decision? the question can be discussed no further; if the head alone has as yet spoken, there is still room for a new judgment, that the truly divine character of a decision may be manifested which first emanated from the Apostolic See, and was afterward confirmed by the adhesion of all the Churches. (*De Auct. Rom. Pon.* t. ii., p. 105.)

It is in this way that a council prohibits definitively all discussion on controverted points. This is the meaning of S. Leo, when he calls the sentence of the council *a fuller judgment*; it is a judgment which accompanies a decree with its fullest evidence, so that all further revision would be not only useless, but pernicious; it is a last effort to manifest the truth, a last remedy applied to the disease; but this effort accomplished, this remedy administered, the time is past for the faithful to have recourse to new debates, but rather to maintain their faith with unshaken fidelity, and if necessary, seal it with their blood.

The venerable dean of the Sorbonne insists on another usage. At the opening of councils, even heretical prelates are received with honour, and admitted to their ranks. The Papal legates themselves give them their usual titles. On the contrary, once the assembly has pronounced against them, and they have refused submission, they are ignominiously expelled and anathematised. "Another proof," says he, "of the consent which the Pope gave, that his sentence might remain without effect till the council had spoken." (t. i., 184.) Yes, without at least definitive effect regarding such persons, since the council was convoked precisely to lead them to abjure their errors. Would Monseigneur Maret have them proscribed first, to make their return afterwards more easy? Does he wish they should be deprived of their rightful position before their contumacy is manifest, and that they should receive the last rebuke while



there is still hope? Such is not the Church's method. A tender and indulgent mother to the end, she stretches out her hand to her wandering children; even the most notorious heretics may hope all things from her goodness if they abjure their heresy; it is not therefore to be wondered at, if after condemning their pernicious system, she still spares their persons; and only proceeds to pronounce sentence against them when they can no longer be tolerated in the Church without public scandal. This indulgence, as we see, has no bearing on the present question; it is only the application of this principle, that none should be punished before he has been juridically convicted.

IV. We now come to a difficulty apparently far more serious. The Councils have not only given judgment after Popes had spoken; they have even passed judgment against the Popes, rarely, it is true, but in solemn and significant circumstances.

Leaving aside the case of Eugene IV., of whom we shall speak presently, we find two judgments related by Monseigneur Maret, and which constitute in his eyes a precedent altogether irreconcilable with the system of infallibility.

The first is the condemnation of the Three Chapters by the fathers of the fifth Council, issued contrary to the *Constitutum* of Pope Vigilius, and, shortly afterwards, ratified by the same Pontiff. What can show more clearly, it is said, the true relation of the Episcopate with their head? A conflict arises; Vigilius gives his decision; the bishops, far from being influenced by his decree, pronounce against him; the Pope at the end of six months is obliged to yield; and it is the sentence of the Council, confirmed by Pontifical authority, which becomes to the end of time the certain and universal law of Christendom.

Thus reasons the prelate whose work we are reviewing. And yet he is not one of those who insult Pope Vigilius. Rather he recognises his prudence and wisdom, at least in the commencement of this affair. Without entering fully into the point of history, a few brief explanations will suffice to meet the difficulty.

Yes, the Pontiff, who had gone into the East, at the invitation of Justinian, had good reason to hesitate before confirming a council exclusively composed of Greek prelates, much disposed to be governed by the will of the Emperor, and of whom many were ill-disposed towards the Council of Chalcedon. In the West it was feared lest the decrees of that great Council might receive some opposition at Constantinople; it was not enough merely to protect the true faith, it was necessary to have it received by the two Churches. Moreover, there was no dogmatic difference between the Pope and the assembled

fathers ; but, regarding the letter of Ibas, simply a question of fact ; regarding Theodore of Mopseutia and Theodoret of Cyrus simply a question of persons. Was it lawful to condemn a document which many believed to have been approved by the Council of Chalcedon ? Was it expedient to censure men who had been there received as free from blame ? Such was the sole point in dispute.

Vigilius was deceived on a matter of history, for infallibility does not shelter either Popes or Councils from errors of fact, when these are not essentially connected with doctrine. By his *Constitutum* he decides nothing, unless that the decrees of Chalcedon shall have their full effect ; and because he is persuaded that Ibas was then declared innocent, he forbids his letter to be condemned. Besides, this letter, as well as the *Judicatum* which had preceded it, presents by no means the character of a solemn definition in a matter of faith. Tournely, himself, is of this opinion. (*De Eccles.* t. ii. q. v. a. 3). It is the expression of the Pope's will, and an order which he sends the fathers of the Council. This order being founded on a false supposition, the bishops consider they need take no account of it ; and when, a little later, Vigilius is rightly informed of his mistake, when he sees that the condemnation of the Three Chapters and their authors do not affect the Council of Chalcedon, and is not likely to engender the divisions in the West which were anticipated, himself gives a final decision, showing with much prudence, remarks Peter and Marca, that different opinions on the controversy may be entertained, provided due regard be had to the interests of the Church. Monseigneur Maret may look on these facts in any aspect he chooses ; he can never succeed in discovering in them either an error in matters of faith, on the part of Vigilius, or a real disagreement in matters of faith between him and the Council, and therefore the question in nowise affects the dogmatic infallibility of the Holy See.

The other fact on which he relies—one indeed much more serious, is the condemnation of Pope Honorius by the sixth Council. This point has been treated at length quite recently in the *Dublin Review*, and by the Rev. Fathers Ryder, of the Oratory, and Botalla, of S. Beuno's College ; so that we are dispensed from entering into it further than to make following observations :—1st. There is no heresy, strictly speaking, in the letters of Honorius. 2nd. These letters, written as they were without any of the customary forms, cannot be considered as what we call a decision *ex cathedra*. It was, if you will, a doctrinal instruction, not a definition ; or rather it was an administrative act, prescribing a line of conduct to be pursued, not a document determining what was to be believed.



3rd. Honorius erred only in this, that, not fully aware of the bearings of the controversy which had arisen in the East, he sought to suppress it by imposing silence where he should have spoken aloud to proclaim the truth. By this grave mistake, exaggerated perhaps by our opponents, but certainly to be deplored, he contributed eventually to the extension of the disease instead of applying a remedy; and for this alone he was included in the anathemas by which the fathers condemned the heretics themselves. Once linked to those by reason of the manner in which his silence was interpreted, he was subjected to treatment similar to what they received; and after his death those principles of Bellarmine, exposed in our last Number, were applied to him, and sanctioned even by his successors.

Listen to Adrian II., not only in the Roman Council of 868, but also in the eighth General Council, where his *allocution* is faithfully recorded. "We have read that the Roman Pontiff judges the pastors of all the Churches, but we do not read that he is judged by anyone. For if the Oriental Bishops pronounced an anathema against Honorius, after his death, we must remember that he had been accused of heresy, and that this is the sole reason for which inferiors may lawfully judge their superiors by freely rejecting their pernicious opinions." The following words, heard and approved by the Œcumenical Assembly, acquire in the present discussion an immense importance; Adrian adds: "And still no Patriarch, no Bishop, could ever have pronounced against him if the Pontiff, ruling in this same Primatial See, had not previously given them the authority." (*Harduin. Concil. vii., Less. vii.*). The Fathers reply in these words of Pope S. Boniface: "Whosoever rises against the headship of Peter cannot enter that heavenly kingdom of which Peter holds the keys. None have ever yet been so bold as to contradict the Apostolic See, whose judgment is irreformable, unless they wished to draw a severe condemnation on themselves." (*Labbe, t. iv., p. 1706.*) Such words scarcely leave room for the system of Monseigneur Maret, nor for the conclusions he endeavours to draw from the case of Honorius.

After this condemnation, as before, the Popes continued to proclaim in councils, the infallibility of their Church, the infallibility of their constitutions. These same fathers of Constantinople who stigmatise Honorius, applaud the letter of Agatho proclaiming to the entire Christian world that the faith of Peter never suffered eclipse; that the universal Church and the general councils faithfully followed his guidance; and that his predecessors never ceased for an instant to confirm

their brethren. (*Epist. Agathon, in Concil. vi.*) Those of the eighth council, while they renew the same anathema, declare that according to the promise of Jesus Christ, sound doctrine has ever been maintained by the See of Peter; that desiring never to be separated from this doctrine, following in all things the constitutions of the fathers, and chiefly of the Roman Pontiffs, they condemn all heresies (*Hard. Concil., t. iv., p. 774.*). Embarrassed by this document, Monseigneur Maret has recourse to the distinction customary with Gallicans, between the See which is indefectible, and its occupants who are not so. There is nothing in the text to warrant such a nice distinction; on the contrary, its evident meaning is that the divine promises refer to the pontiffs, and have always been justified by their conduct. The venerable prelate adds that since the fathers were cognisant of the errors of Vigilius and Honorius, they must have intended their words to be taken with the necessary reservation. As we find no instance of such intention, we conclude, with much greater reason, that the bishops knew well that neither Honorius nor Vigilius had taught error in any constitution *ex cathedra*. The best method whereby to judge of these facts is to consider what impression they produced at the time, and not reason about them in the abstract and indefinitely at a distance of nine or ten centuries,

V. We come to the last difficulty raised by Monseigneur Maret. More moderate than his predecessors he does not maintain the absolute superiority of councils; he admits, on the contrary, the right of the Pope to occupy in them the chief rank, even to suspend or transfer them for solid reasons; but on the plea that he must not be the absolute master, the Bishop of Sura affirms that in case of dissension arising, the Pontiff must side with the majority, and if he does otherwise he exposes himself to most serious consequences. This he considers decided by the Councils of Constance and Basil, where the fathers affirm that the Council, representing the universal Church, holds its power immediately from God, and that to this power all are obliged to submit, no matter what their condition or dignity, were they even on the Papal throne.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> We give the text of the decree of Constance:—*Ipsa synodus in Spiritu Sancto congregata legitime, Generale Concilium faciens, Ecclesiam Catholicam militantem repræsentans, potestatem a Christo immediate habet, cui quilibet cujuscumque status vel dignitatis existat obedire tenetur, in his quæ pertinent ad fidem et extirpationem Schismatis et reformationem generalem Ecclesie Dei, in capite et in membris (Sess. iv. et v.).* The Council of Basil repeats the same formula in its twelfth session—(*Labbe, t. xii., p. 510, et alias passim.*)



Monseigneur Maret finds in these words a constitutional law of the very highest importance. He holds the first sixteen sessions of the Council of Basil as certainly Œcumenical. Now he there finds the decree of Constance promulgated anew under a Pope acknowledged by all, at a time when schism had disappeared; nay more, this principle is again applied with the general assent of the Church; so much so, that warned by the evils which menace him, Eugene IV. at length overcomes his opposition and yields to a superior wisdom. Thus, this law which touches matters of faith and affects the vital interests of the Church, could receive no more solemn sanction; and henceforth it must be admitted, that at least on those points mentioned in the decree, the council is superior to the Pope, who must in conscience be guided by the decision of the majority.

We will not now stop to point out how these conclusions, frequently enunciated by the author, are at variance with the principles he laid down in the beginning of his treatise. We will say but a few words on the historic facts.

We are not of those who call the assembly of Constance a *sorry* council. If its right to be called Œcumenical may be questioned on account of the deplorable condition in which the Church was then placed; if we must confess that many intemperate things were there said and done, it is no less true that this council conferred most substantial benefits on Christendom in giving to it an undisputed head, in putting an end to the longest and the most disastrous schism which ever rent the robe of Christ; and also by condemning a baneful heresy, which may be considered the first form and appearance of Protestantism.

But our adversaries must acknowledge that at least a three-fold doubt weighs heavily on the decree of which we speak, and must ever forbid us to recognise it as a fundamental law for all times and every circumstance.

In the first place, can these fourth and fifth sessions be considered Œcumenical when the Church was divided into three obediences, and but one of these was represented? Again, was John XXIII., who had convoked the bishops, a Pope of whose authority we can be certain, since his elevation to the Papacy expressly enjoined that he would hand in his resignation to the council? Who can forget that a little later it was judged necessary to hold a new convocation by Gregory XII., and even by Benedict XIII.? Such is the first doubt; sufficiently grave, it must be admitted, to prevent us from drawing any certain conclusions from these sessions.

Nevertheless, it would disappear if, as we are assured,

Martin V., after his election, ratified all the decrees of the council. But we know that he only approved them with certain restrictions, and that he limited his supreme sanction to what had been done *conciliariter et in materia fidei*. Now, if indeed we except Gallican authors, all theologians interpret these words as excluding the decree in question. The Papal confirmation not affecting it, or, at least, this being very doubtful, its significance must be at best problematical.

But even were it not so, the bearing of the decree remains still equivocal. In presence of the divisions which reigned on every side, with three rivals laying claim to the See of Peter, after the untoward experiment at Pisa, where the efforts made towards peace only ended in new divisions, did not the Church, represented by the bishops, since there was no certain Pope, possess the supreme right to break through every obstacle which opposed her unity, and even to summon before her tribunal, if necessary, all those pretenders who preyed upon her? This was, no doubt, an exceptional power; but were not the circumstances equally exceptional?<sup>1</sup> The Council of Constance makes no mystery of the objects for which it meets; it is to defend the faith, threatened by heresy, to extinguish a lamentable schism which has lasted forty years, to reform the Church both in its body and its head. The decree is wise, it is necessary under the circumstances. By what right is it sought to extend it to other times of quite a different nature, and to circumstances which the fathers could not have had in view.

Basil, the Gallicans remind us, sanctioned the decree of Constance. In reply, we say these councils differ widely: one was the parody of the other. The convocation of Basil was regular; but after it was prorogued by Eugene IV., three months from its opening, we see nothing but a series of illegal and scandalous proceedings; a very small number of bishops, distorting from their true meaning the decrees of Constance, and presuming to make laws for the Church and its head; so much so that we may almost say they did their utmost to plunge the Church into a schism far more deplorable than that from which she had just emerged. The violent proceedings of those prelates against a Pope whom all acknowledged, and who had behaved so well at Florence, the threats and summonses, the unjust *ultimatum* which they presumed to send him, in a word, everything which took place

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bellarmine, *De Concil.*, lib. ii., c. xix.—Suarez says: “Dubius Pontifex, quando non potest Ecclesie constare an vere fuerit electus, per Ecclesiam deponi valet. Hoc constat ex usu Ecclesiae; ita enim factum est in Constantiensi Concilio, et jure legitimo factum est” (*De Fide Disp.* x.)



in that tumultuous assembly, has nothing in common with the gravity and the wisdom of true councils.

Monseigneur Maret assures us that the reconciliation which was effected by Eugene IV. with the fathers at Basil, and which took place in the sixteenth session, has a retrospective effect, and makes the sessions which preceded it equally Œcumenical. The radical defect of all his reasoning on this point is that in the Bull *Dudum Sacrum*, Eugene IV. approves the council on the express condition that all that had been decreed against the authority and liberty of the Holy See and its adherents shall be revoked. The council never complied with this essential condition. We need not wonder, therefore, that this reconciliation was but apparent; it was precisely after the *forced peace* that the greatest dissensions arose, ending only with the deposition of Eugenius and the creation of an anti-pope. Monseigneur Maret himself does not venture to give his sanction to such a gathering, he admits it became no better than the mockery of a council.

Surely, if the dark clouds which hang over the fourth and fifth sessions of Constance suffice to deprive it of all true authority, the evidence far more damaging against the decrees of Basil should induce Gallicans to forbear invoking it in support of their cause.

The readers who have kindly accompanied us so far, may now judge the amount of reliance to be placed on the historical evidence in favor of Gallicanism. We believe that the confidence of Monseigneur Maret in such proofs can only arise from an incomplete, or rather, a false interpretation of the Roman doctrine, and an estimate of history, erroneous in many things, and in many things arbitrary. This doctrine properly stated, these facts impartially considered, prove that the irreversible character of Papal constitutions may be defended in theory without lessening the rights of the Episcopate; and may be maintained in practice without interfering with the due exercise of those rights. The councils and the history of the Church in every age, speak no other language than the ultramontrane doctors. If we except a passing misunderstanding between Vigilius and the fathers of the fifth council, we must advance even into the middle of the fifteenth century, we must traverse the great schism of the West, before we meet a contest between the Episcopate and the Papacy concerning a question which previous ages scarcely seem to have dreamed of, namely, the question of the sovereignty of a council over its head—a question at the least idle and foolish; for after a momentary aberration the fathers of Florence re-adjust the broken chain, and affirm in terms more expressive than ever the plenitude of power which belongs to the Roman Pontiffs.

We are told to interrogate history, and that from it we are to learn the true constitution of the Church. We ask in all seriousness, whether, instead of consulting so many epochs in which the government of the Church is carried on with perfect harmony, is it a troubled period, and one full of confusion and uncertainty that we must study? Are we to select in preference to all others, the Council of Constance, where such grave doubt rests on its authority? or that of Basil, an assembly in revolt? Instead of the admirable light shed by eighteen centuries, shall we be guided by two or three moments of obscurity and partial eclipse, under the pretext that by these, and these alone, the constitution of the Church is to be determined! The system is self-condemned which has need of such expedients; and since it is to arguments like these that Gallicanism looks for its best defence, we can only conclude, that it has had its day, and that it is vain to endeavour by such restoratives to re-animate a theory devoid of logical coherency and historical support.

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## REMARKS ON THE CELTIC ORIGIN OF THE TERMINATIONS OF THE LATIN VERB.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

GENTLEMEN,—I beg leave to send you the following, containing the substance of some remarks made by a learned Jesuit Father here not long ago, on the relations of the Celtic and Latin languages. He did not attach any importance to them, considering them obvious to any one familiar with the two languages. He stated that almost all the words in the Latin language which have not Greek roots have Irish ones, and he adverted particularly to the formation of the Latin verb, all the terminations of which are transferred from the Irish forms of the substantive verb *to be*. This view of the subject was entirely new to me, and I thought it might be interesting to your readers. I therefore requested the Father referred to, to put his remarks in writing, which he did with some reluctance, not deeming them of any consequence. However, as I have heard some learned persons tracing these terminations to the Sanscrit, it is probable that even the learned have not yet adverted to their being found in Irish;



and this being the case, their coming immediately from the Celtic, which at one time prevailed in Europe so extensively, is historically the more natural explanation. I am ashamed to say that I know nothing of Irish myself, and therefore am no judge of the accuracy of the views here taken. It is for you to decide whether you think them worthy of your pages. It is a curious thing, if they be not more generally known than I suppose them to be, that I heard a French Jesuit here lately make the very same remarks. He has made quite an extensive study of several languages of Indians, and also of the Irish in this country.<sup>1</sup> He spoke of this as one of the first things that struck him. The thing was noticed by each of these Fathers independently of one another, and of all others, if others have observed it. Each considered it obvious, yet I am not aware that it has been noticed as yet in any publication. The Father who has written out the remarks I enclose was born in Ireland, but brought up in this country from his infancy. Though educated in one of our principal cities, he learned and was trained to speak Irish by his parents.

This incident is not the first thing that has led me to feel sorry and ashamed that I myself am ignorant of the language of our fathers, and to feel pain that so little is done to preserve it, or rather to prevent its extinction. Some time ago I had occasion to see evidences of the course pursued by another people which made me feel ashamed of ours. It was that of those who use the Romanic in the Canton of the Grisons in Switzerland. That language is spoken by scarcely 40,000, yet they have books and newspapers in their own language, though most of them speak French, German, or Italian. Why do not our Irish-loving writers get up something of the kind in Irish? Why do they not compose hymns to be sung in that language, which is so powerful, if all that is said of it be true? This would be a powerful aid to religion and patriotism, and prevent the language being forgotten. In my boyhood I attended churches where all present spoke Irish. I never heard a hymn in that language. Why is this? It is not too late to do something; the language of the country would be a most powerful means of keeping alive the old spirit. It is yet a living tongue; but it can continue to live only by being a printed one,—one in which they can read and sing especially the praises of God, and the glories of their holy faith.

M.

<sup>1</sup> The United States of America,

SOME years ago, as I was turning the leaves of a grammatical work in which the author attempted to simplify the acquisition of the Latin language, I observed that he divided the imperfect tense of the verb "amo" into three distinct component parts, thus "ama-ba-m," he made "ama" the stem, "ba" the sign of the tense, and the endings "m, s, t, mus, tis, nt" the marks of the numbers and persons. No very great observation was needed to lead to this division. He however asserted, that "ba" must have had at sometime, in some language, the meaning of "was," so that the complete word "amabam" would mean what it really expresses, "I was loving." His system recalled to my mind what had struck me years before in the constitution of the Latin verbs. Everyone acquainted in even a slight degree with Latin and Greek, is of course aware that the endings of the verbs are pronouns, or the fragments of pronouns. In Latin the active voice ends always for the first person in *m* or *o*, the other persons severally in "s, t, mus, tis, nt," as stated above. No one, I presume, will be disposed to dispute the position assumed by the grammarian just mentioned, that the syllable "ba" must be a word, or a fragment of a word, once in use, and that its meaning must be "was." In fact this word "ba" is actually in use at this very day in the Irish language in the sense of "was." Every Irish grammar gives *ba me*, *ba tu*, *ba re*, &c." (*ba me*, *ba tu*, *ba se*) as one of the past tenses of the substantive verb: its meaning is, "I was, thou wert, he was," &c.

Taking then the stem of the verb, as is I believe admitted by all philologists to be a verbal word, corresponding somewhat to our present tense, "ama-ba-m, ama-ba-s, ama-ba-t," &c., would signify "loving was I, loving wert thou, loving was he," or, "I was loving, thou wert loving," &c., which is the exact meaning of "amabam."

The Irish grammars give another past tense of the substantive verb, varying somewhat from *ba*, was, still retaining substantially the same meaning. It is "b<sub>1</sub>" pronounced "vi." It is "was" in a slightly changed relation of time, and may be rendered "have been, has been," &c. Now if this word "vi" be postfixed to the stem "ama," there results "ama-vi" the original form of which in the old Latin was doubtlessly "amavio," which by a well known law would contract into "amavi," just as "amao" in the present contracts into "amo." Then "ama-vi-o amavi" would be "loving have been I," "ama-vi-t," "loving has been he," &c.

Again, the future of the verb "to be," is in Irish "b<sub>1</sub>as" pronounced "bia," for the aspirated "d" is either sounded as "y,"



or is entirely silent. It is stated in Irish grammars this “b<sub>1</sub>ad̃” is often found written “b<sub>1</sub>ē<sub>1</sub>ḃ” pronounced “bii,” since the aspirated “d” and “t” are silent. If “bii” contracted into “bi” be placed after the stem of the verb, we will find amabi. This was doubtless in the early Latin amabio; by contraction it would become amabo. That the penult vowel was originally “i” is obvious from the inflections of the tense, “bo, bis, bit, bimus, bitis,” as it is also plain that the present had “a” for its stem, ending from the inflections, “o, as, at, amus,” &c. Accordingly “ama-bi-o-s-t,” &c., would be, “loving will be I, loving wilt be thou, loving will be he,” &c., or, “I will be loving,” &c.

That the past tenses in Latin are compounded of two or more words cannot, it would seem, admit of a doubt. The most casual attention paid to them even in the tenses so far considered, makes this plain. There is the unchanging “ama,” then the syllables “ba, vi, be,” and thirdly, the personal or pronominal endings. To prove, if further proof were necessary, the composite character of the different tenses, except the present, in which the verb is presented in its simplest form, it will suffice to instance those tenses that are more complex in their signification. They will be found equally as complex in their formation. “Amaveram, amavissem, amavero,” are examples. There are clearly nothing else than “amavi,” the meaning of which they all include, and from which all grammarians very justly derive them, and they are formed by adding to “amavi” parts of the verb “sum, eram, essem, ero,” postfixed to “amavi,” by a well understood contraction give “amaveram, amavissem, and amavere.”

It is in place here to call attention to the form “eram,” “I was,” or more literally, “I was being.” The stem is here evidently “e,” the same as is found in “es, est, estes,” and in the Greek εω the origin of εμῖ. The Latin borrowed their radical “e” from the Greeks. The Irish or Celtic is singularly rich in forms for the substantive verb. Among others the grammarians give ṁa<sub>1</sub>ḃ (he was) as one of its past tenses. By a slight change—one easily understood by those who have attended to the combination of syllables in compound words, and who must have noticed the facility by which the feebler portions of a word or syllable are thrown off when it is prefixed to another—ṁa<sub>1</sub>ḃ (raiv), combined with the pronominal m, s, t, &c., would become “ram, ras, rat, &c. This new formation placed after the radical “e” would give “eram, eras, erat,” &c. “being was I, being wert thou, being wert he,” that is, I was being, or I was, &c. Now in the pluperfect “amaveram” there is—1st, the stem “ama;”—2nd,

"vi," contracted on account of the following vowel into v, which being without a pronoun would necessarily take a participial meaning corresponding to its tense, which being past would be equivalent to "having been ;"—3rd, the Latin-Greek stem of the substantive verb "e," being ;—4th, "ra," "was," and 5th, "in," "I." All this combined would give by reading as usual backwards, "I was being, having been, loving," which is the exact equivalent of "I had been loving," or "I had loved."

One more conversant with the Celtic than I pretend to be, might trace out the derivation of "ero." It decidedly has the same relation to "eram" that "bam" has to "bo." I must confess that my efforts have failed to find the origin of "esse," as they have been unsuccessful in discovering from what the infinitives "re and ri" derive, beyond this that *re* and *ri* as evidently related to ραιβ. Others possessed of more knowledge, and supplied with more abundant means of reference, may be more successful.

So much for the active voice. Now a few words on the passive. The present tense is formed by adding ταρ (tar) to the stem. The learner would doubtless be much surprised when on reading farther he is told, "there is no distinction of number or person in the tenses of the passive voice, and *the pronouns are always in the accusative case*. Were he disposed to indulge in the bad taste of looking for what are called "Irish bulls," he would be inclined to be amused at the latter part of this statement, as sounding very much like saying the accusative is the nominative to the verb. But his merriment would be as senseless as it was premature; for there is nothing more philosophical than language; and he might feel sure that if the seeming nominative is always found in the accusative, there must be some good grammatical reason for it. A little examination, in fact, leads to the conclusion that the Celtic passive termination ταρ is composed of τα is, and αιη or αι, on. The form then ζον ταρ με, I am wounded, would, literally translated, be "wounding is on me." That this is perfectly idiomatic in the Irish language is apparent from such expressions as τα οειαρ οημ, I am hungry, or literally, hunger is on me. Idioms very similar to this are found in Latin, such for instance as *scribendum est mihi*.

The passive termination ταρ is almost identical with "tur," of such frequent occurrence in the endings of Latin passive verbs. Is this merely accidental or does it suggest some real connexion between the two? Considering how large a Celtic element enters into the Latin, I am inclined to believe that there is something more than mere accidental coin-



cidence. Let us instance one or two strong cases. If "amabatur" be resolved into its component parts we will have ama-ba-t-ur, *ama*, loving, *ba*, was, *t*, the shortened pronoun of the third person singular, him, *ur*, on,—that is, "loving was on him;" ama-bi-t-ur, "loving will be on him." Again, *amatur* filled out according to the requirements of the theory suggested, would be "ama-ta-tur," "loving is on him." But considering the effort language invariably makes to avoid cacophony, and the tendency it has to shorten words, as well as the facility with which, in most languages, "d" and "t" are dropped, there is little difficulty in seeing how easily *amatatur* would become *amatur*. In *amabaris* the theory holds exactly "ama," loving; "ba," was; "a" for "ar," on; "is," the second person singular thee. The theory would demand that the first person singular passive should have an "m" either after "ba" or at the end of the word. Thus "amabamr" or "amabarm." It is to be noticed that "m" was feebly sounded by the Latins, and it would seem that "m" final before a vowel was scarcely, if at all, heard. This, taken with the reason already alleged, would account for its disappearance in the case under discussion. We find it, however, making its appearance in the first person plural, "amabamur," "amabimur," where it appears to do duty for "mus," from which it seems to be contracted.

It may be said that this theory of making an analysis of the Latin verb is more specious than real, since there are some tenses and some persons of tenses in which no traces of the Celtic substantive verb can be observed. The objection is not without force. But I will merely observe that all languages have a tendency to shorten their forms of speech, and that it would be indeed surprising if a language compounded of so many different elements as the Latin is, and spoken for so many ages, should come to us in the exact forms in which it originally came into being. If the theory hesitatingly advanced in this paper be assumed as true, the wonder would be that so much of the original form of verbs has come down to us unchanged, and not that changes are found in the few instances in which the theory seems not to hold good.

My knowledge of Irish is limited. I have no Irish books within my reach. Masters of the Irish tongue, should they be pleased to notice the simple hints here given, may perhaps be able to mould my crude theory into a solid system. To them I respectfully submit the subject, and leave it in their hands.

## QUESTIONS REGARDING THE JUBILEE.

### VII.—THE POWER OF ABSOLVING FROM RESERVED SINS AND CENSURES—(*Continued.*)

**M**OREOVER, it must be observed that the Encyclical does not empower confessors to absolve *in foro externo* from reserved censures: "*in foro conscientiae tantum*," are the words of his Holiness, "*absolvere valeant*." The effects of such an absolution are thus described by Suarez:—"Constat talem absolutionem non esse inutilem, tum quia verè restituit hominem consortio Ecclesiae, et facit illum participem suffragiorum ejus, quod maximi momenti est: tum etiam quia revera tollit omnes inhabilitates et facit capacem beneficiorum, jurisdictionis ecclesiasticae, etc."<sup>1</sup>

In all cases, the effects thus enumerated by Suarez are produced by an absolution *in foro conscientiae*. But, as regards the lawfulness of performing those actions the performance of which is prohibited to persons by whom a censure has been incurred, an important distinction is to be drawn between public and occult censures. In the case of an occult censure,<sup>2</sup> absolution *in foro externo* is not required. Hence, when without any public knowledge of the fact, a censure has been incurred, not by virtue of the sentence of an ecclesiastical superior, but by the violation of a law to the transgression of which a censure is annexed—such a censure and all its effects are completely removed by an absolution *in foro conscientiae*. Not so in the case of a public censure, that is to say, a censure which has been inflicted by the sentence of an ecclesiastical superior, or which is publicly known to have been incurred by the commission of a fault prohibited under this penalty. In this case, until absolution *in foro externo* has been obtained, it is unlawful to perform in public any of those actions which are forbidden to persons who have incurred a censure,—an absolution *in foro conscientiae* rendering it lawful to perform those actions in private only. Hence Suarez adds:—"Si censura erat occulta, tam occulte quam publice potest [absolutus in foro conscientiae] se gerere ut absolutus; si vero erat publica, occulte et caute poterit eodem modo se gerere."<sup>3</sup> And Laymann

<sup>1</sup> *De Virtute et Statu Religionis*. Tom 4., tract x., lib. 9., cap. ii., n. 37.

<sup>2</sup> "Generatim autem occultum dicitur quod neque notorietate juris, neque notorietate facti innoscit. Notorietas juris illa est quae oritur ex actis judicialibus: notorietas facti, quae oritur ex publica fama." BOUXX. *De Judiciis Ecclesiasticis*, Pars. ii., sect. ii., cap. iv., § 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Id. ibid.*



teaches the same doctrine, applying it to the case of the Jubilee:—"Qui in foro conscientiae," he says, "per Bullam, Jubilaeum aut privilegium, absolutus est v. g. ab excommunicatione, is in facie Ecclesiae, si excommunicatio ejus notoria fuit, a sacris et aliis rebus quae excommunicato interdiciuntur, abstinere debet perinde ac si absolutus non esset, si vero censura occulta fuit, tunc non prohibetur qui in foro conscientiae absolutus est etiam publice celebrare."<sup>1</sup> The same doctrine is laid down by Ferraris,<sup>2</sup> and indeed by all canonists of authority.

The power of absolving from reserved censures is limited also by the following clause of the Encyclical:—"Neque praesentes (litteras) iis qui a Nobis vel aliquo Praelato seu iudice Ecclesiastico nominatim excommunicati, suspensi, interdicti seu alias in sententias et censuras incidisse declarati vel publice denunciati fuerint, nisi satisfecerint aut cum partibus concordaverint nullomodo suffragari posse—quod si infra praefinitum tempus (usque ad diem quo Synodus Œcumenica fuerit absoluta) iudicio confessarii satisfacere non potuerint, absolvi posse concedimus in foro conscientiae ad effectum duntaxat assequendi Indulgentias Jubilaei, injuncta obligatione satisfaciendi statim ac poterint."

From the terms of this clause it is obvious that it does not refer to all cases of censures, but only to those persons who have incurred a censure *in consequence of their having violated the rights of others*. For it tells us merely that when reparation is due, that is to say, when an injury has been done, absolution must be deferred until reparation, if it be possible, is made to the person who has been injured. A few writers, indeed, have endeavoured to extend the operation of this clause, on the ground that in all cases the ecclesiastical authorities by whom a censure has been inflicted, may, at least to some extent, be regarded as persons who are entitled to reparation. But this interpretation of the clause is rejected almost unanimously by the canonists of the highest authority. "In illa clausula," says Suarez, "per *partem* non intelligitur Praelatus . . . sed aliqua alia persona offensa. . . . Ibi aliquid speciale proponitur pro absolutione *ab his censuris et delictis quae in alicujus injuriam vel offensionem facta fuerunt*. Unde illa satisfactio idem est quod restitutio sive honoris, sive famae, sive aliorum bonorum."<sup>3</sup> And this explanation is confirmed by the approval of Benedict XIV., who writes:—"Non intelligimus,

<sup>1</sup> *Theologia Moralis*, Lib. i. tract. v. *De Censuris*. Part. i. cap. vii. n. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Bibliotheca*. In verb. *Excommunicatio*. Art. iii., nn. 1. 2. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *De Censuris*. Disp. 7, sect. v., n. 47.

sicut a quibusdam intellectum est judicem, verum *illum qui damnum passus est*.”<sup>1</sup> Hence this view of the meaning of the clause is accepted by the modern writers—Bouvier,<sup>2</sup> for instance, and Loiseaux<sup>3</sup>—as unquestionable.

In this portion of the Encyclical, then, his Holiness simply insists upon the observance of the rule laid down in the Canon Law, namely, that a person who has incurred a censure in consequence of injuries which he has inflicted upon another, cannot be absolved until he has made reparation, if it be possible to make it, to the person whom he has injured.<sup>4</sup> On the present occasion it is unnecessary to discuss the question whether this disposition of the law has, as Busembaum, Dicastillo, Monacelli and Ferraris suppose, the effect of rendering it merely unlawful to absolve a person who has not yet made sufficient reparation, or whether, as Cajetan, Suarez, Laymann, and the great majority of canonists teach, it invalidates such an absolution. For it is manifest from the words of this clause of the Encyclical, that during the present Jubilee *a confessor is not empowered to absolve the persons to whom it refers* until they comply with the conditions prescribed by the Sovereign Pontiff:—“*Præsentibus iis . . . nisi satisfecerint nullomodo suffragari posse.*” Undoubtedly, then, any such absolution would be not only unlawful, but invalid.

The clause provides also for the case of persons whose confessors may consider them unable to make reparation within the time allowed for gaining the Jubilee. In reference to this case a question of great practical importance has been raised by theologians—namely, whether it is necessary during the time of the Jubilee to observe the rule laid down in the Canon Law, which prescribes that, in cases where reparation cannot be made, the person who is about to be absolved should, before absolution is given, bind himself by an oath to make reparation as soon as he shall have an opportunity of doing so? Benedict XIV. undoubtedly required the observance of this rule during the Jubilee of 1750, as we learn from his Constitution *Convocatis*:—“*Non prius absolvant quam parti laesae poenitens satisfecerit; vel si prius poenitens nequeat, non eum absolvant nisi juret se satisfacturum cum primum poterit.*”<sup>5</sup> Hence,

<sup>1</sup> *Bullarium Benedicti XIV.* Constit. *Inter præteritos* (3. Dec., 1749), n. 66.

<sup>2</sup> *Traité des Indulgences.* Part iv., chap. iii., art. ii., sect. i., n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Traité du Jubilé.* Chap. vi., art. ii., sect. i., § i., n. 13.

<sup>4</sup> *Cap Solet.* De sent. Excomm. in 6. See LAYMANN. *Theologia Moralis.* Lib. i., tract 5. *De Censuris*, pars. ii., cap. ii., n. 8. Also FERRARIS. *Bibliotheca.* In verb. *Excommunicatio*, art. vii., n. 24. And LA CROIX. *Theologia Moralis.* Lib. vii., *De Censuris*, n. 67.

<sup>5</sup> *Bullarium Benedicti XIV.* Constit. *Convocatis.* (25. Nov., 1749), n. 27.



M. Loiseaux considers that since the clause which is employed in reference to this class of cases in the Bulls which have been issued by his present Holiness, does not dispense with the necessity of observing this formality, a confessor is not empowered to absolve a penitent, who has not complied with it.<sup>1</sup> It is hardly necessary to observe that if this interpretation were correct, confessors in this country would, in almost every instance, from the impossibility of complying with this condition, be unable to make use of the power of absolving which this clause of the Encyclical confers.

But from the latter portion of the clause, which probably escaped the attention of M. Loiseaux, it is obvious that Pius IX. does not require the observance of this rule. For, in the first place, referring to the necessity of making reparation on the first opportunity, his Holiness says that the confessor before giving absolution is to impose this obligation—“*injuncta obligatione satisfaciendi statim.*” Now, it cannot be supposed that in a formal official document, the object of which is to explain in detail the conditions necessary to be observed by those who wish to gain the Jubilee, and the extent and limits of the extraordinary powers with which confessors are invested, only these words would be used, if his Holiness required as a necessary condition for the validity of this absolution, that an oath should be administered, in order to bind the penitent to discharge this obligation. Again, the words “*absolvi posse . . . ad effectum duntaxat assequendi indulgentias Jubilæi,*” which occur in the form employed by the present Pope, and which are not found in the Bulls of Jubilee issued by Benedict XIV., furnish an additional proof that the rule laid down by that Pontiff is not applicable to the present Jubilee. For, by the insertion of these words, his Holiness, following the example of Pius VI., Pius VII., Leo XII., Pius VIII., and Gregory XVI., has adopted a much more effectual means of avoiding the danger, in order to guard against which, Benedict XIV. required that before receiving absolution, the penitent should bind himself by oath to make due reparation to the persons whom he may have injured. By virtue of the clause employed by Benedict XIV., the absolution which confessors were empowered to grant in cases of this description, had the effect (*in foro conscientiæ*) of completely removing the censure. Hence, it is obvious, there was great reason to fear that the duty of making reparation would, when its fulfilment was no longer a necessary condition for obtaining absolution, be overlooked or neglected; and under these circumstances, Benedict XIV., in order to provide as far

<sup>1</sup> *Traité du Jubilé.* Chap. vi., art. ii., sect. I., § i., n. 16.

as possible for the discharge of this obligation, wisely directed that absolution should not be granted until the penitent had bound himself by an oath to comply with it on the first available opportunity. But the necessity for having recourse to this precaution no longer exists. For, as the clause now stands, a confessor cannot absolutely remove the censure from a person who has not yet made reparation: he can merely suspend its operation, as far as it would interfere with the performance of the actions necessary for gaining the Jubilee, so that when the person thus absolved has gained the indulgence, or at all events at the expiration of the time allowed for gaining it, he is bound by the censure in exactly the same manner as if he had never been absolved. The clause—"absolvi posse . . . ad effectum duntaxat assequendi indulgentias Jubilaei"—is thus explained by Benedict XIV., by whom it was employed in reference to a different class of cases:—"Ita ut semel ac consecuti Jubilaeum fuerint, eadem qua antea censura adstricti remaneant, ac teneantur absolutionem petere perinde ac si nunquam absoluti fuissent."<sup>1</sup>

Since, then, the successors of Benedict XIV. have introduced into this portion of their Bulls of Jubilee two changes of such importance—not only omitting the clause in which he enjoined the necessity of administering an oath, but also withholding the power which he conferred, and granting in its stead a power of a totally different nature, restricted in such a manner as to render the administration of an oath unnecessary, and indeed, unmeaning—it is evident that the rule laid down by Benedict XIV., regarding the formalities to be observed in exercising the more extensive power which he granted to confessors is by no means applicable to the present Jubilee.

Can the special faculties which are granted during the time of Jubilee be exercised more than once in favour of the same person? Before the time of Benedict XIV., very many theologians held that the faithful could gain the Jubilee as often as they performed the works enjoined as conditions by the Holy Father, so that a person by repeating the performance of those works would not only gain an additional plenary indulgence but would also participate anew in all the other favours and privileges of the Jubilee. This interpretation of the Bull of Jubilee was adopted by Viva,<sup>2</sup> Ferraris,<sup>3</sup> La Croix,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Bullarium Benedicti XIV. Constit. Convocatis*, jam citat. n. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *De Jubilaeo*. Quaest. xi.; art. iii., n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Bibliotheca*. In verb. *Jubilaeum*, art. ii., n. 24.

<sup>4</sup> *Theologia Moralit.* Lib. vi., pars. ii., n. 1450.



Henriquez,<sup>1</sup> Bellegambe,<sup>2</sup> Gobat,<sup>3</sup> and others. It is worthy of notice that the same view of the nature of the Jubilee faculties was taken also by Dicastillo, Castropalao, and other writers, who were of opinion that the plenary indulgence of the Jubilee could be gained only once. Indeed, some writers went so far as to say that a person who had once performed the works set forth in the Bull, and had thus gained the Jubilee, could afterwards, without repeating the performance of those works, be absolved from reserved sins and censures at any time before the close of the Jubilee, and as often as occasion might require. Loiseaux<sup>4</sup> erroneously ascribes this doctrine to Ferraris, who in reality abstains from pronouncing any opinion as to its truth, and simply states, in words apparently transcribed from La Croix, that it is held by Rodriquez, Sa, Diana, Lohner, and other writers, and that it is regarded as probable by Bonacina, Castropalao, and Dicastillo.<sup>5</sup>

On the other hand it was taught by Suarez,<sup>6</sup> De Lugo,<sup>7</sup> Zaccaria,<sup>8</sup> Van Ranst,<sup>9</sup> Theodorus a Sancto Spiritu,<sup>10</sup> Collet,<sup>11</sup> and other theologians, that although the plenary indulgence of the Jubilee might, as many of those writers were of opinion, be gained several times by repeating the performance of the prescribed works, no person who, on the occasion of his first gaining it, had been absolved from reserved sins or censures by virtue of the special faculties of the Jubilee, could again avail himself of those faculties, even if he should comply a second time with the requirements of the Bull. Those writers relied partly upon a decree of the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences the genuineness of which was, however, questioned by Gobat,<sup>12</sup> and by the writers who shared his view; partly upon the words "*hac vice absolvere valent*" which the Sovereign Pontiffs are accustomed to insert in their Bulls of Jubilee, but which were ingeniously explained by the defenders of the opposite opinion as meaning that those extraordinary powers were granted *only during the time of Jubilee*. "Respondet Bossius," says Viva, "non esse idem *hac vice tantum et semel*: dum Bulla dicit posse confessarium eligi *hac vice tantum*,

<sup>1</sup> *De Indulgentiis*. Lib. vii., cap. ii., n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Enchiridion*. Part iii., sec. ii., quaest. 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Opera Moralia*. Tract. iii. *De Jubilaeo*. Cap. xxxiii., n. 256.

<sup>4</sup> *Traité du Jubilé*. Chap. vi., art. ii., sec. i., par. i., n. 25.

<sup>5</sup> See FERRARIS. *Bibliotheca*. In verb. *Jubilaeum*. Art. ii., n. 24. Also LA CROIX. *Theologia Moralis*. Lib. vi., pars. ii., n. 1450.

<sup>6</sup> *De Virtute et Statu Religionis*. Tom. ii., tract. vi., lib. vi., cap. xvi., n. 17.

<sup>7</sup> *De Sacramento Penitentiae*. Disp. 27, n. 122.

<sup>8</sup> *Dell' Anno Santo*. Lib. iii., cap. i., n. 7.

<sup>9</sup> *De Indulgentiis et Jubilaeo*. Quaest. vi., nn. 15-6.

<sup>10</sup> *Tractatus Historico Theologicus de Jubilaeo*. Cap. v., sect. v., nn. 2. et seq.

<sup>11</sup> *Traité des Indulgences et du Jubilé*. Chap. iv., n. 15.

<sup>12</sup> *Opera Moralia*. Tract. iii. *De Jubilaeo*, cap. xiv., n. 92.

sensus est quod possit eligi occasione tantum hujus Jubilaei, quamvis tempore Jubilaei possit pluries eligi.”<sup>1</sup>

This controversy, like so many others which we have examined, was terminated by Benedict XIV., who, both in his Constitution *Convocatis*, which sets forth the special powers granted to the confessors in Rome during the Jubilee of 1750, and also in his Encyclical *Inter praeteritos*, which was written for the purpose of removing all doubts regarding the interpretation of his former letters on this subject, endorsed the opinion of Suarez, declaring that the phrase *hac vice tantum* prohibits confessors to exercise those faculties a second time in favour of a person who has already gained the Jubilee. “Qui bis aut pluries,” are the words of the Constitution *Convocatis*, “omnia opera praescripta . . iteravit, bis quoque aut pluries poterit hoc . . Jubilaeum lucrari . . Hoc tamen declarantes neminem posse nisi *semel* id est prima tantum vice frui favoribus hinc Jubilaeo adjunctis.”<sup>2</sup> From the decree issued in 1852 by the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences, it is of course manifest that this decision of Benedict XIV. is applicable to the present Jubilee,<sup>3</sup> and hence it was acted upon by the Sacred Penitentiary, when interrogated in last June upon this subject:—“An qui vi Jubilaei fuerit a censuris et a casibus reservatis absolutus, si iterum incidat in casus et censuras reservatas, possit secunda vice absolvi peragens iterum opera injuncta? Resp. Negative.”<sup>4</sup>

In consequence of those decisions there can be no doubt that a person who, on the occasion of his first performing the works required for gaining the Jubilee, has been absolved by virtue of those special faculties, cannot again obtain the benefit of them after he has gained the indulgence, even though he should again undertake the performance of the prescribed works in order to gain the indulgence a second time. But a difficulty exists regarding two cases, which it may be useful to examine before passing from this branch of the subject.

Can the special faculties of the Jubilee be exercised more than once *in favour of a person who has not yet gained the Jubilee*? Loiseaux considers that the clause *hac vice tantum* clearly shows that those faculties cannot, even in this case, be exercised a second time. “Une seule chose,” he says, “est

<sup>1</sup> *De Jubilaeo*. Quaest. vi., art vi., n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Bullarium Benedicti XIV.* Constit. *Convocatis*, jam. citat., n. 52.

<sup>3</sup> See *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*. Vol. vi., No. LXII. November, 1869, p. 68.

<sup>4</sup> *Decret. S. Penitentiariae*. (1 June, 1869). See *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Vol. V., No. LIX. August, 1869, p. 543.



à examiner : le confesseur (lui ou un autre) a-t-il déjà usé de ses pouvoirs en faveur de ce pénitent ? S'il a fait, il ne peut plus l'absoudre . . . Cela résulte des termes de la concession *hac vice tantum*, qui doivent être restreints à une seule absolution."<sup>1</sup> But De Lugo and Sanchez, while teaching, as we have seen, that the clause in question prohibits the repeated exercise of the special faculties, are of opinion that this limitation is to be understood in reference to the case of a person who has already gained the Jubilee. According to this view, a person who, after going to confession and being absolved from some reserved censure or sin, should again commit a reserved sin or incur a reserved censure before he has completed the performance of the works necessary for gaining the indulgence, can be again absolved by virtue of the Jubilee faculties :—"Si aliquis," says De Lugo, "communione adhuc iterum absolvi a novis reservatis, licet diebus praecedentibus confessus et absolutus jam fuerit ab aliis."<sup>2</sup>

Loiseaux, indeed, considers that since the publication of Benedict XIV.'s Encyclicals this opinion is untenable. But, as may be seen by referring to those Encyclicals, it is in reality perfectly in accordance with them. Benedict XIV.'s first reference to this point occurs in his Constitution *Convocatis*, in which he says :—"Intelligent [confessarii] item uti non posse [hujusmodi facultatibus] cum iis poenitentibus qui *Jubilaeum semel jam lucrati fuissent*."<sup>3</sup> He then refers to another section of the same Constitution, in which, speaking of persons who in order to gain the indulgence of the Jubilee several times, repeat the performance of the prescribed works, he adds :—"Hoc tamen [declaramus] neminem posse nisi semel, *id est prima tantum vice* frui seu potiri favoribus Jubilaeo adjunctis."<sup>4</sup> Finally, in his Encyclical *Inter praeteritos*, written for the purpose of removing all doubts which might arise regarding the interpretation of his previous instructions, he says :—"In eadem Constitutione [Convocatis] atque eodem numero declaravimus qui semel illarum [gratiarum] *particeps factus est, prima vice qua Jubilaeum consecutus fuit*, iterum earum participem fieri non posse, si *post primam Jubilaei acquisitionem*, iterum in censuras incurrerit aut casus reservatos commiserit."<sup>5</sup> From those passages, in which alone Benedict XIV. imposes on confessors any

<sup>1</sup> *Traité du Jubilé*. Chap. vi., art. 2 sect. I., par. i., n. 28.

<sup>2</sup> *De Sacramento Poenitentiae*. Disp. xx., sect. viii., n. 140. See also SANCHEZ, *In Decalogum*, Lib. iv., cap. 54, n. 28.

<sup>3</sup> *Bullarium Benedicti XIV.* Constit. *Convocatis*. jam citat. n. 24.

<sup>4</sup> *Id. Ibid.*, n. 52.

<sup>5</sup> *Id. Constit. Inter praeteritos*, jam citat., n. 84.

limitation in reference to the repeated exercise of those special powers, it is evident that he refers only to the case of *persons who have already gained the Jubilee*. Such persons, he says, cannot be again absolved by virtue of the Jubilee faculties, although they can gain the plenary indulgence of the Jubilee as often as they repeat the performance of the works enumerated in the Bull. He does not say that those faculties cannot be exercised more than once in favour of a person who is still engaged in performing, for the first time, the works enjoined in the Bull, and who consequently has not yet gained the indulgence of the Jubilee. It is manifest, then, that as far as regards the decisions of Benedict XIV., from which alone any difficulty can arise in reference to this question, confessors are by no means forbidden to act upon the doctrine of De Lugo and Sanchez.

Again, it may be asked, are those faculties available only on the first occasion of gaining the Jubilee, or can they be exercised in favour of a person *who has already gained the indulgence, but who has not yet been absolved by virtue of them*, and who is about to repeat the performance of the prescribed works in order to gain the indulgence a second time? Loiseaux, who, as we have seen, interprets the word *semel* as prohibiting a second exercise of these faculties, has no difficulty in admitting that in this case absolution may be granted.<sup>1</sup> And indeed it would appear that whatever diversity of opinion may exist in reference to the former question, there can be no doubt that in this case the Jubilee faculties can be exercised. For, the prohibition imposed by Benedict XIV. and by the Sacred Penitentiary, forbidding confessors to absolve by virtue of those faculties, persons who have already gained the Jubilee, refers only to the case of those *in whose favour the Jubilee faculties have been exercised on the occasion of their first performing the works enumerated in the Bull*. It must indeed be admitted that the words used by Benedict XIV. in his Constitution *Convocatis* are, to some extent, ambiguous; but his explanatory statement in the Encyclical, *Inter præteritos*, removes all doubt regarding his meaning. "In eadem constitutione [*Convocatis*]" he says, "declaravimus qui semel illarum [gratiarum] *particeps factus est prima vice qua Jubilæum consecutus fuit, iterum earum participem fieri non posse, si post primam Jubilæi acquisitionem,*" etc.<sup>2</sup> The decree of the Sacred Penitentiary, too, is capable of no other interpretation. For the question which was proposed, and which the Sacred Congregation

<sup>1</sup> *Traité du Jubilé*, chap. vi., art. ii., sect. I, § i., n. 26.

<sup>2</sup> *Bullarium Benedicti XIV.* Constit. *Inter præteritos*, jam citat., n. 84.



answered in the negative, was, whether a person who had been absolved by virtue of these faculties on the occasion of his first gaining the Jubilee, could again be absolved on the occasion of his repeating the performance of the works enjoined in the Bull—"An ille qui vi Jubilaei fuerit a censuris et a casibus reservatis absolutus . . . possit secunda vice absolvi, peragens iterum opera injuncta?"<sup>1</sup> This decision, like the limitation imposed by Benedict XIV., regards, it is obvious, only those persons who have already been absolved by virtue of the Jubilee faculties, and consequently there is no reason for supposing that these faculties cannot be exercised in favour of a person who is about to perform for the second time, the works prescribed in the Bull, and who, although he has already gained the plenary indulgence of the Jubilee, has not yet availed himself of the other privileges and favours which are granted in connection with it.

To conclude, then, it would seem that the rules to be observed in reference to the exercise of the Jubilee faculties are :—First, that a person who has been absolved by virtue of those faculties on the occasion of his first performing the works enjoined as conditions for gaining the Jubilee, cannot again avail himself of them, even if he should again undertake the performance of those works in order to gain the indulgence a second time ; secondly, that those faculties can be exercised as often as occasion may require in favour of a person who intends to perform the works enumerated in the Encyclical, but who has not yet completed the performance of them, and who consequently has not yet gained the indulgence of the Jubilee ; and, thirdly, that a person who has not availed himself of those faculties on the occasion of his first gaining the indulgence, can be absolved by virtue of them if he should repeat the performance of the prescribed works, in order to gain the indulgence a second time.

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<sup>1</sup> *Decret. S. Poenitentiariae*, jam citat. (1 Jun., 1869). See *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Vol. V., No. LIX., August 1869, p. 433.

Several of our correspondents will find in the preceding pages answers to the questions they have proposed. The answers to others will appear next month.

## DOCUMENTS.

I.—CONSTITUTION REGULATING THE PROCEDURE OF THE  
GENERAL COUNCIL.

PIUS PAPA IX.

AD FUTURAM REI MEMORIAM.

Multiplices inter, quibus divexamur angustias, ad Divinae Clementiae, quae *consolatur Nos in omni tribulatione Nostra*,<sup>1</sup> gratias persolvendas maxime excitamur, qua propitiante, illud celeriter Nobis continget, ut sacrosanctum generale et oecumenicum Concilium Vaticanum iam a Nobis, ea adspirante indictum, feliciter auspicemur. Gaudium autem in Domino jure praecipimus, quod salutare Concilii ejusdem conventus solemnii die Immaculatae Dei Matris Mariae semper Virginis Conceptioni sacro, atque adeo sub potentibus maternisque auspiciis ejus aggressuri sumus, eosque in Vaticana Nostra Basilica inituri ante Beatissimi Petri cineres, qui *in accepta fortitudine Petrae perseverans suscepta Ecclesiae gubernacula non reliquit, et in quo omnium Pastorum sollicitudo, cum commendatarum sibi ovium custodia perseverat*.<sup>2</sup> Jamvero memores hoc oecumenicum Concilium a Nobis convocatum fuisse, ut extirpandis erroribus, quos praesertim huius saeculi conflavit impietas, removendis malis, quibus Ecclesia affligitur, emendandis moribus et utriusque Cleri disciplinae instaurandae, conjuncta Nobiscum sacrorum Ecclesiae Antistitum adhibeatur opera, ac probe noscentes, quo studio intentaque sollicitudine curare debeamus, ut ea omnia, quae ad rectam rationem tam salutaris negotii gerendi, tractandi ac perficiendi pertinent, ex sancta majorem disciplina institutisque statuuntur, idcirco Apostolica Nostra auctoritate ea quae sequuntur decernimus, atque ab omnibus in hoc Vaticano Concilio servanda esse praecipimus.

## I. De modo vivendi in Concilio.

Reputantes animo quod *omne datum optimum, et omne donum perfectum desursum est, descendens a Patre luminum*,<sup>3</sup> quodque nihil Caelestis Patris benignitati pronius est, quam ut det *spiritum bonum petentibus se*,<sup>4</sup> iam Nos, dum Apostolicis

<sup>1</sup> 2 Corinth. i. 4.<sup>2</sup> Jacob. i., 17.<sup>3</sup> S. Leo P. Serm. 2, Anniver. Assumptionis suae.<sup>4</sup> Luc. xi., 13.



Nostris Litteris,<sup>1</sup> die undecimo Aprilis hoc anno datis, Ecclesiae thesauros sacrosancti huius Concilii occasione Christi fidelibus reseravimus, non solum eosdem Christifideles vehementer hortati sumus, ut emundantes *conscientiam ab operibus mortuis ad serviendum Deo viventi*<sup>2</sup> orationibus, obsecrationibus, jejuniis aliisque pietatis actibus insistere velint: sed etiam Divini Spiritus lumen et opem in sacrosancto Missae sacrificio celebrando, quotidie in universo Orbe Catholico implorari mandavimus, ad prosperum a Domino huic Concilio exitum, et salutares ex eo Ecclesiae sanctae fructus impetrandos.

Quas quidem adhortationes et praescriptiones modo renovantes et confirmantes, id praeterea iubemus, ut in hujus almae Urbis Nostrae Ecclesiis, sacrosancta Synodo perdurante, singulis diebus Dominicis hora, quae pro fidei populo magis congrua videatur, Litaniae aliaeque orationes ad hunc finem constitutae recitentur.

At longe his maius aliquid et excellentius ab Episcopis, aliisque qui in Sacerdotali Ordine censentur hoc Concilium concelebrantibus, praestandum est, quos, uti ministros Christi et dispensatores mysteriorum Dei oportet in omnibus seipsos praebere *exemplum bonorum operum in doctrina, in integritate, in gravitate, verbum sanum, irreprehensibile, ut is qui ex adverso est veretur nihil habens malum dicere de nobis*.<sup>3</sup> Quare veterum Conciliorum ac Tridentini nominatim vestigiis inhaerentes hortamur illos omnes in Domino, ut orationi, sacrae lectioni, caelestium rerum meditationibus pro sua cuiusque pietate studiose intendant: ut pure casteque sancto Missae sacrificio, quam fieri possit, frequenter operentur; animum mentemque ab humanarum rerum curis immunem servant; modestiam in moribus, in victu temperantiam, et in omni actione religionem retineant. Absint animorum dissidia, absit prava aemulatio et contentio, sed omnibus imperet, quae inter ceteras virtutes eminet charitas, ut illa dominante et incolumi, de hoc sacro Episcoporum Ecclesiae conventu dici possit: *Ecce quam bonum et quam jucundum habitare fratres in unum*.<sup>4</sup> Evigilent demum Patres in domesticorum suorum cura, et christianae ab eis sanctaeque vitae disciplina exigenda, memores quam gravibus verbis Paulus Apostolus praecipiat Episcopis, ut sint suae domui bene praepositi.<sup>5</sup>

## II. De jure et modo proponendi.

Licet ius et munus proponendi negotia quae in sancta oecumenica Synodo tractari debebunt, de iisque Patrum sententias rogandi nonnisi ad Nos, et ad hanc Apostolicam Sedem

<sup>1</sup> Litt. Nost. 11 Aprilis, 1869

<sup>2</sup> Ep. ad. Hebrae. ix. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. ad. Tit. 7., ii.

<sup>4</sup> Ps. cxxxii., i.

<sup>5</sup> I. Timoth. iii. 4.

pertineat, nihilominus non modo optamus, sed etiam hortamur, ut si qui inter Concilii Patres aliquid proponendum habuerint, quod ad publicam utilitatem conferre posse existiment, id libere exequi velint. Cum vero probe perspiciamus hanc ipsam rem, nisi congruo tempore et modo perficiatur, non parum necessario Conciliarium actionum ordini officere posse idcirco statuimus ejusmodi propositiones ita fieri debere, ut earum quaelibet 1. scripto mandetur, ac peculiari Congregationi nonnullorum, tum VV. FF. NN. S. R. E. Cardinalium, tum Synodi Patrum a Nobis deputandae privatim exhibeatur: 2. publicum rei christianae bonum vere respiciat, non singularem dumtaxat unius vel alterius Dioecesis utilitatem: 3. rationes contineat, ob quas utilis et opportuna censetur: 4. nihil praeseferat, quod a constanti Ecclesiae sensu, ejusque inviolabilibus traditionibus alienum sit.

Peculiaris praedicta Congregatio propositiones sibi exhibitas diligenter expendet, suumque circa earum admissionem vel exclusionem consilium Nostro judicio submittet, ut Nos deinde matura consideratione de iis statuamus, utrum ad Synodalem deliberationem deferri debeant.

### *III.—De secreto servando in Concilio.*

Prudentiae hic ratio Nos admonet, ut secreti fidem, quae in superioribus Conciliis non semel, adjunctorum gravitate exigente, indicenda fuit, in universa hujus Concilii actione servandam jubeamus. Si enim unquam alias, hoc maxime tempore haec cautio necessaria visa est, quo in omnem occasionem excubat individuae conflandae contra Catholicam Ecclesiam ejusque doctrinam, pluribus nocendi opibus pollens impietas. Quapropter praecipimus omnibus et singulis Patribus, Officialibus Concilii, Theologis, Sacrorum Canonum Peritis, ceterisque, qui operam suam Patribus vel Officialibus praedictis quovis modo in rebus hujus Concilii praebent, ut decreta et alia quaecumque, quae iis examinanda proponentur, nec non discussiones et singulorum sententias non evulgent, nec alicui extra gremium Concilii pandant; praecipimus pariter ut Officiales Concilii, qui episcopali dignitate praediti non sunt, aliique omnes, qui ratione cujusvis demandati a Nobis ministerii Conciliaribus disceptationibus inservire debent, iuramentum emittere teneantur de munere fideliter obeundo, et de secreti fide servanda circa ea omnia quae supra praescripta sunt, nec non super iis rebus, quae specialiter ipsis committentur.

### *IV.—De ordine sedendi, et de non inferendo alicui praejudicio.*

Cum ad tranquillitatem concordiamque animorum tuendam



non parum momenti habeat, si in quibuslibet Conciliaribus actibus, unusquisque suae dignitatis ordinem fideliter ac modeste custodiat: hinc ad offensionum occasiones, quoad ejus fieri possit, praecidendas, infrascriptum ordinem inter diversas dignitates servari praescribimus.

Primum locum obtinebunt VV. FF. NN. S. R. E. Cardinales Episcopi, Presbyteri, Diaconi; secundum Patriarchae; tertium, ex speciali Nostra indulgentia, Primates, juxta ordinem suae promotionis ad Primatialem gradum. Id autem pro hac vice tantum indulgemus, atque ita, ut ex hac Nostra concessione nullum ius vel ipsis Primatibus datum, vel aliis imminutum censi debeat. Quartum locum tenebunt Archiepiscopi, juxta suae ad Archiepiscopatum promotionis ordinem; quintum Episcopi, pariter juxta ordinem promotionis suae; sextum Abbates Nullius Dioecesis; septimum Abbates Generales, aliique Generales Moderatores Ordinum Religiosorum, in quibus solemnia vota nuncupantur, etiamsi Vicarii Generalis titulo appellentur, dum tamen re ipsa cum omnibus supremi moderatoris juribus et privilegiis, universo suo Ordini legitime praesunt.

Ceterum ex superiorum Conciliorum disciplina institutoque decernimus, quod, si forte contigerit, aliquos debito in loco non sedere, et sententias etiam sub verbo *placet* proferre, Congregationibus interesse, et alios quoscumque actus facere, Concilio durante, nulli propterea praejudicium generetur, nullique novum ius acquiratur.<sup>1</sup>

#### V. De *Judicibus excusationum et querelarum.*

Quo graviorum rerum pertractatio, quae in hac sacrosanta Synodo agi gerive debent, minus quam fieri possit, impediatur, aut retardetur ob cognitionem causarum, quae singulos respiciunt: statuimus ut ipsa Synodus per schedulas secretas quinque ex Concilii Patribus eligat in *Judices excusationum*, quorum erit procuraciones et excusationes Praelatorum absentium, necnon eorum postulata, qui, Concilio nondum dimisso, iustam discedendi causam se habere putaverint, excipere, atque ad normam conciliaris disciplinae et SS. Canonum expendere: quod cum fecerint, non quidquam de hisce rebus decernent, sed de omnibus ad Congregationem generalem ordine referent. Praeterea statuimus, ut eadem Synodus pariter per schedulas secretas, alios quinque ex Patribus eligat, in *Judices querelarum et controversiarum*.

<sup>1</sup> Conc. Trid. Sess. 2 Decret. *De modo. viv.* §. *Insuper.*

Hi porro controversias omnes circa ordinem sedendi, vel ius praecedendi, aliasque, si quae forte inter congregatos oriantur, iudicio summario atque *oeconomice*, ut aiunt, ita componere studebunt, ut nulli praepjudicium inferatur: et quatenus componere nequeant, eas Congregationis generalis auctoritati subiicient.

## VI. De officialibus Concilii.

Quod vero et illud magni refert, ut necessarii ac idonei ministri et officiales, iuxta conciliarem consuetudinem et disciplinam, omnibus in hac Synodo actibus rite et legitime perficiendis designentur, Nos hujusmodi ministeriorum rationem habentes, infrascriptos viros ad ea deligimus et nominamus, scilicet:

1. Generales Concilii custodes, dilectos filios Joannem Columna et Dominicum Orsini Romanos Principes Pontifico Nostro solio Adsistentes.

2. Concilii Secretarium, Venerabilem Fratrem Josephum Episcopum S. Hippolyti, eique adiicimus cum officio et titulo Subsecretarii, dilectum filium Ludovicum Jacobini e Nostreis et huius Apostolicae Sedis Protonotariis, nec non adjutores, dilectos filios Canonicos Camillum Santori et Angelum Jacobini.

3. Concilii Notarios, dilectos filios Lucam Pacifici, Aloisium Colombo, Joannem Simeoni, Aloisium Pericoli, et Dominicum Bartolini Nostros et huius Apostolicae Sedis Protonotarios, eisque adjungimus dilectos filios Salvatorem Pallottini et Franciscum Santi Advocatos; qui Notariis eisdem adjutricem operam navent.

4. Scrutatores Suffragiorum, dilectos filios Aloisium Serafini et Franciscum Nardi causarum Palatii Nostri Apostolici Auditores; Aloisium Pellegrini et Leonardum Dialecti Nostrae Camerae Apostolicae Clericos; Carolum Cristofori et Alexandrum Montani Signaturae Justitiae votantes; Fridericum de Falloux du Coudray Nostrae Cancellariae Apostolicae Regentem, et Laurentium Nina abbreviatorem ex maiori Parco. Hi autem octo scrutatores in quatuor distincta paria distributi, ita ad excipienda suffragia procedent, ut bina paria unum Conciliaris Aulae latus, totidemque alterum obeant, ac praeterea singula paria singulos ex Notariis secum habere debebunt, dum in munere fungendo versantur.

5. Promotores Concilii, dilectos filios Joannem Baptistam de Dominicis-Tosti, et Philippum Ralli S. Consistorii Advocatos.

6. Magistros Caeremoniarum Concilii, dilectos filios Aloisium Ferrari Antistitem Nostrum domesticum Praefectum, et Pium Martinucci, Camillum Balestra, Remigium Ricci,



Josephum Romagnoli, Petrum Josephum Rinaldi-Bucci, Antonium Cataldi, Alexandrum Tortoli, Augustinum Accoramboni, Aloisium Sinistri, Franciscum Riggi, Antonium Gattoni, Balthasarem Baccinetti, Caesarem Togni, Rochum Massi, Nostros, et huius Apostolicae Sedis Caeremoniarios.

7. Assignatores locorum, dilectos filios Henricum Folchi Praefectum, ac Aloisium Naselli, Edmundum Stonor, Paulum Bastide, Aloisium Pallotti intimos Nostros Cubicularios, et dilectos filios Scipionem Perilli, Gustavum Gallot, Franciscum Regnani, Nicolaum Vorsak, et Philippum Silvestri Cubicularios Nostros honorarios.

### *VII. De Congregationibus generalibus Patrum.*

Ad ea modo curam convertentes, quae Congregationum generalium ordinem respiciunt statuimus ac decernimus ut iisdem Patrum Congregationibus, quae publicis sessionibus praemittuntur quinque ex VV. FF. NN. S. R. E. Cardinalibus Nostro Nomine et Auctoritate praesint, et ad hoc munus eligimus et nominamus, Venerabilem Fratrem Nostrum Carolum S. R. E. Cardinalem Episcopum Sabinensem De Reisach nuncupatum, dilectos filios Nostros S. R. E. Presbyteros Cardinales Antoninum titulo SS. Quatuor Coronatorum De Luca nuncupatum, Josephum Andream titulo S. Hieronymi Illyricorum Bizzarri nuncupatum, Aloisium titulo S. Laurentii in Panisperna Bilio nuncupatum, et dilectum filium Nostrum Hannibalem S. R. E. Cardinalem Diaconum S. Mariae in Aquiro Capalti nuncupatum.

Hi autem Praesides, praeter alia, quae ad aptam horum Conventuum moderationem spectant, curabunt ut in rebus pertractandis initium fiat a disceptatione eorum, quae ad fidem pertinent; deinde integrum ipsis erit consultationes in fidei vel disciplinae capita conferre, prout opportunum iudicaverint.

Cum vero Nos, iam inde a tempore, quo Apostolicas Litteras ad hoc Concilium indicendum dedimus, Viros Theologos et ecclesiastici juris Consultos, ex variis Catholici orbis regionibus in hanc almam Urbem Nostram evocandos curaverimus, ut una cum aliis huius Urbis, et earumdem disciplinarum peritis viris, rebus apparandis darent operam, quae ad huius generalis Synodi scopum pertinent, atque ita expeditior via in rerum tractatione Patribus patere posset; hinc volumus et mandamus, ut *schemata* decretorum et canonum ab iisdem viris expressa et redacta, quae Nos, nulla Nostra approbatione munita, integra integre Patrum cognitioni reservavimus, iisdem Patribus in Congregationem generalem collectis ad

examen et iudicium subiiciantur. Itaque, curantibus memoratis Praesidibus, aliquot ante dies quam Congregatio generalis habeatur, decretorum et canonum schemata, de quibus in Congregatione indicta agendum erit, typis impressa singulis Patribus distribuentur, quo interim illa diligenti consideratione in omnem partem expendant, et quid sibi sententiae esse debeat accurate pervideant. Si quis Patrum de schemate proposito sermonem in Congregatione ipsa habere voluerit, ad debitum inter oratores ordinem pro cuiusque dignitatis gradu servandum, opus erit, ut saltem pridie diei Congregationis ipsius, Praesidibus suum disserendi propositum significandum curet. Auditis autem istorum Patrum sermonibus, si alii etiam post eos in conventu ipso disserere voluerint, hoc iisdem fas erit, obtenta prius a Praesidibus dicendi venia, et eo ordine, quem dicentium dignitas postulaverit.

Iamvero si in ea quae habetur Congregatione exhibitum schema vel nullas, vel nonnisi leves difficultates in ipso congressu facile expediendas obtulerit, tunc nihil morae erit, quominus, disceptationibus compositis, decreti vel canonis Conciliaris, de quo agitur, formula, rogatis Patrum suffragiis statuatur. Sin autem circa schema praedictum huiusmodi oriantur difficultates, ut, sententiis in contraria conversis, via non suppetat, qua in ipso conventu componi possint, tum ea ratio ineunda erit, quam heic infra statuimus, ut stabili et opportuno modo huic rei provideatur. Volumus itaque, ut ab ipso Concilii exordio quatuor speciales ac distinctae Patrum Congregationes seu *Deputationes* instituantur, quarum prima de rebus ad fidem pertinentibus, altera de rebus disciplinae ecclesiasticae, tertia de rebus Ordinum Regularium, quarta demum de rebus ritus Orientalis, Concilio perdurante, cognoscere et tractare debebit. Quaevis ex praedictis Congregationibus seu Deputationibus numero Patrum quatuor et viginti constabit, qui a Concilii Patribus per schedulas secretas eligentur. Unicuique ex iisdem Congregationibus seu Deputationibus praeerit unus ex VV. FF. NN. S. R. E. Cardinalibus a Nobis designandus, qui ex Conciliaribus Theologis vel Iuris Canonici peritis, unum aut plures in commodum suae Congregationis seu Deputationis adsciscet, atque ex iis unum constituet, qui Secretarii munere eidem Congregationi seu Deputationi operam navet. Igitur si illud contigerit, quod supra innuimus ut nimirum in generali Congregatione quaestio de proposito schemate exorta dirimi non potuerit, tum Cardinales ejusdem generalis Congregationis Praesides curabunt ut schema, de quo agitur, una cum objectis difficultatibus examini subiiciatur illius ex specialibus Deputationibus, ad quam, juxta assignata cuique rerum tractandarum genera



pertinere intelligitur. Quae in hac peculiari Deputatione deliberata fuerint, eorum relatio typis edita Patribus diribenda erit, juxta methodum a Nobis superius praescriptam, ut deinde in proxima Congregatione generali, si nihil amplius obstiterit, rogatis Patrum suffragiis, decreti vel canonis Conciliaris formula condatur. Suffragia autem a Patribus oretenus edentur, ita tamen, ut ipsis integrum sit etiam de scripto illa pronuntiare.

### VIII. De Sessionibus Publicis.

Publicarum nunc Sessionum celebratio exigit, ut rebus et actionibus in ea rite dirigendis, congrua ratione consulamus. Itaque in unaquaque publica Sessione, considentibus suo loco et ordine Patribus, servatisque adamussim caeremoniis, quae in rituali instructione iisdem Patribus de mandato Nostro tradenda continentur, de suggestu decretorum et canonum formulae in superioribus Congregationibus generalibus conditae, voce sublata et clara iussu Nostro recitabuntur, eo ordine, ut primum canones de dogmatibus Fidei, deinde decreta de disciplina pronuncientur, et ea adhibita solemni tituli praefatione, qua Praedecessores Nostri in ejusmodi Conciliari actione uti consueverunt, nempe: *Pius Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei, sacro approbante Concilio, ad perpetuam rei memoriam.* Tunc vero rogabuntur Patres, an placeant canones et decreta perlecta; ac statim procedent scrutatores suffragiorum, iuxta methodum superius constitutam, ad suffragia singillatim et ordine excipienda, eaque accurate describent. Hac autem in re declaramus suffragia pronunciari debere in haec verba, *placet aut non placet*: ac simul edicimus, minime fas esse a Sessione absentibus quavis de causa, suffragium suum scripto consignatum ad Concilium mittere. Iamvero suffragiis collectis, Concilii Secretarius una cum supradictis scrutatoribus penes Pontificalem Nostram Cathedram, iis accurate dirimendis ac numerandis operam dabunt, ac de ipsis ad Nos referent: Nos deinde supremam Nostram sententiam edicemus, eamque enunciari et promulgari mandabimus, hac adhibita solemni formula: "*Decreta modo lecta placuerunt omnibus Patribus, nemine dissentiente*; vel (si qui forte dissenserint) *tot numero exceptis*; Nosque, sacro approbante Concilio, illa ita decernimus statuimus atque sancimus, ut lecta sunt." Hisce autem omnibus expletis, erit Promotorum Concilii rogare Protonotarios praesentes, ut de omnibus et singulis in Sessione peractis, unum vel plura, instrumentum vel instrumenta conficiantur. Denique die proximae Sessionis de mandato Nostro indicta, Sessionis conventus dimittetur.

*IX. De non discedendo a Concilio.*

Universis porro Concilii Patribus, aliisque qui eidem interesse debent praecipimus sub poenis per SS. Canones indictis, ut ne quis eorum, antequam Sacrosanctum hoc generale et oecumenicum Concilium Vaticanum rite absolutum et a Nobis dimissum sit, discedat, nisi discessionis causa iuxta normam superius definitam cognita et probata fuerit, ac impetrata a Nobis abeundi facultas.

*X. Indultum Apostolicum de non residentia pro iis qui Concilio intersunt.*

Cum ii omnes qui Conciliaribus actionibus interesse tenentur, ea in re universali Ecclesiae deserviant; Praedecessorum Nostrorum etiam exemplum sequuti<sup>1</sup> Apostolica benignitate indulgemus, ut tum Praesules alique suffragii ius in hoc Concilio habentes, tum ceteri omnes eidem Concilio operam quovis titulo impendentes, suorum beneficiorum fructus, redditus, proventus ac distributiones quotidianas percipere possint iis tantum distributionibus exceptis, quae *inter praesentes* fieri dicuntur; idque concedimus Synodo perdurante, et donec quisque eidem adsit aut inserviat.

Haec volumus atque mandamus, decernentes has Nostras Litteras et in eis contenta quaecumque, in proximo sacrosancto generali et oecumenico Concilio Vaticano, ab omnibus et singulis ad quos spectat, respective et inviolabiliter observari debere. Non obstantibus, quamvis speciali atque individua mentione ac derogatione dignis, in contrarium facientibus quibuscumque.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub Annulo Piscatoris, die XXVII., Novembris anno MDCCCLXIX, Pontificatus Nostri anno Vigesimo quarto. N. CARD. PARACCIANI-CLARELLI.

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II.—ALLOCUTION OF HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS IX. AT THE OPENING SESSION OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE VATICAN, 8TH DECEMBER, 1869.

## VENERABILES FRATRES,

Quod votis omnibus ac precibus ab Deo petebamus, ut Oecumenicum Concilium a Nobis indictum concelebrare possemus, id, insigni ac singulari Dei ipsius beneficio, datum

<sup>1</sup> Paulus III., Brev. 1 Januarii, 1546; Pius IV., Brev. 25 Nov., 1561.



Nobis esse summopere laetamur. Itaque exultat cor Nostrum in Domino et incredibili consolatione perfunditur, quod auspicatissimo hoc die Immaculatae Dei Genitricis Virginis Mariae Conceptioni sacro, Vos, qui in partem sollicitudinis Nostrae vocati estis, iterum maiori quam alias frequentia, in hac Catholicae Religionis arce praesentes intuemur, aspectuque Vestro perfruimur iucundissimo.

Vos autem nunc, Venerabiles Fratres, in nomine Christi congregati<sup>1</sup> adestis, ut Nobiscum testimonium perhibeatis Verbo Dei et testimonium Jesu Christi,<sup>2</sup> viamque Dei in veritate omnes homines Nobiscum doceatis,<sup>3</sup> et de oppositionibus falsi nominis scientiae,<sup>4</sup> Nobiscum Spiritu Sancto duce iudicetis.<sup>5</sup>

Si enim unquam alias, hoc maxime tempore, quo vere luxit, et defluxit terra infecta ab habitatoribus suis,<sup>6</sup> divinae gloriae zelus, et Dominici gregis salus a Nobis postulat, ut circumdémus Sion et complectamur eam, narremus in turribus eius, et ponamus corda Nostra in virtute ejus.<sup>7</sup>

Videtis enim, Venerabiles Fratres, quanto impetu antiquus humani generis hostis Domum Dei, quam decet sanctitudo aggressus sit et usque aggrediatur. Eo auctore funesta illa impiorum coniuratio late grassatur, quae coniunctione fortis, opibus potens, munita institutis, et velamen habens malitiae libertatem,<sup>8</sup> acerrimum adversus Sanctam Christi Ecclesiam bellum, omni scelere imbutum, urgere non desinit. Huius belli genus, vim, arma, progressus, consilia non ignoratis. Versatur Vobis continentér ante oculos, sanarum doctrinarum, quibus humanae res in suis quæque ordinibus, innituntur, perturbatio et confusio, luctuosa iuris cuiusque perversio, multiplices mentiendi audacter et corrumpendi artes, quibus iustitiae, honestatis, et auctoritatis salutaria vincula solvuntur, pessimae quaeque cupiditates inflammantur, Christiana Fides ab animis funditus convellitur, ita ut certum hoc tempore Ecclesiae Dei metuendum esset exitium, si ullis hominum machinationibus et conatibus exscindi posset. At nihil Ecclesia potentius, inquiebat Sanctus Joannes Chrysostomus, Ecclesia est ipso caelo fortior. Caelum et terra transibunt, verba autem mea non transibunt. Quae verba? Tu es Petrus, et super hanc Petram aedificabo Ecclesiam meam, et portae inferi non praevalerunt adversus eam.<sup>9</sup>

Quamquam vero Civitas Domini virtutum, Civitas Dei Nostri, inexpugnabili fundamento nitatur, tamen agnoscentes, ac intimo corde dolentes, tantam malorum congeriem ani-

<sup>1</sup> Matth. 18. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Apoc. 1. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Matth. 22. 61.

<sup>4</sup> 1. Tim. 6. 20.

<sup>5</sup> Act. Apost. 15. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Isai. 24. 4. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Psalm. 47. 11. 12.

<sup>8</sup> 1. Petr. 2. 16.

<sup>9</sup> Homil. ante. cxli. n. 1.

marumque ruinam, ad quam avertendam vel vitam ponere parati essemus, Nos qui aeterni Pastoris Vicaria in Terris procuratione fungentes, zelo domus Dei prae caeteris incendamur necesse est, eam viam et rationem ineundam Nobis esse duximus, quae ad tot Ecclesiae detrimenta sarcienda utilior et opportunior videretur. Ac illud Isaiae saepe animo revolventes: ini consilium, coge concilium; et reputantes huiusmodi remedium in gravissimis rei Christianae temporibus, a Praedecessoribus Nostris salutariter esse usurpatum, post diuturnas preces, post collata cum Venerabilibus Fratribus Nostris Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalibus consilia, post expetita etiam plurium Sacrorum Antistitum suffragia, Vos, Venerabiles Fratres, qui estis sal terrae, Custodes Dominici Gregis et Pastores, apud hanc Petri Cathedram censuimus evocandos; atque hodie, divina benignitate favente, quae tantae rei impedimenta sustulit, sanctae Congregationis initia, solemnibus majorum ritu celebramus. Tot autem sunt, tamque uberes caritatis sensus, quibus hoc tempore afficimur, Venerabiles Fratres, ut eos in sinu continere non valeamus. Videmur enim in Vestro Conspectu universam Catholicæ gentis familiam, carissimos Nobis Filios praesentes intueri; cogitamus tot amoris pignora, tot ferventis animi opera, quibus Vestro impulsu, ductu et exemplo suam pietatem et observantiam Nobis et huic Apostolicæ Sedi mirifice probarunt, ac porro probant; atque hac cogitatione Nobis temperare non possumus, quin in Vestro amplissimo coetu, Nostram erga eos omnes gratissimam voluntatem, solemnibus et publica significatione profitentes, Deum enixe adprecemur, ut probatio eorum fidei multo pretiosior auro, inveniatur in laudem et gloriam et honorem, in revelatione Iesu Christi. Miseram deinde etiam tot hominum conditionem cogitamus, qui a via veritatis et justitiæ, ideoque se verae felicitatis decepti aberrant, eorumque saluti opem afferre desiderio desideramus, memores Divini Redemptoris et Magistri Nostri Iesu, qui venit quaerere et salvum facere quod perierat. Intendimus praeterea oculos in hoc Principis Apostolorum Trophaeum apud quod consistimus, in hanc almam Urbem quae Dei munere tradita non fuit in direptionem gentium, in Romanum hunc Populum Nobis dilectissimum, cuius constanti amore, fide, obsequio, circumdamur, atque ad Dei benignitatem extollendam vocamur, qui divini sui praesidii spem in Nobis hoc tempore, magis magisque fulcire et confirmare voluerit. At praecipue Vos cogitatione complectimur, Venerabiles Fratres, in quorum sol-

<sup>1</sup> I Petr. 1. 7.<sup>2</sup> Joan. 17. 19.



licitudine, zelo, et concordia, magnum momentum ad Dei gloriam operandam positum nunc esse intelligimus; agnoscimus flagrans studium, quod ad Vestrum munus implendum attulistis, ac praesertim praeclaram et arctissimam illam Vestrum omnium, cum Nobis et hac Apostolica Sede coniunctionem, qua, ut semper alias in maximis Nostris acerbitatibus, ita potissimum hoc tempore nihil Nobis iucundius, nihil Ecclesiae utilius esse potest; ac vehementer gaudemus in Domino, Vos ita esse animo comparatos, ut ad certam solidamque spem uberrimorum fructuum et maxime optabilium, ex Synodali hac vestra coitione, concipiendam impellamur. Ut nullum fortasse aliud infestius et callidius bellum in Christi Regnum exarsit, sic nullum fuit tempus in quo magis Sacerdotum Domini cum Supremo Gregis Eius Pastore unio, a qua in Ecclesiam mira vis manat, postularetur; quae quidem unio, singulari divinae providentiae munere, et spectata virtute Vestra ita iugiter reipsa constitit, ut spectaculum facta sit, et futuram magis confidamus in dies, mundo et angelis et hominibus.

Agite igitur, Venerabiles Fratres, confortamini in Domino, ac in nomine ipsius Trinitatis Augustae, sanctificati in veritate, induti arma lucis, docete Nobiscum viam, veritatem et vitam, ad quam tot agitata aerumnis gens humana iam non adspirare non potest; date Nobiscum operam, ut pax regnis, lex barbaris, monasteriis quies, Ecclesiis ordo, clericis disciplina, Deo populus acceptabilis restitui possit.<sup>1</sup> Stat Deus in loco sancto suo, Nostris interest consiliis et actibus suos Ipse ministros et adiutores in tam eximio misericordiae suae opere Nos adlegit, atque huic ministerio ita Nos inservire oportet, ut Illi unice hoc tempore mentes, corda, vires consecremus.

Sed nostrae infirmitatis conscii, Nostris diffisi viribus, ad Te levamus cum fiducia oculos, precesque convertimus, o Divine Spiritus. Tu fons verae lucis et sapientiae divinae, Tuae gratiae lumen praefer mentibus Nostris, ut ea quae salutaria, quae optima sunt videamus; corda rege, fove, dirige ut huius Concilii actiones rite inchoentur, prospere promoveantur, salubriter perficiantur.

Tu vero, Mater pulchrae dilectionis, agnitionis et sanctae spei, Ecclesiae Regina et propugnatrix, Tu Nos, consultationes, labores Nostros in Tuam maternam fidem tutelamque recipias, ac Tuis age apud Deum precibus, ut in uno semper spiritu maneamus et corde.

Vos quoque Nostris adeste votis, Angeli et Archangeli, Tuque Apostolorum Princeps, Beatissime Petre, Tuque Coapostole Eius Paulle, doctor gentium, et praedicator

<sup>1</sup> S. Bernard. de Cons. l. 4. c. 4.

veritatis in universo mundo, Vosque omnes Sancti caelites, et praecipue quorum cineres hic veneramur, potenti Vos deprecatione efficite, ut omnes, ministerium nostrum fideliter implentes, suscipiamus misericordiam Dei in medio Templi Eius, Cui honor et gloria in saecula saeculorum.

### III.—DECREE CONCERNING THE CONDEMNATION OF THE FENIAN SOCIETY.

#### DECRETUM

FERIAE IV DIE 12 IANUARIJ 1870.

Cum dubitatum fuerit a nonnullis, an societas Fenianorum comprehensa censeatur inter Societates damnatas in Pontificiis Constitutionibus, Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Pius Divina Providentia Papa IX. exquisito prius suffragio Eminentissimorum Patrum Cardinalium contra haereticam pravitatem in universa christiana Republica Inquisitorum generalium, ne fidelium, praesertim simplicium, corda cum evidenti animae discrimine pervertantur, inhaerens decretis alias a S. Congregatione Universalis Inquisitionis in similibus editis, praesertim decreto fer. IV. die 5. Iulij 1865 decrevit ac declaravit, Societatem Americanam seu Hibernicam Fenianorum appellatam comprehendi inter societates vetitas ac damnatas in Constitutionibus Summorum Pontificum et praesertim in nuperrima Ejusdem Santitatis Suae edita quarto Idus Octobris 1869: Incip.: "*Apostolicae Sedis*" qua sub num. 4. Excommunicationi latae Sententiae Romano Pontifici reservatae obnoxii declarantur "Nomen dantes sectae Massonicae aut Carbonariae aut aliis ejusdem generis sectis quae contra Ecclesiam vel legitimas potestates seu palam seu clandestine machinantur; necnon iisdem sectis favorem qualemcumque praestantes; earumve occultos coriphaeos ac duces non denunciantes, donec non denunciaverint." Atque ita Episcopis quibuscumque petentibus responderi mandavit.

Locus ✠ Sigilli PRO D. ANGELO ARGENTI

*S. Rom. Et Univ. Inquis. Notario.*

JACOBUS VOGAGGINI *Substitutus.*



# MONASTICON HIBERNICUM;

OR,

## A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE ANCIENT MONASTERIES OF IRELAND.

[N.B.—The text of the “Monasticon” is taken *verbatim* from Archdall: the notes marked with numbers are added by the Editors.]

### COUNTY OF CARLOW.

A.D. 1315. Adam was prior.<sup>y</sup>

1320. The bridge of Leighlin was built by Maurice Jakis, a canon of the cathedral of Kildare, who also built the bridge of Kilcullen.<sup>z</sup>

1371. King Edward III., on the 3rd of December, granted to the prior the sum of ten marks yearly, for the repairing and rebuilding their house;<sup>a</sup> this grant was renewed to them six years afterwards.<sup>b</sup>

1375. Alan was prior.<sup>c</sup>

1378. King Richard II., in consideration of the great labour, burden, and expence which the priors of this monastery have,

<sup>y</sup>*King*, p. 138. <sup>z</sup>*Ware's Ann.* <sup>a</sup>*Harris Col. v. 3.* <sup>b</sup>*King*, p. 249. <sup>c</sup>*Id.*

(Continuation of Note 10, from page 200.)

two miles due east of Old Leighlin, of which it commands a clear view. The river formerly ran at its very base, and it was to the right of the road (which crossed the Barrow at Leighlin-bridge) leading from Old Leighlin to Carlow. All this fully corresponds with the data laid down in early records regarding Dinnrigh. The palace of the first monarchs of Ireland was situated here. (See the “Book of Rights,” p. 15, 16). Its destruction is said to have taken place some centuries before the Christian era. The following account of this place is from O’Flaherty’s “Ogygia,” vol. ii., p. 16: “The Beigi were the first who instituted a kingly government in Ireland, the five brothers having entered into a compact to reign alternately. Slangy was proclaimed the first monarch of Ireland. At the expiration of one year he was interred at *Dumhaslaigne*, in Leinster, now Denrigia, on the banks of the Barrow, between Carlow and Leighlin (*i.e.*, O’Leighlin).” He adds (*Ibid*, p. 137): that Laurud the grandson of King Laogar Lore, being banished into Gaul, “in a few years after brought a great number of strangers in a large fleet (for which reason he got the epithet *naval*) into the harbour of Wexford. Afterwards he rushed into the palace of Cobthach, at Dinrigia, near the River Barrow, and put the king, with thirty of the nobility, to the sword, and laid the entire palace in ashes.” See also on this very ancient site the “Fragments of Irish Annals,” published by O’Donovan, for I.A.S., in 1860, p. 38.

and do sustain, in supporting their house, and the bridge contiguous thereto, against the King's enemies, he did, on the 13th March, grant to the priors thereof an annual pension of 20 marcs out of the rents of the town of Newcastle of Lyons; this grant was again confirmed by the King, February the 20th, 1394. King Henry IV. did also confirm the said grant in the first year of his reign, and the succeeding King Henry in his first year did further confirm the same, and ordered that all the arrears then due should be discharged.<sup>d</sup>

By mistake, this monastery has been given to the Franciscan, or Gray Friars, but it certainly did belong to the Carmelites, or White Friars.<sup>e</sup>

On the suppression of religious houses this monastery was converted into a fort, wherein a regular garrison was kept.<sup>f</sup>

William was the last prior, and by an inquisition taken on the Friday next after the feast of the conception of the Blessed Virgin, 34th King Henry VIII., the said William was found seized of a church and belfery, dormitory, hall, two chambers and a kitchen, with a cemetery and a garden containing one acre; also twenty-four acres of pasture, and an eel-wier in Leighlin, annual value, besides reprises, 46s. 8d. An inquisition, 3rd King Edward VI., finds, that the prior was also seized of four acres of arable land near Clowe's orchard, in this county, annual value, besides reprises, 16d.—(*Chief Remembrancer*).

St. Mullin's,<sup>g</sup> a small village on the river Barrow, which gives name to the barony.

<sup>d</sup>King, p. 249. <sup>e</sup>War. Mon. <sup>f</sup>Hooker's Notes on Gir. Cambr. Conquest of Ireland, liber 2, ch. 23. <sup>g</sup>Was called anciently Aghacainid, and afterwards Teghmoling.

<sup>11</sup> This town was formerly called Teach-Moling, but in much earlier times was known as *Achadh Cainidh*. The present remains of St. Moling's Monastery there, consist of four ruined churches or houses, with the pedestal and two fragments of a stone cross. A small stream running into the Barrow is still called St. Moling's stream. There is also St. Moling's Well. 18th June is St. Moling's feast day, and was observed here as the patron day. Another patron day observed here, was 25th July, St. James's feast, "who is popularly believed to have built the first religious house here." (*Ordnance Survey*.)

The following passage from St. Molyng's Ancient Life, preserved in the *Liber Kilkenniensis*, at Marsh's Library, refers to the foundation of this monastery: St. Molyng being instructed in the Holy Scriptures, and being promoted to the Episcopal grade, "taking with him a few disciples, proceeded to a place which was formerly called *Achadh Cainnyd*, but is now called *Tech-Molyng*, which place is in the western district of the country of the Hy-Kinnselagh, on the banks of the Barrow, over against the country of Ossory, and he began to lead there a holy life. And he built his Monastery between the aforesaid river Barrow and a small rivulet, on an elevated spot. And he constructed for himself alone a small cell apart, lower down on the bank of the river, in which he devoted himself wholly to prayer, but one of the religious was wont to come to him at certain



St. Moling, who was born in Hy Kensellach, founded an abbey here ; he was made Bishop of Ferns in the year 632, and died on the 17th of June in 697 ; he was buried in his own monastery.<sup>h</sup>

This abbey was plundered A.D. 951, and was destroyed by fire in 1738.<sup>i</sup>

The regular canons following the rule of St. Augustin, obtained a settlement here, the ruins of which yet remain ; it was the burial place of the Cavenaghs, Kings of Leinster, and still continues the place of interment of the descendants of that family.

*Tullagh*,<sup>k 12</sup> a village in the barony of Ravilly, on the river Slaney.

In the 6th year of the reign of King Edward II. Simon Lumbard and Hugh Tallon, granted to the Eremites following the rule of St. Augustin an house and three acres of land in the village of St. John, near Tullagh.<sup>l</sup>

John de Kell was prior in 1331, when King Edward III. confirmed the grant that was made by Lumbard and Tallon.<sup>m</sup>

On the 13th of December, 1557, Queen Elizabeth granted this monastery to Thomas Earl of Ormond.<sup>n</sup>

<sup>h</sup>*Act. SS. p. 223 War. vol. 1. p. 437.* <sup>i</sup>*Tr. Th. p. 634.* <sup>k</sup>*Called anciently Tullofelm.* <sup>l</sup>*King p. 423.* <sup>m</sup>*Id.* <sup>n</sup>*Lodge, vol. 2, page 23.*

hours, and at intervals the man of God visited the brethren. And in this place there is now a splendid city in honour of the most holy Molyng, which from his small cell is called Teach-Molyng, *i.e.* the House of St. Molyng." One miracle from the same life will suffice to give some idea of the piety of this holy man. When he had obtained from the King of the Hy-Niall that the Borumha tribute should be remitted, and was returning to his cell, it is added "the King in anger sent the army in pursuit of Molyng to slay him and his people, the holy Senior Molyng knowing this, bade his own people to proceed on their way with greater speed, and praying to the Lord. And he himself began a sacred poem in the Irish language, in which he named many saints, praying to them and singing their praises, commencing with virginity, and ending in like manner with a virgin, that is, first mentioning the most blessed Virgin Bridgid, and at the end celebrating Mary the Mother of God. And when the saint had finished his canticle, he and his people were almost overtaken by his pursuers. Whilst now the companions of Molyng were almost in despair of escaping in safety, but he himself was confiding in Christ, a bright cloud, sent by God from heaven descended between the saint and his pursuers, so that they could no longer see or pursue the saint of God."

<sup>12</sup> Tullow was anciently called Tulowphelim, *Tulac na bh-Feidhlimidh, i.e.* "The Hill or Mound of the Hy-Feidhlimidh," and probably took its name from the rocky hill in the immediate vicinity of the town, now called *Tullow Hill*. Near Tullow we still find a townland and burial place, called Templeowen, *i.e.* *St. John's Church*, where it is probable the Monastery of St. John was situated. No part of the walls of the Augustinian Abbey now remain, but in the graveyard a rude stone cross is lying prostrate on the ground. In the addition to Gough's Camden, it is said regarding Tullow, that "at the foot of the bridge of six arches are the ruins of a house of Austin Eremites, founded temp. Edward the 2nd." There is in Tullow a holy well called Our Lady's Well ; the pattern used to be

held on the 8th September. In the adjoining Tankardstown townland are the ruins of an old church called Templemoreneen—Teampull a Moinen.

The most remarkable religious site however in the neighbourhood of Tullow is *Clonmore*, formerly known as *Clonmore-Maedhog*. There now remain but few traces of this once famous Monastery. *Tubber Mogue*, or St. Maedhoc's Well, is at a short distance from the modern church, and by the side of the well is the shaft of a very old granite cross. The burial ground is separated from the modern church by the road, and is one of the most ancient in Ireland. It was once marked by a venerable cross, the stone socket of which, and many fragments, still remain, and it is the tradition that this cross was destroyed by the Cromwellian soldiers in 1650. Archdall speaks of Clonmore Monastery as belonging to the County Wexford. The Clonmore of Wexford however was known to our early writers as *Clonmore-Duholla-Gairbich*, whilst the Clonmore of which we speak, situated in the barony of Rathvilly, was called *Clonmore Maedhog*. The St. Maedoc who founded the former Monastery, was Patron of Ferns, and his feast is kept on the 4th of January; but the saint of the same name who founded *Clonmore-Maedhog* was honoured on the 11th of April. It was whilst the latter St. Maidoc ruled this monastery, that St. Onchuo, known in our Annals by the epithet "the son of the poet," visited Clonmore-Maedhog, on the pilgrimage which he had undertaken to collect the relics of all the saints of Ireland. St. Maidoc prophetically announced to him that all the relics which he had collected should, together with his own remains, enrich that monastery. Colgan adds that the prophecy was not without effect, for that most precious treasure of the relics of the saints of Ireland, placed in a rich shrine, was afterwards deposited in the Cemetery of Clonmore, which thence was called *the Angelic Cemetery*, and in the same place were interred the remains of St. Onchuo, and of St. Finan, the leper, together with the body of St. Maidoc. *Acta SS.* at 8th February. As St. Onchuo flourished about the middle of the 6th century, and our St. Maidoc was the contemporary of Aodh, son of Ainmere, Monarch of Ireland, who flourished about the year 568, we may safely conclude that this monastery was enriched with its spiritual treasure. Before the close of the 6th century, Colgan quotes a passage from the Invocation of Saints, in the old *Book of Clonenagh*, as follows:—"I invoke to my aid the ten thousand one hundred and twenty-nine priests who rest at Clonmore, with St. Maedhog, and the son of the poet." (*Ib.* page 272.) This evidently refers to the number of saints whose relics had been deposited in the Cemetery of St. Maedhog. A metrical tract which bears the name of St. Moling gives some further details regarding the spot where these precious remains were deposited. "Venerable are the two whose bodies rest near the cross on the south side; St. Onchuo, who cherished no affection for this transitory world, and St. Finan, the leper, earnest in the performance of good works. The son of the poet (*i.e.* Onchuo), was a man powerful in words, a great and unconquerable poet; where the tree falls thence should not its leaves or branches be carried away." (*Colgan loc. cit.* p. 277.) St. Onchuo belonged to another monastery, but happening to die at Clonmore, it was meet that monastery should be enriched with the treasure of his remains; the pedestal of the cross, which still may be seen in the cemetery, probably marks the spot where the venerable relics were deposited. The scholiast on the poem just quoted adds—"The members or bones of Finan, the leper, and of Onchuo lie together in Clonmore." St. Aengus in his *Felire*, at the 8th February, styles St. Onchuo "the poet's son, whose discourse was always on Christ;" and the scholiast again adds—"this is Onchuo, the poet, a native of Connaught, who composed elegant and devout poems in every metre, but always treating of the divine praises." In the Martyrology of Tallaght, on the same day we find "the poet's son, who gathered together the relics of the saints." In the Calendar of Cashel he is called "The Holy Onchuo, the illustrious poet from Connaught, whose remains repose in Clonmore, in Leinster," and Marianus O'Gorman in his Martyrology, thus commemorates him, "Onchuo, the son of the poet sprung from Connaught; it was he who collected very numerous relics (*plurimas reliquias*) of the saints of Ireland, at Clonmore, the Monastery of St. Moedhog."



## COUNTY OF CAVAN.

*Ballylinch*; there was an hospital here, but neither history nor tradition inform us who was the person that founded it, nor what were the endowments bestowed upon it: it underwent the fate of dissolution, though chargeable with no crime but that of being endowed. Even in the present age, when religious prejudices are no more, the plundering of so inoffensive a charity would be universally murmured at; a lease of it, for the term of 21 years, was granted by King James to Sir Edward Moore, ancestor to the Earl of Drogheda, at the yearly rent of three-pence; a reversion of the same, together with the hospitals of Dromloman and Mounterconaght, with other lands, was granted to him for 60 years, from the 23rd of April, 1605.<sup>o</sup>

*Cavan*<sup>1</sup> is a market town and borough, sending members to parliament, and gives name to the barony and county.

*Monastery of the Virgin Mary*; was founded in the year 1300, by Giolla-Jiosa-Ruadh, (*i.e.* the servant of Christ) O'Reilly, dynast of Breffny,<sup>p</sup> for friars of the order of St. Dominick<sup>q</sup>; but the same sept of the O'Reillys, about the year 1393, expelled the Dominicans, and gave the house to the conventual Franciscans<sup>r</sup>. 1468, This monastery, together with Bally-Reilly, O'Reilly's mansion seat, was burnt by the English under the Lord Dep. John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester<sup>r</sup>. The friars of the strict observance had reformed this monastery before the year 1499; and provincial chapters of the order were held here in the years 1521, 1539, and 1556<sup>t</sup>.

<sup>o</sup>Lodge, vol. 1., p. 316. <sup>p</sup>The ancient name of the County of Cavan. <sup>q</sup>War. mon. War. MSS., vol. 34., Harris tabl. <sup>r</sup>Burke, p. 281. <sup>r</sup>Annal. 4 Masters. <sup>s</sup>War. MSS. vol. 34. <sup>t</sup>*id.*

<sup>1</sup> The town of Cavan is situated in the ancient parish of *Urney*, and from a period of remote antiquity was the seat of the O'Reillys. The name *Urney* points to some great sanctuary which was frequented here, and the Franciscan Convent which was known by the name *Kea-due*, probably occupied the site of the ancient sanctuary. It is from this town that the county Cavan derives its name. In ancient times, as appears from Ptolemy, this district was occupied by the *Erdini*, in Irish, *Ernaighe*; and the river *Erne*, as also the lake *Erne* still retains the memory of this early people. The present county of Cavan was subsequently known as East or Upper Breffny, and sometimes, too, from the name of its chieftains, was called *Breffny-O'Reilly*. In Latin it was generally styled *Triburna*, *e. i.* "Tir Briuin", the land of the descendants of Bryan, King of Connaught. It holds a prominent place in the various wars of Ireland, and on account of its many natural fastnesses was one of the last districts of Ireland to lose the independence of its native possessors. At the time of the suppression of the religious houses, eight abbeys and priories were returned from this county. Scarcely a trace of their ruins can now be seen, and in some instances it is only conjecture that points to their former sites.

John, son of Cahal O'Reilly, reformed this friary in 1502.<sup>44</sup>

Owen O'Neile, the famous general of the Irish army, dying by poison, as some suppose, at Cloughoughter in this county, November the 16th, 1649, was buried in this abbey<sup>w</sup>; of which there are not now the least remains.

*Domnachmore*,<sup>2</sup> The festival of St. Erc of Domnachmore, in Maglughat<sup>x</sup>, is celebrated on the 27th of October<sup>xx</sup>. This place is totally unknown.

*Dromlomman*.—There was an hospital here, of which King James made a lease to Sir Edward Moore, at the rent of 2s. 6d.<sup>y</sup> See Ballylynch.

*Drumlane, or Drumlahan*.<sup>3</sup> in the barony of Belturbet.

<sup>44</sup>*Annal 4 Masters*. <sup>w</sup>*Carte, vol. 2., p. 83*. <sup>x</sup>*A territory in this county*. <sup>xx</sup>*Vard, p. 159*. <sup>y</sup>*Lodge, vol. 1., p. 316*.

<sup>2</sup> *Domnachmore*—In the martyrology of Donegal, on the 27th of October, we find the entry: "Earc, Bishop of Domhnach—Mor Maighe-Luadhat, in the north of Ui-Faelain. This may be Earc, bishop, son of Fergna, son of Folachta, who is of the race of Braesal Breac, from whom the O'Traighi are descended." In the Martyrology of St. Aengus he is called "*Erc of Domhnach-mor Mainech*," and the gloss adds: "*i. e. in Magh Luadhat in the north of Uibh Faclan*."

<sup>3</sup> *Drumlane* gives name to a parish in the north of the county of Cavan, formerly the head of a rural deanery and still remarkable for the ruins of its ancient church and round tower. St. Aidan, *i. e.* Moedoc of Ferns, is its patron, but his life speaks of the monastery of Drumlane as existing there before his birth (*Colgan, Acta SS., p. 208*). The O'Farrells were the hereditary *Comharbs* or successors of St. Mogue in this monastery and *Erenachs* of Drumlane till the suppression of religious houses in Henry the Eighth's reign. The following entries from our annals give all that is known regarding this monastery:

In 1025 Duibhinsi Faircheallaigh, *Abbot of Drumlane*, died, and another member of the same family; Conaing O'Fearcheallaigh *Airchinneach* of Drumlane, and Comharb of St. Maedoc, died in 1059.

In the year of Christ 1261, a great depredation was committed by Hugh O'Conor in Breffny, and he advanced to Drumlahan where a part of his army was defeated and many were slain.

In 1314 the O'Reilly's were defeated at Drumlahan by Rory, the son of Cathal O'Conor.

In 1343 John MacDuibhne, Archdeacon of Drumlahan died.

In 1368 Murray O'Farrelly, *Comharb* of St. Maedoc and Archdeacon of Breffny, died after a victory over the world and the Devil.

In 1391 Tiernan O'Rorke, with a small body of troops, repaired to Drumlahan to meet O'Reilly, and gained a victory there at *Belagh-na-Chrionaigh, i. e.* "the road of the withered trees."

In 1407 John, the son of Teige O'Rorke, heir to the lordship of Breffny, died in Moyling and was interred in Drumlane.

In 1418 Richard, the son of Thomas O'Reilly, Lord of East Breffny, was drowned in Lough Sheelin, and with him were also drowned his son Owen Reilly and Philip Mac Gilla-Isa, Deacon of Drumlane and Vicar of Eanachgarbh, and many other distinguished persons.

In 1484 John O'Farrelly, a canon of the family (*i. e.* monastery) of Drumlane, and Bryan O'Farrelly, a priest who had commenced building an anchorite's cell at the great church of Drumlane, died.

In 1490 the Canon MacTiernan of Drumlane died.

In 1512 Hugh O'Mael-Mocherige, *Comharb* of Drumlane, was drowned. This name *Mocherige* is translated by O'Donovan "Chief of the early rising"; it is now represented by O'Mulmogherry, and in some places has been changed into its English equivalent of "Early." For a drawing and many particulars connected with the Round Tower and old Church of Drumlane, see *Ulster Journal of Archaeol.*, vol. 5., pag. 116, segg.



There was here a celebrated monastery, which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary. It was founded before the year 550, in which year St. Maidoc was born<sup>z</sup>; to whom some have erroneously given this foundation.

Dubensius Hua Forchelluigh was abbot here, and died in the year 1025.<sup>a</sup>

In the 13th of Queen Elizabeth, this monastery was granted to Hugh O'Reilly of the Brenie, and head of his sept, for the term of 21 years, at the rent of £8 14s. 8d. Irish; by an inquisition taken in the 27th year of that Queen, Hugh appeared to be in arrear eleven years and an half.<sup>c</sup>

The church yard of this priory has been for many years a famous burial place, and there is a round tower remaining in it.

*Killachad.* An abbey was founded here for canons regular by St. Tigernach, a different person from the St. Tigernach of Clunes.<sup>d</sup>

A. D. 800. This monastery was destroyed by fire.<sup>e</sup>

805. St. Tigernach, the founder, died November 4th<sup>f</sup>.

St. Macerco of Killachad, his feast is celebrated on the 28th of November, but we cannot find the time when he flourished<sup>g</sup>.

826. Died the abbot Abner<sup>h</sup>.

843. The Danes of Dublin plundered this abbey, at which time Nuad, the son of Segene, one of the religious belonging to it, obtained the crown of martyrdom<sup>i</sup>.

844. Died Robhertach, or Robert, a scribe of this abbey<sup>k</sup>.

869. Died Dubthachus, another scribe<sup>l</sup>.

873. Died Robhertach O'Kearta, who was also a scribe.<sup>m</sup>

919. Died the abbot Cellach, the son of Congal<sup>n</sup>.

937. The Abbey was plundered this year,<sup>o</sup> and in two years after it suffered the same from Ceallachan, King of Cashel, accompanied by the Danes of Waterford<sup>p</sup>.

1030. Died Malodharius, the blind, the professor of divinity in this monastery<sup>q</sup>.

After the departure of King Henry II. from this kingdom, the English plundered this abbey and many other religious houses.<sup>r</sup>

*Kilmore*,<sup>s</sup> in the 6th century, St. Columb founded the

<sup>a</sup>Act. SS. p. 216, 222, 223. <sup>b</sup>id. p. 216. <sup>c</sup>King, p. 203. <sup>d</sup>Act. SS. p. 796. <sup>e</sup>Tr. Th. index. <sup>f</sup>Act. SS. p. 796. <sup>g</sup>Vard. Vita Rumoldi. <sup>h</sup>Annal. Ulton. <sup>i</sup>Act. SS. p. 373. <sup>j</sup>Tr. Th. p. 633. <sup>k</sup>Act. SS. p. 334. <sup>l</sup>Act. SS. p. 334. <sup>m</sup>id. <sup>n</sup>Tr. Th. p. 633. <sup>o</sup>Ann. Inisfal. <sup>p</sup>Tr. Th. p. 633. <sup>q</sup>Annal. Inisfal.

<sup>s</sup>Kilmore. The feast of St. Fedlimidh the patron of the see of Kilmore is celebrated on the 9th of August. Lynch in his MS. History of the Irish Bishops thus speaks of this Saint: "S. Fedhlimidus saeculo sexto Kilmorae floruit frater S. Dermicii Innis-clochranensis Abbatis: eum conjicio in Regesto Clochorensi Clu-

abbey of Cella magna deathreib; we hear no more of it as an abbey; it is now a bishop's see in the barony of Loughtee.<sup>a</sup>

*Lough Oughter*, in the barony of Loughtee.

About the festival of Christmas, in the year 1237<sup>b</sup>, or in 1249, Claros M'Moylin O'Moillchonry, archdeacon of Elphin, brought the white canons of the order of Premonstre from Trinity Island in Lough Kee, in the county of Roscommon, to Lough Oughter in the Brenie, Cathall O'Reilly making a grant of the ground<sup>c</sup>; the abbey was dedicated to the Holy Trinity.<sup>d</sup>

Queen Elizabeth, February 1st, 1570, granted the abbey, with all its possessions, to Hugh O'Reilly of the Brenie, head of his sept, for the term of 21 years, at the rent of fifty-five shillings and eight-pence, Irish money; but by an inquisition taken in the 27th of the same reign, the said Hugh was found to be eleven years and an half in arrear<sup>e</sup>.

*Mounterconaght*, in the barony of Castleraghen. There was an endowed hospital here; King James granted a lease of it, for the term of 21 years, to Sir Edward Moore, at the rent of fifteen-pence.<sup>f</sup> See Ballylinch.

<sup>a</sup>*Tr. Th. P.* 381. <sup>b</sup>*Annal. four masters.* <sup>c</sup>*M'Geog.* <sup>d</sup>*King, p.* 203. <sup>e</sup>*Lodge, vol. 1. p.* 316.

ainensem Episcopum dici, Cluainae nimirum illius ad Ernileum sitae quam nos Cluneis (*Clones*) dicimus ubi Fedhlimidus cum S. Tigernacho primo illius sedis-Episcopo sepultus esse traditur. Ejus obitum ad 9. Augusti Martyrologia nostra referunt." (fol. 191.) In the Martyrology of Donegal on the 9th of August we find the heading in Latin, "*Novemdecem Sancti Kilmorenses, quae Cathedralis Sedes est, uno die coluntur.*" and amongst these saints is registered "*Feidhlimidh of Kill-mor Dithruibh: Deidi, daughter of Trena, son of Dubhthach hua Lughair, was his mother.*" All this seems to make it sufficiently clear that the church which gave name to the see of Kilmore was known in early times as *Kilmore Dithruibh*. Dr. Reeves, indeed, in a note to the Martyrology of Donegal, at 8th of August, says that it is "a serious blunder" to identify Killmor-dithruibh with Kilmore in the County Cavan, and he refers to his notes on Adamnan, page 99, for the proofs of his assertion. All these proofs however are reduced to a mere conjecture of O'Donovan in *Annals of F. M.* page 328. Such conjecture when unsupported by any evidence can have no weight against the statement of our Martyrologies, and against the constant tradition of the see itself, which venerates its patron on the 9th of August. Colgan also in his note 108 to the Life of St. Columbkille expressly states that "*Kill-mor Dithruibh est sedes Episcopalis in regoine Breffniae, seu comitatu de Cavan.*" (*Tr. Th. p.* 381.)

The word *Dithruibh* is supposed to mean a wilderness or solitude, and this epithet was added to Kilmore to distinguish it from another church of the same name, which from its position on the river Shannon was called *Kilmore-na-Sinna* "Kilmore of the Shannon." The monastery of *Kilmore-Dithruibh* was one of those founded by St. Columbkille before his mission to Scotland, and mention is made by Adamnan of a miraculous manifestation which was there made to him (lib. i., cap. 50. Reeves's

(To be continued.)



# THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

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MARCH, 1870.

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TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

(Continued from p. 8.)

IN our October number we briefly reviewed in part the Rev. Mr. Mahaffy's article on Trinity College, Dublin, which had appeared in "MacMillan's Magazine" of the preceding month. We said that even from that gentleman's own statements, it is manifest how thoroughly unsatisfactory to Irish Catholics are the arrangements existing in Trinity College, inasmuch as the great mass of the students, nearly all the teachers, and all the authorities are Protestants.

We now proceed to consider how unsatisfactory is the education imparted by these Protestant teachers, how unfit for the use of Catholics; and we shall also see that the modifications suggested by Mr. Mahaffy, and, indeed, any modifications whatsoever, cannot make Trinity College satisfactory to Catholics as a place of education, or establish within its halls the great principle of educational equality, and still less make it a place where Catholic youth can obtain a thoroughly Catholic education.

How unsatisfactory to Catholics is the education given in Trinity College can be shown both *a priori*, and by its results.

The arguments which prove *a priori* that Trinity College is unsatisfactory to Catholics as a place of education, are of two kinds, negative and positive. And first, negative: most assuredly no system can be satisfactory which leaves education maimed of its best part, and would attempt to form the mind of youth without that agency which of all is the most powerful to mould man's noblest attributes. Now, a system which excludes all religion from the lecture halls is precisely such a system, and this is the system which, as far

as Catholics are concerned, exists in Trinity College, for, by excluding Catholicity, the only religious teaching admitted by Catholics is excluded.

Again, if the Catholic religion be identical with the Christian religion—and Catholics believe it is so—all the trophies of Christianity are trophies of the Catholic Church. It is most important that this truth should be impressed deeply in the minds of young Catholics of education, that it should be fully and clearly taught to them in all its bearings; it will not—it cannot be taught in Trinity College.

Again, a course of studies framed without reference to even one Catholic author of distinction in the vast range of the arts and sciences, cannot be, and is not, satisfactory to Catholics. Such a course, by its very list of authors, is calculated to mislead Catholic youth, by indirectly making them believe that in truth *their religion "enslaves the intellect and degrades the soul."* that, however true it may be dogmatically, it stops, or at any rate clogs that intellectual progress, and the attainment of that literary and scientific distinction which have so many attractions for youth. Among the authors put forward by Trinity College we look in vain for the names of Balmez, or Nicolas, or Donoso Cortes, or De Vico, or Secchi, or of our own O'Curry; in fact, for any name which might indicate to the student that all the glories of literature and science do not belong, to say the least, exclusively to Protestantism. Surely this is not the system under which Catholic parents would wish their sons to be trained; this is not the impression which they would wish to have, gradually, but most effectually, fixed on their children's minds at the age when youth is most susceptible of impressions for good or evil.

We now come to the positive objections of Catholics to existing educational arrangements in Trinity College, Dublin.

And first as to the teachers. We desire to say nothing but what is respectful of those gentlemen individually; but there are some three or four public and indisputable facts which, in the judgment of every impartial man, will show to demonstration that to the teaching of the staff in the Protestant University no thinking Catholic man can entrust his son without grave misgivings.

*First fact*—All the fellowships and tutorships, and—with the exception of one professorship, which is held for only three years—all the professorships, are held by Protestants. I am wrong: one of the professors is a Mahommedan.

*Second fact*—Among those teachers of youth are gentlemen who have called in doubt, or, at least, professed principles which tend to cast doubt on, truths which Catholics regard



as at the foundation of all revealed religion—the eternity of punishment in the other life, the inspiration of the whole Scriptures, &c.

*Third fact*—Twenty-four out of the thirty-five Fellows are Anglican clergymen; nay more, Mr. Mahaffy tells us that the dispensation of the rule which requires all the Fellows except three to receive Anglican orders, *is always granted with reluctance*, although of late *this privilege has been repeatedly extorted*; until within the last generation or so, *the rule was rigidly enforced*. Now all these clerical Fellows, to whom the government and teaching of Trinity College are chiefly entrusted, must, before receiving orders, subscribe the thirty-nine articles; in other words they must, in the most solemn manner, accept as their own, blasphemous utterances against the Adorable Sacrifice of the Mass and the Most Holy Eucharist, those sacred mysteries which every Catholic parent cherishes, and which he desires that his children should cherish and love, even as our fathers loved their altars more than wealth and station, and life itself. Can any thinking Catholic entrust his son to such teachers without grave misgivings?

We shall be told that those gentlemen do not interfere with the religious opinions of their pupils. Speaking of the lay Fellows, Mr. Mahaffy says: "They might be Calvinists or Atheists as far as their college duties are concerned." A poor argument, as it seems to us, for conciliating the confidence of Catholics! For what Christian parent would wish to entrust to a number of Atheists the education, that is, the formation of the mind of him who is at once his present joy and his future hope? Again, the phrase used by Mr. Mahaffy seems to indicate a difference between the lay and the clerical Fellows as teachers. Does he wish us to admit that difference, viz. :—that clerical Fellows may interfere in teaching religion to their pupils, while lay Fellows may not? But waiving this consideration, twenty-four of the Fellows are Anglican clergymen; and we ask any impartial man whether it is not morally impossible that a Catholic youth should, for the four most important years of his life, from seventeen to twenty-one years of age, associate daily with those gentlemen, look up to them as teachers, respect and copy them as models—for all this is implied in the relations of pupil and teacher—and not have the edge of his simple faith blunted, his veneration for the Catholic Church, which is the "*pillar and ground of truth*," diminished, and his child-like affection for the religious observances which he loved from his infancy, nipped in the bud, or blasted for ever. Is it not impossible that for some hours each day

during several years he should associate with those gentlemen, show them that respect which their position and learning deserve, receive from their lips lessons of human wisdom and earthly knowledge, and not become more or less impregnated—it may be unconsciously on both sides—with their religious views and principles? Nay more, the greater the religious convictions of those teachers, the keener their appreciation of the truth of the religion they profess, the more likely will they be to manifest these inmost sentiments in their daily familiar intercourse with their pupils. Is not this the case in all the other relations of life? Can we associate daily, hourly, with any man and not come to be influenced by his opinions, and especially if we respect him? How else does a parent form the mind of his child? And will it not be so between teacher and pupil? Rev. Dr. Haughton, speaking with the experience of nearly a quarter of a century, as a Fellow of Trinity College, has well said in the words which we quoted in our former paper: “The Roman Catholic clergy warn their flocks against Trinity College, . . . and in thus warning them, they are practically wise; for it is *simply impossible* for seventy Catholics to associate with eleven hundred Protestants as equals and fellow-students, without renouncing, more or less, the narrow views respecting Protestants that prevail among the higher circles of their hierarchy:” that is, without having their religious principles interfered with. We will add, that it is equally impossible this effect should not follow under teachers, about five-sevenths of whom declare our religion to be blasphemous and idolatrous, while the rest might be Calvinists or Atheists, as far as their college duties are concerned.

Can such a state of things be satisfactory to the Catholics of Ireland? For the sake of argument we will suppose, that by some strange revolution Oxford and Cambridge were to pass into the hands of Catholics, that a number of Catholic Priests, with a sprinkling of Catholic laymen, was to get possession of the Colleges of these two Universities, that the heads and fellows and tutors were no longer to be Anglicans, but before entering on their respective offices, were to be obliged to anathematize Protestantism and profess Catholicity, what would be, in such a hypothesis, the feelings of the Protestant gentlemen of England? Would they deem Universities thus organised satisfactory as places of education for their sons? Would they tolerate them for a moment? Most certainly not. And what if, in order to reconcile them to the system, they were told that the Catholic lay teachers “might be Calvinists or Atheists as far as their College duties are concerned.” Would



such a declaration tend in the least to restore their confidence? The hypothesis that it would is too absurd. And yet, "educated Irish Catholics," we are told by Mr. Mahaffy, "have declared themselves perfectly satisfied" with the education offered to their sons in the University of Dublin, where the Provost and Fellows and Tutors are in general Protestant Clergymen, while the lay Fellows, who are also Protestants, "might be Calvinists or Atheists, as far as their College duties are concerned."

The results of the education imparted to Catholics in Trinity College have, with some remarkable exceptions, been such as might be anticipated from the preceding observations. It is not our wish to come to personalities, but it is a notorious fact, that seldom or never is the governing or teaching staff of Trinity College, without one or more names upon its roll of men, who lost the precious jewel of Catholic Faith, within those, to Catholics, ill-fated halls, names, which however honourable to others, cannot appear to Catholics otherwise than as warnings inscribed aloft to bid the incautious beware before they enter on the unhallowed spot. For—

Unprized are her sons, till they 've learned to betray.

Undistinguished they live, if they shame not their sires.

No "Papist" dare aspire to the prizes of the Fellowships, which vary, as Mr. Mahaffy tells us, from £300 to £1,300 a year, or to the Provostship, with its annual income of £3,500. These honours and distinctions are reserved for Anglicans. Thanks be to God, the number of Catholic Students in Trinity College, who are lured by these temptations to a public denial of their faith, is now much less than formerly, when, as we are told, Catholic youths of promise, especially from the college estates in distant parts of Ireland, having first entered as sizars, used to be "caught in the meshes of a net so contrived as to let the smaller fry escape, while the more valuable fishes were captured."

But if the number of those Catholics, who publicly abjure their faith, has diminished, who can tell how many secretly abandon it, or how many cease, during their college course, to observe the sacred precepts of religion? Who can tell from how many young hearts the seeds have been plucked, which had been sown by a religious mother, or a sterling Catholic father, or a devoted teacher? It is but a few weeks, since we heard a worthy Catholic father lamenting over the ruin of his only son, which had been accomplished, he said, in Trinity College. We have also heard of a virtuous Catholic family, which was plunged into, shall we say, hopeless sorrow, by the sudden death of one of its members, who having entered

Trinity College in all the freshness of youthful piety, had there become connected with the society of the Freemasons, had attained a high grade in the craft, and had been

“Cut off even in the blossoms of (his) sin ;”

“No reckoning made, but sent to (his) account;”

“With all (his) imperfections on (his) head.”

It is but a few years, since a Catholic student of Trinity College, we believe an estimable young man, delivered a public lecture, in which he spoke in the highest terms of the philosopher Comte, and of that latest development of infidel philosophy, Positivism.

And no later than in Autumn last, another Catholic Graduate of Trinity College was found, who set up his opinion on a question, clearly of faith and morals, against the unanimous judgment of all the Bishops of Ireland, and published a pamphlet, one half of which was devoted to prove that the writer is a Catholic, but which if it show anything, proves the very contrary, unless his ignorance be such as to excuse him.

All these things may seem little to Protestants, but for Catholics it is not so. *We* value our faith and its holy traditions, and its religious observances, above all things ; in fact, this is *our religion*, and an educational system which estranges youth from these things cannot be satisfactory to us ; no thinking Catholic parent can entrust his son to such a system, without grave misgivings.

We return to our general argument. Rev. Mr. Mahaffy adduces several names to show how excellent is the teaching of Trinity College. But where is the Catholic philosopher like Balmez produced by its teaching ? Where the publicist like De Maistre. Where the historian like Lingard ? Where the Catholic archaeologist like the Cavaliere de' Rossi ? They are nowhere to be found. And shall we be told, that a system, the results of which are such as these, is satisfactory to Irish Catholics ? It might have appeared so to some, when Irish Catholics were helots in their own fair land. The crumbs which fell from the rich man's table might have satisfied some, as long as we were beggars at the door of the establishment, which lorded it over us in education, as well as in religion. But this can be no longer. The existing arrangements in Trinity College are totally unsatisfactory to every thinking Catholic, who desires to secure a good system of University Education for our Catholic youth.

Is there any modification, then, of existing arrangements in Trinity College, which can make that institution satisfactory to Catholics as a place of education for their children, or



establish within its halls the principle of educational equality? We emphatically answer, no.

Of course, we do not consider possible the case, that Catholics would be put into the position so long occupied in Trinity College by the members of the dominant Church, while the latter should be reduced to the inferiority hitherto imposed upon their Catholic fellow-countrymen. We recognize as impossible a change which would install a Catholic Priest in the place of the distinguished man who is now Provost; which instead of the present learned Senior and Junior Fellows would appoint Catholics, clerical and lay, to govern the college and university and be the sole teachers, or almost the sole teachers, there; nay more, would for the future exclude from the governing and teaching body all who did not make profession of the Catholic faith; which would enact that henceforth the foundation scholarships should be open to Catholic young men and to none other; that Catholic schools and colleges only should hereafter have annexed to them the studentships, exhibitions, and other rich prizes in the university, which Protestant Colleges have hitherto held out as rewards to their distinguished pupils; which would constitute the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin *ex officio* visitor of the institution, as the Protestant Ordinary of the diocese has hitherto been; we are willing to admit that such a change as this would be impossible; nay more, the Catholics of Ireland would be the last to desire that their Protestant fellow-countrymen should be reduced to such a state of educational helotism as is implied in the revolution we have sketched. As long as the Protestants of Ireland desire education founded on their religious opinions, it is better they should have it than be forced into a system which their consciences condemn. Far be it from us to inflict on them an injustice like to that of which we have so long complained, and from which we are still suffering.

We dismiss, then, the consideration of such a change as impossible, and as undesirable even if it were possible. Yet no change short of this would make Trinity College satisfactory to Catholics as a place of education for Catholic youth. For every change short of this would only tend to change the college into a mixed college; that is, into an institution whose fundamental principles would be as much opposed to Catholicity, as Protestantism itself. Rev. Mr. Mahaffy and those who think with him, admit the unfairness of forcing Catholics into an avowedly Protestant Institution; why, then, pretend that one equally objectionable would be satisfactory to "*enlightened Roman Catholics in Ireland?*" The Church, whose authority in faith and morals is admitted by

all Catholics, has condemned Protestantism, and has also condemned the assertion: that "Catholics may approve of a system of educating youth unconnected with Catholic faith and the power of the Church, and which regards the knowledge of merely natural things, and only, or at least primarily, the ends of earthly social life." We pray Mr. Mahaffy and such as may be inclined to agree with him, to note well the word "*approve*." Catholics *may* be found to grant a greater or less meed of *toleration* to a system such as he desires to see introduced into Trinity College, when he informs us of the "wise decision," to use his words, which "called forth the strong approbation of the liberal press in England, "and tells us that the Board, yielding to the stress of public opinion *within* our (the College) walls, have announced that they are willing to concede all remaining privileges to *Nonconformists*;" among whom he graciously includes Catholics. But he must pardon us if we hesitate to believe that Irish Catholics as a body, or any appreciable number even of those whom he calls "*enlightened Roman Catholics*," will be found so dead to religious principles, and even to the feelings which ought to animate every Irishman, as to *approve* of such a system. And why? For two reasons. Mr. Mahaffy supplies us with the first: "In no case would the Roman Catholics for generations become a real majority in the University." That is to say: it would take generations before in the chief place of education in this Catholic land, Catholics would have the position which is due to their numbers and influence. And this in a country where the Catholic population is seven to one as compared to Anglicans, and more than three to one as compared to all denominations of Protestants put together. Have we not reason to say, that the modifications suggested by Mr. Mahaffy could not establish within the halls of Trinity College the principle of educational equality as regards Catholics?

But there is a still stronger reason why Catholics will not and cannot approve of the system he suggests; that system is no other than the mixed system, a system, which, wherever it has been tried, has been *found wanting*, which is condemned by Catholics in every part of the world: a system, which as a fundamental principle, ignores man's most important—his eternal interests—and confines its energies to this short span of existence: a system in which Catholicity with its strict morality, its numerous religious observances, and its clearly defined dogmas, has everything to lose, while Protestantism, with its freedom from religious restraints and latitude in tolerating doctrinal errors, finds the very atmosphere filled with the ideas, the principles and the sentiments it loves; a



system, in fine, which is founded on the exclusion of truth, especially of the truth of God, because it is unpalatable, and the admission of every kind of religious error, because it is agreeable to man's depraved nature.

Within the last few weeks we have seen letters from some of the most distinguished Catholics in France, in Prussia, in Holland and Belgium, in the United States, and in the distant Australia, condemning the mixed system. This is the system, which directly and systematically opposes itself to the Christian Catholic's fundamental notion of education: viz.—that education is nothing else than the process which teaches man so to discharge on earth his duty to himself, to his fellow man, and to God, as to merit an eternal recompense hereafter: "*ut sic transeamus per bona temporalia, ut non amittamus aeterna.*" The mixed system not only ignores this idea of education, but absolutely rejects it, and declares that in the school we must confine ourselves to this earth.

Again, this is the system which pretends to form the mind of a young Catholic, without teaching him that confession is necessary for the forgiveness of sins, that fasting and alms deeds, and other penitential works are acceptable to God, that the Saints are to be honored and invoked, that the tie of marriage can never be broken, that the Son of God is really present and to be adored in the Most Holy Eucharist, and is offered to God in the sacrifice of the Mass. The mixed system pretends to educate, that is, fully inform and develop, the mind and heart of a young Catholic, without teaching him any of these great and most practical truths. We may be told that all these things can be taught by the minister of religion, or in the family circle, but is it not clear that in this case, religious knowledge, instead of being the chief staple of man's knowledge, the "*regula regulas regulans,*" is an excrescence, a heterogeneous element, introduced from without, and likely not to become assimilated or made part of the student's mind, as it never can cease to be foreign to the whole training system?

In fine, it is said that by this mixed system equality is established between Catholics and Protestants in the common school, whereas from the very enumeration I have made of most holy and important doctrines, it is manifest, that under it Catholics have everything to lose in the way of doctrinal and moral truth, while Protestants have comparatively little to fear, tolerating as they do the most varied forms of error.

Since then, the modifications of Trinity College suggested by Mr. Mahaffy, could end in nothing but the mixed system, they could never satisfy the requirements of Catholics, nor

establish within the halls of the University of Dublin the principles of religious equality.

We conclude by offering an advice to the Rev. Fellow, viz., that he would act wisely by refraining henceforth from making himself the spokesman of Catholics, and by allowing us to speak for ourselves. It is not to be expected that Catholics can judge of the private affairs of Protestants as well as Protestants can, and it is sheer folly for Rev. Mr. Mahaffy to pretend to know the feelings and convictions and wishes of Catholics, respecting their children's education, better than they are known by Catholics, and manifested in their public declarations, or gathered from the public acts of the Catholic Church.

While these lines were going through the press, new pronouncements have come from Trinity College. The learned Provost, Fellows, and other teachers in the College, and the new M.P. for the University of Dublin, The Hon. David Plunket, have declared in favor of mixed Education within their College halls. This is, according to these gentlemen, the best system for Irish Catholics; nay, the only one at all suited for them! We do not think our Catholic fellow-countrymen will accept the counsel of their self-constituted advisers: we remember the fable of the wolf and the lamb!

It is needless for us to follow some of these gentlemen in their unbecoming allusions to any proposal for giving to Catholics a system of Catholic Education. One of them, Dr. Traill, F.T.C.D., tells us: that "the Denominational system may do very well for England, where Churchmen are still in the majority, and the Roman Catholic religion as yet has no great hold on the people; but in Ireland the adoption of such a principle is simply, while reaping, no doubt, a small benefit to ourselves, to place ten times that amount in the hands of a powerful and unscrupulous rival, and to rivet more firmly than ever the iron chains of despotism on our unfortunate fellow-countrymen." We commend the words we have italicized to the consideration of those "*unfortunate fellow-countrymen*" of ours, whom Mr. Mahaffy calls "educated Catholics!!"

Rev. Dr. Salmon, Regius Professor of Divinity, and one of the Senior Fellows, amidst the strongest expressions of the disapprobation of his audience, told the students and others assembled for the University Election some days ago, that in the approaching settlement of the Education-question it would have to be determined, "whether Education in Ireland is to be conducted according to the will of the Catholic Hierarchy." We take it for granted, that Dr. Salmon endorses the opinions expressed by the Hon. gentleman whom he proposed as Member



for the University. And yet rarely has it been our lot to read statements more strange or less in accordance with patent facts, than some of those said to have been advanced by the Hon. David Plunket. For instance: must there not be a mistake or at least a misprint in the words: "There is yet one advantage, which we may hope to derive from the passing of that (the Irish Church) Act. The principle of absolute equality of all religious denominations asserted in that Act has precluded for ever the possibility of *establishing* denominational education within these (the College) walls. It has rendered logically if not politically impossible, the *establishment* of sectarian and exclusive teaching here." Mr. Plunket must have meant not the "*establishment*," but the "*maintenance*" of that system; for assuredly there is no question of *introducing* into Trinity College Protestant denominational teaching, which has existed there since the foundation of the Institution. And yet the new M.P. gravely tells us: that "the students are brought up in this (the Dublin) University under the principle of united Education." Surely he must have forgotten the facts mentioned by us in the preceding part of this article respecting the government and educational system of the College, or by "*united education*" he must mean Catholics and Protestants united under Protestant teachers, and under a system in every way Protestant. If this be his idea of "*united Education*" we do not object to it, *provided the teachers and system be Catholic*: but we doubt if our Protestant fellow-countrymen would be inclined to choose such a system for their sons' education.

As for his views respecting the duties of young Irish Catholics to their spiritual guides, we are inclined to think that few will accept him as an interpreter of this part of our religion: "He would say that for the ministers of that (the Catholic) religion in their religious aspect he entertained the most profound and most sincere respect; but when they stepped out of their proper province, and undertook to interfere in politics—when further, they venture to dictate that none of their youth should be educated save under their dictation, and under their immediate guardianship, he could say this, that young Irishmen would not submit to it!" We are at a loss, in truth, to know the sense in which the learned gentleman spoke the following words, which are also attributed to him—whether he spoke them in sober earnestness or in bitter sarcasm: "He was glad to see that the feeling in favour of united education was growing. The number of dissenters and Roman Catholics who joined their ranks, had not decreased, but rather had increased; and he appealed to them all now, young Protestant Irishmen, young

Roman Catholic Irishmen, to stand by *this one institution, which in the country was thoroughly national and thoroughly unsectarian !*" An institution thoroughly *national*, from whose government and chief honors and emoluments the Catholic seventy-seven per cent. of the nation are excluded ! An institution thoroughly *unsectarian*, which, as the Royal Commission of 1853 expressly declared, continues to be, as it has been from its foundation, "*in all essential particulars a Protestant Institution.*" We must ask the honorable member to give us new definitions of the terms; otherwise we know not how to reconcile his statements with the facts we have given respecting TRINITY COLLEGE and THE PROTESTANT UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN.

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## LETTERS OF BALMEZ.

### V.—THE BLOOD OF THE MARTYRS.

I SEE, my esteemed friend, it will be very difficult for me to realise the intention I had formed in the beginning, of giving a certain order to the religious discussion on which we were about to enter, by confining it to a channel from which it could not escape ; but of at the same time directing it through charming prospects, and allowing it capricious windings, which might take from it the appearance of scholastic regularity, and give the subject an agreeable and entertaining aspect. All my efforts to make you enter into this plan are in vain ; since it would appear you prefer to treat of unconnected points, wandering like the bee from flower to flower. Although I know very well the inconveniences of this method, and if I recollect well I have indicated them in one of my former letters, yet I am compelled to follow you in the road you are pleased to take, in order that you may not get it into your head that I want to shun delicate questions, and by involving my opponent in a cloud of authorities and theological arguments, endeavour to hide weak points and avoid the danger of an attack on them. However this necessity would be more disagreeable to me, if you had not been good enough to tell me that you are acquainted



with the best works that have been written in defence of religion, and that, deferring the study of them until you shall have more time and patience, your only object at present is to clear up by way of recreation some difficult points, as a person who removes the obstacles that block up the entrance to a broad and spacious road.

To tell the truth, I am not displeased you have brought the discussion to bear on the point of *the Blood of the Martyrs*, for it is a subject on which a great deal can be said, and on which sooner or later we should have entered, if the controversy had taken the course I desired. This *blood* is undoubtedly one of the strongest arguments in support of the truth of our religion, and so, in examining the reasons Christians can allege in defence of the faith, I should not have forgotten to draw your attention to this prodigy, in which persons of all ages, sexes and conditions, die with heroic fortitude, sooner than profane themselves by a single act, that was not in conformity with the faith of the Crucified One.

But before I begin I wish you to speak; and so to avoid confusion in the ideas, and in order that neither you nor I may forget the true state of the question, and consequently that my answer may be rendered as full and complete as possible, I will transcribe what you say in your letter. "I respect as much as any one fortitude of mind wherever I meet it, and I frankly own that the heroism of suffering appears in my eyes much more sublime than the heroism of the combat. With this I will save you no little trouble, for you will at once perceive you have no need to dwell on the number of the martyrs, nor on their atrocious torments, nor on their invincible constancy, nor to excite my enthusiasm by pointing to feeble old men, weak women, and tender children, marching fearless to die for the faith. I doubt very much that you exceed me here in sentiments of respect and admiration; neither have you to take it amiss that my scepticism goes so far as to raise doubts about the immense number of these martyrs, for it does not. I will not rack my brain to deny a fact of such known truth. My impotent negations could not certainly blot out the pages of history. But leaving aside, and expressly confessing the truth of the fact, I cannot agree in the consequences you wish to draw from it; because it is well known that enthusiasm for an idea can produce results like these; and as regards the propagation of the Christian doctrines that resulted from the persecution, you well know that the secret of a cause's prospering is when that cause finds itself contradicted, combated, and is to be able to present its defenders to the world with honourable wounds which betoken their profound convictions, and in-

vincible constancy in sustaining them." I did not wish to lop off a single particle of your argument, nor to depreciate in the slightest degree the force of the difficulty ; but you must also permit me to enter into its solution at large, as the importance of the subject requires it.

First of all, I willingly accept the confession that the number of our martyrs is astonishing, as are also the circumstances of their martyrdom, whether we regard the torments, or the persons who suffer. And when I accept it with pleasure, it is solely from the complacency I feel, on finding you do not obstinately combat the known truth ; but not because it is a confession which I could not oblige my adversary to make : to effect this purpose, I have nothing more to do than to open the pages of history ; and as you sensibly observe, those pages are not to be blotted out by *impotent negatives*. The acts of the martyrs are not devout stories, invented to nourish piety in the faithful, they are documents that have passed through the crucible of the most severe criticism. Ruinart, Mabillon, Natalis Alexander, Fleury, Tillemont, Papebroche, Holsten, and other critics by no means suspected of excessive credulity, and whose immense erudition and refined discernment, make them competent authorities, would have come to my aid, if you had not had the prudent precaution to abstain from entering into a contest, in which you should not have come off best, in spite of the brilliancy of your talents : what do arguments avail against facts clearer than the light of day ? The city of Rome alone is an invincible argument in confirmation of the truth of the immense number of martyrs. It has been said that the catacombs of the eternal city are a great sepulchre : worthy footstool of the Chair of St. Peter ! " We saw in the city of Romulus, says Prudentius, innumerable ashes of saints : if you ask, O Valerian, for the inscriptions of the tombs and the names of the victims, it is difficult to answer you : so great is the number of the just sacrificed by the impious fury of idolatrous Rome ! On many of the sepulchres there are letters which indicate the name of the martyr, or contain a short panygeric ; but there are mute marbles which enclose a silent multitude, and signify the number alone. What heaps of corpses without a name ! I recollect that in one single place I saw the relics of sixty, whose names Christ alone is aware of."

Innumeros cineres sanctorum Romula in urbe  
Vidimus, O Christo Valerieane sacer !  
Incisos tumulis titulos, et singula quæris



Nomina? Difficile est, ut replicare queam,  
Tantos justorum populos favor impius transit  
Quum coleret patrios Troja Roma Deos.  
Plurima litterulis signata sepulcra loquuntur  
Martyris aut nomen, aut epigramma aliquod;  
Sunt et muta tamen tacitas claudentia turbas  
Marmora, quæ solum significant numerum.  
Quanta virum jaceant congestis corpora acervis  
Nosse licet, quorum nomina nulla legas,  
Sexaginta illic defossas mole sub una  
Reliquias memini me didicisse hominum,  
Quorum solus habet comperta vocabula Christus.

Thus spoke this celebrated Spaniard in the fourth century; from which it may be seen that even in those times the catacombs of Rome caused the same profound and religious wonder that they produce in travellers of our day. The Church counts ten persecutions under the heathen emperors, which are those of Nero, Domitian, Trajan, Antoninus Verus, Severus, Maximin, Decius, Valerian, Aurelian and Diocletian; in all, horrid atrocities were committed: and it is necessary to keep in mind that the persecution was not limited to a few places, but extended over the whole extent of the empire. It causes horror to read in contemporary authors of the dreadful scenes which the cruelty of the persecutors struggling with the firmness of the martyrs enacted at every step: never was religion subjected to so hard a trial, never was humanity beheld more evidently elevated to a height immensely above its strength.

Enthusiasm for an idea, you say, can produce like results; this difficulty requires a lengthened answer. We shall not deny that there are cases when a person may become excited in such a way by an idea, affection or interest, as to be capable of sacrificing his existence: it were not difficult to discover examples in the history of past times, nor is there a want of them even in our own. But we do not want to know how far the moral force and energy of this or that individual, powerfully affected by an object, can go; we do not intend to dispute the possibility of his giving his life for it with pleasure, and even of his suffering atrocious torments: the force of our argument does not consist in any such assertions, belied by reason and history; what we say is, that considering human weakness, it is not possible without particular assistance from heaven, that for three centuries, in all parts of the known world, persons of all ages, sexes and conditions could be found in such prodigious numbers, who joyfully lost their property, their

honour in the eyes of the world, and finally ended their life amid the most cruel torments, solely because they did not wish to abandon the faith of the Crucified; this is what we say, and we shall require whoever contradicts us to show us in the annals of humanity a like example; not content with this or that isolated case, we will demand of him millions of millions such as we can show: and convinced that he cannot do this we shall continue to believe our right to assert, that our religion has a character of which others are destitute.

You tell me "that every country has had its martyrs, for martyrs those can be called who die for the independence of their fatherland, generously sacrificing their existence to the well-being of their fellow-citizens; and nevertheless it has never been believed a special grace from heaven was necessary for such actions." This observation, my esteemed friend, makes me suspect you have not meditated much on the human heart, in its relations with sacrifices, you confound ideas so, and distinguish not what sacrifices are most costly to us. Have you never meditated on the distance between valour and fortitude, between bravely confronting a danger and awaiting it with calmness, between running a passing risk, and tolerating with resignation a long chain of troubles and torments? The number of those who are capable of the former is very great, but those who attain to the latter are very few. Reason proves it, history and experience bear testimony to it.

It is well-known that one of the principal springs of man's movements, when he acts in the purely natural order, is his passions; without them, the heart is cold; the reason may plan, but the arm does not execute. And when I speak of passions, I do not refer to evil inclinations solely, nor to movements of the mind excited to such a point, that it loses sight of the principles of sound reason, and the suggestions of prudence. Under the name of passions, I include also all legitimate and generous sentiments, all the affections of the soul, even the more tranquil and temperate; so that they appertain not to the order of pure reason, or to the acts of the will that from it solely emanate. I include all spontaneous impulses that carry us, as if instinctively, towards an object without the direction of the intellect; in a word—and to express myself in language less exact, but clearer and perhaps more accommodated to the generality of understandings—by passions I mean everything that is commonly called a movement of the heart.

We know from our own and others' experience, that when



these movements exist, we find ourselves more disposed to act in the direction in which they impel us; and that when they are wanting, no matter how profound our convictions, and firm and decided our will may be, we are infected with a debility, with an indolence, to remove which we have to make an effort, if the action in question is in any way opposed to our natural inclinations. Let us suppose two men equally persuaded of the merit of beneficence, with equal means of performing it, with identical opportunities of practising it; but that the one is gifted with a compassionate and kind heart, whilst the other is naturally cold. The superior part of the soul, reason and the will, is in the same state in the first as in the second, and yet who does not see that to the former the alms with which he succours the misfortune of his brethren, will be a real pleasure, and to the latter a sacrifice? The one will have a passion, a sentiment, a movement of the heart, or whatever you wish to call it, which impels him to beneficence; he will suffer if he does not good; the misery of his neighbour has communicated itself to him in a certain sense, because by leaving his fortune and his health intact, it makes him partake of the sufferings he witnesses; when he dispenses aid he will experience an alleviation, he will recover his lost ease, tranquillity will spring up again in his soul, and his trouble will be dissipated; he will enjoy the sweet satisfaction of having performed a duty, which he felt as a necessity in the depth of his soul. Nothing of the kind takes place in the man of cold heart, no matter how sound his reason may be, no matter how well adjusted to it is his will. If he succours the needy, he will be acting in conformity with the dictates of his conscience, but in obeying its precepts he will not feel that expansion, that tenderness which inundates with joy and pleasure a compassionate heart; on the contrary, he will feel himself compelled to struggle with the difficulty, which the depriving oneself of one's own to give it to another, always brings with it.

This example makes the powerful influence which the inclinations of our heart exercise on our acts sensible, and if I may say so, palpable. From this I infer that when we find ourselves in situations, in which any passion whatever is excited and active, it is not strange, that preponderating over the rest, and even over the natural instinct of self-preservation, it hurries us on to difficult undertakings, and even to run the greatest dangers. Thus, it should not be wondered at, that a soldier in the field of battle, where his companions in arms are witnesses of his valour or cowardice, thirsting with vengeance against an enemy who is decimating on right

and left his friends and comrades, excited by the pomp of war, the sound of martial music, of the fife and drum, should with brave impetuousness rush to a glorious death ; the more because he entertains some hope of avoiding it, and of winning by his valour the respect and admiration of all that behold him. Then we see developing themselves love of country, love of glory, ambition roused by hope of reward, all acting at once on a mind excited by critical circumstances, by the presence of an imminent danger, the body being besides in the most favourable disposition for maintaining the passions in lively activity and effervescence, from the agitation and heat of the contest. In such cases there is a real struggle of inclinations against inclinations ; and it is very natural that those should prevail, which being in more harmony with the situation, are more suited to be put in motion, to influence the will, to stifle all others that tend to stop or moderate their impulse.

These observations manifest how it comes to pass that many men despise death in defence of a cause ; and let it not be thought that to arrive at this point it is necessary that the mind should be excited in the way I have described ; circumstances may arise in which, without its being so sensible, the phenomenon can take place in a more or less similar manner. Thus, a young man, who finds himself involved in one of those risks of *honour*, as they are called, is not in the same case as a soldier in the field of battle ; nevertheless, though the former situation appear ever so distinct from the latter, it is not so in reality, if we examine it in its relations with the causes that impel one to despise life. A deplorable prejudice, but one which for all that is deeply rooted in many minds, makes him believe, that if he does not accept the duel to which he is challenged, or if in his turn he does not challenge his adversary, according to circumstances, he will be covered with ignominy and shame, and cannot present himself in society without the dishonourable epithet of coward. In a man placed in this alternative, we do not certainly see so well at a glance the motives which impel him to run the danger, as we do in the soldier ; the agitation of the mind fluctuating between hope and fear, between the love of life and that of honour, is not quite so patent ; but for all that, the struggle exists, and exists perhaps as fully as in the field of battle. No matter what emptiness be concealed in the word *honour*, it cannot be denied that it exercises on our minds an influence so lively, so magical, that neither health nor fortune produces so strong and instantaneous an effect. Leaving aside the examination of the causes, I merely mention the fact to show that even in the case supposed there is a real excitement of the mind, a strong



passion that subdues the rest, bringing them under its tyrannical rule, and hurrying along the conquered heart, even to the deplorable extremity of looking on life as a trifle.

I think, my esteemed friend, the observations I am after making, are sufficient to distinguish valour from fortitude, and to show how different it is to run fearlessly a risk, no matter how imminent, and to suffer the greatest torments with unalterable calmness, marching serenely to a death, which is sure, inevitable, surrounded with the most atrocious sufferings. In the first case we see one passion opposed to another, we see the mind sustained by a thousand motives which impel it forward, and at the same time distract its attention from all that might draw it back. In the first case there are no sufferings, or very brief, or if any there be, they are counterbalanced by the alternatives or hopes of recreation, pleasure, glory. In the second case, we behold reason and the will struggling with all the passions, we behold the superior man opposed to the inferior; the former armed with the idea of duty, with the hope of a great object; the latter with all the attractions, with all the threats, with all the fears, with all the vicissitudes of feeling that ever restlessly heave in that tempestuous region, which for want of a better name, we call the heart.

I do not mean to say by this, that in the purely natural order there cannot be found an astonishing disinterestedness, or that supernatural grace must be supposed to enter into all the acts which we denominate heroic; such an assistance the Gentiles certainly had not, or the many heroes belonging to false sects; nevertheless we find in them surprising actions that fill us with wonder and awaken our enthusiasm. Regulus returning to Carthage after giving a counsel that must cost him his life, Scaevola with his hand in the fire, these and other instances recorded in ancient history, are truly evident proofs of what man abandoned to his natural strength is capable of doing, but they do not destroy the argument which we draw from our martyrs. The heroes of whom we are speaking are very few, ours are innumerable; the heroes were generally men of full age, hardened with the toils of war, of minds enlarged by mingling in public affairs, greedy of glory, placed in critical circumstances, in which their country's danger gave wings to their enthusiasm and energy to their bravery; amongst the martyrs we find old men, women, children, men of the most humble conditions, who had never occupied distinguished posts, and who consequently had never acquired that fierce pride, which, as it is one of the most powerful passions of our heart, sometimes communicates to us a firmness of which we are incapable without it.

To form an idea of the merit of the martyrs let us approach one of those illustrious prisoners, so unfortunate in the eyes of the world, so happy in Jesus Christ. His name is unknown, his position is obscure ; why is he in chains ?—because he believes that a Man who died as a criminal in Palestine, is the Son of God and true God, who took on Himself our nature, to satisfy the justice of his eternal Father for our debts. What do we see around him ?—the disdain, compassion, or hatred of all who behold him ; some look on him as a madman, others regard him as a fanatic, these call him a deluded wretch, those accuse him of foul crimes. Not a ray of worldly glory is his, not a consolation has he on earth. In vain do you look for something in his situation that can strengthen him, by making his nature work by reaction against the evils that oppress him. All his passions are subdued by the low state and prostration to which his body is reduced ; and if pride should raise its head, it would find nothing around it to flatter or sustain it. What similarity is there between the hero of religion and those of the world ?

I may be told that the hope of a better life rendered their sufferings tolerable and death agreeable to them ; this is true, and Christians do not deny it ; but it is precisely in this very resolution of sacrificing the present to the future, of rising above all natural inclinations, of despising everything that surrounds them, and even their very existence, it is in this resolution, I repeat, that the supernatural action of divine grace is visible ; for human weakness abandoned to itself could never effect it. In one of my former letters I remarked that man naturally inclines to allow himself to be carried away by the impressions of the moment, and that everything he sees at a distance, be it evil or be it good, is of little interest to him. We unfortunately behold this clearly in a great number of Christians, who, though believing the terrible truths of our religion, yet live as forgetful of them as Gentiles could. For this reason, on seeing that so astonishing a number of persons of all ages, sexes, and conditions, rise superior to this debility of our nature, contradicting its inclinations with decision so heroic, we must necessarily acknowledge there is something here far above this natural region, something in which the Omnipotent is pleased to show forth the power of weakness when His almighty arm makes it strong.

I do not know, my esteemed friend, whether these reflections may have fully convinced you ; but considering your good sense, I will venture to hope they have. I cannot persuade myself that your clear understanding does not see the immense difference between our martyrs and the heroes of the



world, be they of what order they may. You are not unacquainted with their history ; bring to mind all you have read and you shall discover nothing that can be compared with this prodigy. What natural causes can your imagination suggest in explanation of it ? Enthusiasm ! But how is it possible for so fleeting a sentiment to last for three centuries ? How could it be propagated through the whole known world ? Human glory ! But how can it be said that the man who perished without leaving even a name died for glory ? And what sort of glory must that be which equally attracts the fiery youth and the feeble old man, the matron and the virgin, the adult and the child, the wise and the ignorant, the rich and the poor, the lord and the beggar ? Let us be sincere, and we must necessarily acknowledge that no matter how powerful the influence of glory may be over our hearts, it never yet was able to produce an effect so great, so universal, in persons and situations so different ; let us be sincere, and we shall here discover the finger of God.

If the Christians had been few, and had all dwelt in the same neighbourhood, living subject to the same influences, and with a religion of short existence, then it would not be so contrary to reason to say, that a certain excitement of the mind was introduced among them, and was communicated from one to another. But throughout the whole world, and for the space of three centuries, and always the same constancy ! Reflect, my esteemed friend, on this last observation, for it alone is sufficient to dispel all difficulties.

I come now to the other point indicated in your letter, concerning the weight of the argument founded on the rapid propagation of Christianity, in spite of the horrible persecution to which it was subjected for so long a time. You say it is well known the best means of making a cause prosper, and of diffusing a doctrine, is to employ violence against it ; for from the moment its defenders bear on their brows the aureola of martyrdom, they excite the admiration and enthusiasm of all who behold them, and draw to them a great number of proselytes. More than once have I meditated on what you and others assert of the power of diffusion communicated by persecution ; and I candidly confess that, whether I listened to the dictates of philosophy, or attended to the lessons of history, I have never been able to persuade myself that a good means of supporting a cause is to persecute it with fire and sword.

On this head there is great confusion of ideas and facts, which it is necessary to remove. In order to effect it, I shall separately propose some questions, on the solution of

which depends our forming a right judgment on the subject in hand. Is it true that the sight of persecution excites enthusiasm or interest in favour of the persecuted? This question cannot be answered without a distinction. Either the persecuted are considered innocent, or they are regarded as guilty; in the first case we will answer affirmatively, in the second, negatively, for then, all that they can inspire is compassion, but this has nothing to do with the enthusiasm, or the interest of which we are speaking. There can be no doubt of this; and from it I infer that to assert in general that persecution honours, that it renders illustrious, that it excites sympathy, is true only in the case of one who is regarded as innocent, and only with respect to those who consider him such; in the eyes of these alone is the person truly persecuted; in the eyes of others, he has not this character, he is not a victim of persecution, but an object of public justice. Hence it follows that when a persecution be excited in a country against a cause or a doctrine, if it be considered just and holy, those who suffer for it will be respected and admired, but if it be reputed false, unjust, contrary to the common good, then the punishment of the criminal, far from exciting any such admiration and respect, will inspire at most sentiments of sterile compassion for the deluded wretches, as they are supposed to be.

The Christian Martyrs were certainly not placed in a favourable situation, in any of these points. Professing a religion diametrically opposed to all those received by the generality of nations, preaching that the worship paid to the reigning gods was nothing else than criminal idolatry, avoiding the diversions of the Gentiles as accursed abominations, they were looked on with aversion, with hatred, with execrations—they were loaded with calumnies, they were regarded as enemies of the rest of men, as disturbers of society; and to make them drain the dregs of the chalice of affliction, they were accused of committing horrible crimes in the celebration of their mysteries. No one can be ignorant of the frenzy with which the blood of the confessors of Jesus Christ was sought; *give the Christians to the wild beasts, give the Christians to the fire*; this was the cry that was raised in all corners of the world. Covered with insults and mockery while expiring amid the most atrocious torments, it was considered a great happiness if some brethren could come out of their hiding places in the night to give sepulture to their mutilated bodies that were left to be devoured by the beasts. Now that we see them on our altars, now that we hear hymns intoned in their praise, now that we know they bear on their



brows in heaven the imperishable crown whose rays are reflected in the reverence paid them on earth, we find it difficult to conceive all the horror of the situation in which they were placed in the dread moments of their torments and death. No, they did not behold around them that respect, that admiration which we now offer them; they beheld instead the hatred, the insults, the calumny, and what perhaps is more grievous to the human heart, the mockery and contempt with which they were treated; God alone was their consolation; God alone was their hope; God alone was their stay in those terrible moments, in which, struggling with the world and with themselves, they fearlessly braved death in confession of the Faith of the Crucified. For such prodigies human causes are not sufficient, nor the efforts of weak humanity sufficient. To whoever is not content with these reasons we will propose the famous dilemma: they were either miraculously sustained by Heaven, or they were not; if the first be true, then you agree with us; if the second, we then tell you it is the greatest of miracles to perform things so miraculous without a miracle.

We may infer from this that the constancy of the martyrs could not be sustained by the pleasure of exciting admiration and enthusiasm; and thus is refuted the assertion that the honours of persecution, by rendering the victims illustrious, contribute to the destruction of the object the persecutor has in view.

Is it true that the persecution of a doctrine is a good means of propagating it? The question appears somewhat strange at first sight; nevertheless this is what is hourly sustained in open contradiction of philosophy and history. If it were affirmed that truth forces a passage for itself through persecution, the assertion would be very different; but to pretend that persecution itself is a vehicle of truth, is an absurdity; unless we suppose that the infinite wisdom of the Almighty avails itself of this vehicle for its lofty ends.

Man naturally loves his well-being, he has a strong attachment to life, a great horror of death; therefore torments and the scaffold are powerful engines to separate him from a cause which exposes him to the risk of suffering them. You tell me, my esteemed friend, of "the beauty of suffering, of the brilliant aureola which invest the brows of the victim who marches in calm to offer himself in holocaust." All this is true; but I am very much afraid it is not well calculated to influence the generality of men; I am very much afraid that in practice it would not appear so enchanting and attractive as it does in books. And do not upbraid me with having an insensible heart, with not comprehending all the sublimity of heroic

actions; I feel it and comprehend it very well; but coming to examine reality, and not fictions, I am compelled to adhere to what I see in the pages of history, and to what the lessons of experience teach me. How many men are there so generous as to sacrifice their well-being, their fortune and their life, in the cause of truth and justice? They are now, and always were, very few; and the very admiration with which they inspire us is an evident proof that such heroic fortitude is not the common patrimony of humanity. Do you desire to have partisans? Distribute honours, be prodigal of riches, scatter pleasures around; for if you have nothing but the palm of martyrdom, very soon shall you see your proselytes and friends disappear, very soon shall you be without rivals to dispute with you the aureola of a life of sufferings, and of a dreadful death.

To speak truly, I did not believe I should be compelled to remind you of these truths, which, though sad ones, do not for all that cease to be truths; I imagined that being a sceptic, you should be somewhat more *positive*; and that living in an epoch of vicissitudes, you would have learned to know men better, and to form more exact ideas on the inclinations of our heart.

The good sense of humanity has always rejected the philosophical discovery concerning the advantages of persecution; tyrants have sometimes deceived themselves by outrageously abusing severity; but in the midst of their excesses they were guided by a true idea, which is, that to destroy a cause or suffocate a doctrine, an excellent means is to fill them with dangers and evils for all those who might desire to follow them. I go about seeking in history the good effects of persecution in favour of the cause persecuted, and I do not find them. I meet with an exception in Christianity; but this carries me on to think the cause of the exception is in the omnipotence of God. The stoning of St. Stephen inaugurated an era of triumphs, by opening the glorious catalogue of Christian Martyrs; but I do not find that the hemlock of Socrates inspired philosophers with the desire of dying: *prudence* gained ground; when Plato announces certain delicate truths he takes care to cover them with a hundred veils.

Coming to later times I find the same phenomenon: thus for example, I see that the sect of the Priscilianists against which much rigour was employed, was stopped in its progress and even totally extinguished. One of the religions that extended themselves most, was undoubtedly that of Mahomet; and certainly its progress was



not due to persecution, but to the arms by which it routed its adversaries, and to the allurements by which it drew after it a great number of proselytes. Neither do I see that at the time of the religious wars of the south of France against the Albigenses, these sectaries prospered by opposition; on the contrary they were diminishing daily, till they fell into a state of prostration and of almost annihilation.

You will tell me that Protestantism spread and took root in spite of the opposition it had to suffer; and that as the so-called Reformation extended notwithstanding persecution, it is not improbable the same might have happened with respect to Christianity. I do not know where you have found this tremendous opposition and these persecutions suffered by the unfortunate Reformation; one would think we were speaking of the ages of hieroglyphics, facts are so upturned and such false comparisons made.

Let us cast a glance on the first days of Protestantism, and we shall see it was very far from owing its progress to the persecutions you make so much of. In Germany, from the moment it appeared, it had on its side many and very powerful patrons: amongst them some princes who openly manifested that patronage, now by protecting the diffusion and establishment of the new doctrines by various means, now by appealing to arms, when they considered the time for violence had arrived. What happened in Germany, was also verified in the other countries of the Continent, more or less infested with Protestantism; without excepting France, where, as is well known, besides the patrons it met with in the upper classes, it was able to count, for a long time, on one who was equal to the whole of them—Henry IV. It is not necessary to go over the history of Henry VIII., of England; no one is ignorant of what means this violent monarch employed to propagate and root deeply the schism to which his blind passion hurried him; and this persecutor's system continued in the following reigns, with equal if not with greater violence.

A short time after the birth of Protestantism it had already in its favour great armies, powerful princes, entire nations; what point of comparison is there then between the propagation of the so-called Reformation and that of the Christian Religion. Again; if there were not wanting some who sacrificed themselves for it, recollect that this is what happens in all civil disturbances: ever on one side and the other are there fiery partisans found, who either die fighting in the field of battle, or have nerve enough to mount the scaffold.

Let us imagine that for the space of three centuries it had to struggle with the horrible persecutions of which Christianity was the victim : where would it be at present? Do you wish to know? observe what happened in the countries where it was repressed with a strong hand. In France, it had different alternatives of indulgence and rigour ; but as soon as severe measures were employed against it with some perseverance, it became debilitated and almost disappeared. To what was it reduced some time after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes? Never has it been able to recover from the blow inflicted on it by Louis XIV. ; and it is worthy of note that even at present, after so many years of tolerance, it is yet very insignificant. In that country the immense majority is divided between Catholicity and Incredulity.

What happened in Spain can give us an idea of the fortitude of Protestantism in making head against persecution. It is well known that in the middle of the sixteenth century it had made many proselytes, all the more dangerous, as they belonged to distinguished classes. The Inquisition, sustained and fomented by Philip II., employed against them that rigour of which we hear so much : at the end of a little time the partisans of the new doctrines had disappeared. Was this the conduct of the first Christians? Did they abandon so easily the ground where they had achieved some conquests? Let the whole world answer ; let Spain itself in particular, watered and fertilized with the blood of so many martyrs, answer. It is no use to allege the rigour of the Inquisition ; this rigour could not certainly be compared with that of the pro-consuls of the Empire ; no matter in what colours the pains applied to heretics may be painted, they will never equal those which St. Vincent suffered.

What has been said of Spain may be applied to Portugal and Italy, so that Protestantism was not able to hold its own in any of the countries in which it found itself compelled to suffer a well-sustained opposition. Wherever men seriously determined to extirpate it, it was extirpated ; presenting a notable contrast with Catholicity, which even in the countries where it suffered the greatest shocks, has always been preserved, without its persecutors being able to effect its total extinction. In confirmation of this truth recollect what has happened in Great Britain.

I do not know, my esteemed friend, what answer can be made to the reasons I have adduced. I think that after reading them, the argument founded on *the blood of the martyrs*, must appear to you somewhat more robust than



before. Examine with attention and impartiality this grand fact, that renders the first pages of the history of the Church at once horror-striking and sublime; and I doubt not that you will find in it something miraculous, which it is impossible to explain by natural causes. I think I have removed the difficulties that prevented you from giving to our argument all the importance it deserves. Be that as it may, I am certain you cannot accuse me of having avoided treating the question under all its aspects, or of diminishing in the least tittle the force of the difficulty, that I might not be compelled to meet it. If I have not been able to agree with ideas which you looked on as received, neither have I taken the liberty of rejecting them, without adducing the reasons that lead me to do so. When one deals with sceptics, it is necessary not to show oneself too credulous; and consequently it is right not to accept anything without examining it, even when it is necessary to contradict philosophical authorities which pass as respectable ones. I would much wish we could continue the discussion on the motives of credibility; but considering the course it is taking, I am not sure but that after having passed through hell and then mounted the scaffold of the martyrs, I shall next find you, at a bound, among the choirs of the cherubim. In the meantime, believe me, ever yours, &c.

J. B.

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## HYMN TO ST. MAC-CARTEN.\*

### I.

A NOBLE feast we celebrate,  
A holy man we venerate,  
Great Mac-Carten it is he,  
Hear us, blessed Trinity.

### II.

A confessor in faith was he,  
A virgin in his chastity,  
A martyr too in heart and will,  
An Apostle preaching still.

\* For the Latin Text of this Ancient Hymn, see *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Vol. V., page 185.

## III.

Most innocent of sinful guile,  
He guided others, and the while  
Many wonders wrought in praise  
Of his Maker all his days.

## IV.

By carnal thought he never sinned,  
Riotous fools he disciplined,  
And in his holy life enwrought,  
The pattern fair of all he taught.

## V.

No suppliant ever came in vain,  
Oppressed by toil or weary pain,  
But by the grace his blessing shed,  
He departed comforted.

## VI.

Sight and hearing were restored,  
Fled the leper's spot abhorred,  
The dying from their deathbed rose,  
As the priest Mac-Carten chose.

## VII.

Oftimes the sick he visited,  
And raised to life the nearly dead,  
And many tribes baptized he  
In St. Patrick's company.

## VIII.

Upon the earth he lived to God,  
And in his Master's footprints trod.  
Thus conquering the world at last,  
He to eternal glory passed.

## IX.

He could do much on earth before,  
Happy in heaven he can do no more.  
May Mac-Carten keep us free  
From pain of endless misery !

## X.

Thee God as three in one we own,  
From whom the precious grace comes down,  
By which thy clergy here are blessed  
With earnest of eternal rest.



## QUESTIONS REGARDING THE JUBILEE.

### VIII.—THE JUBILEE FAST.

THE following questions, in reference to this subject, have been received since the publication of the paper in reference to it, which appeared in the October number of the RECORD :—

1—"May a person making the Jubilee fast, take the collation "in the evening. Some persons cannot sleep without taking "some food before retiring to rest, and these at their own wish "have taken their collation at night, have they thereby failed "to make the required fast?"

"Some say that the custom in Ireland, of taking the "collation in the morning has the force of law, and hence that "persons taking the collation in the evening have broken the "fast. Is this true? I think it is not; for the custom is not at "all universal; as also because Saint Liguori allows 'a little "crust' in the evening as a third refecton."

There can be no doubt that the method of fasting described by our correspondent, will suffice for gaining the Jubilee. In order, however, to guard against misconception, it is necessary to add that the grounds of this decision are not those which he suggests, namely—(1)—that the contrary usage which prevails in Ireland not being universal, cannot have the force of law; and —(2)—that Saint Liguori allows a collation to be taken in the evening. For although the custom of taking the collation in the morning is by no means universal, and is, in fact, almost exclusively confined to Ireland, there is no reason to suppose that in this country it has not the force of law. And with reference to the authority of Saint Liguori, it is obvious that, for reasons which shall presently be mentioned, the doctrine which he, in common with all modern theological writers, teaches regarding the lawfulness of taking a collation on the evening of a fasting day, is not applicable to Ireland.

In considering this question it is necessary to bear in mind that by the law of fasting, as it was observed in the early ages of Christianity, one meal only was allowed on a fasting day. The rigour of this law, as all theologians teach, was afterwards tempered by the usage which gradually sprang up, and which in the course of time rendered it lawful to take moreover a slight repast or collation. This collation, according to the discipline which prevailed, and which still prevails almost universally throughout the Church, was taken in the evening,

and hence continental writers in treating of it (*cænula*, *collatio*, *refectiuncula*, *collatiuncula*), generally characterise it as *vespertina* or *serotina*.<sup>1</sup> It is manifest then that Saint Liguori, when he speaks of what may be eaten in the evening, on a fasting day, refers to this collation, and not, as our correspondent supposes, to "a *third* refectio."

Since the introduction of this collation is to be ascribed to custom alone, theologians teach that in all respects,—both as regards the quantity and quality of food, and also as regards the time at which it may be taken,—it is necessary to conform to the established usage. "Praefata refectiuncula, says Cardinal Cozza, in his learned Treatise on Fasting, "non habetur a jure sed permissa duntaxat quia ex sola consuetudine introducta: proindeque in ea...non exceduntur limites receptae consuetudinis permissae et a Pastoribus approbatae."<sup>2</sup>

Hence it is the unanimous opinion of theologians that where the custom exists, which, as we have seen, prevails generally throughout the Church, it is a violation of the law of fasting to depart from the established order by taking the collation in the morning, or before mid-day. "Collatio serotina," say the Authors of the Salamanca Course, "ex consuetudine introducta est; sed non introducta est quod fiat mane aut meridie. Ergo solum licita erit tempore quo introducta est, ergo si fiat mane aut meridie erit illicita."<sup>3</sup> This doctrine is taught also by Saint Alphonsus,<sup>4</sup> and in fact by all theologians.

By applying the same principles, it becomes manifest that in this country, the order which usage has established here, cannot be inverted without a violation of the fast, that is to say, that in Ireland, the collation cannot lawfully be taken in the evening. For, according to the rule which is laid down by theologians, in reference to this subject, it is necessary to conform to the *local* usage. "Hoc praecipue advertendum est," says La Croix, quoting Castropalao and other writers, "quod cum collatio sit per consuetudinem introducta, in ea non liceat aliud circa quantitatem, qualitatem et tempus, quam habeat consuetudo hominum timoratorum *in unaquaque*

<sup>1</sup> See SALMANTICENSES, *Cursus Theologiae Moralis*, Tract 23, *De Tertio Decalogi Praecepto*, Cap. ii., n. 10-82. BILLUART, *Cursus Theologiae, Tractatus de Temperantia*, Diss. ii., Art v., § 4. LA CROIX, *Theologia Moralis*, Lib. 3, pars. ii., n. 1297. LIGUORI, *Theologia Moralis*, Lib. iv., Tract vi., *De Praeceptis Ecclesiae*, nn. 1025-9. GURY, *Compendium Theologiae Moralis. Tractatus de Ecclesiae Praeceptis*, n. 489.

<sup>2</sup> *Tractatus Dogmatico Moralis de Jejunio Ecclesiastico*, Pars iii., Art 2., Dub. ii., n. 20.

<sup>3</sup> *Cursus Theologiae Moralis*, Tract 23, Cap. ii. n. 82. °

<sup>4</sup> *Theologia Moralis*, Lib. 4, Tract vi., n. 1024.



*patria*.”<sup>1</sup> And Saint Alphonsus—“*Hic ante omnia advertendum, attendendam esse consuetudinem locorum.*”<sup>2</sup>

It is however to be observed that the obligation of conforming to the established usage, as far as regards the time of taking the collation, does not bind *sub gravi*, and that its violation, therefore, does not interfere with the substantial observance of the ecclesiastical fast. On this point, the testimony of theologians is clear and unanimous. “*Si collatio fiat mane aut meridie,*” say the Authors of the Salamanca Course, “*erit illicita, non graviter, cum non sit contra substantiam jejunii.*”<sup>3</sup> “*Non videtur mortaliter peccare contra praeceptum jejunii,*” says Bonacina, “*quia non solvit substantiam jejunii, sed illius tantum circumstanciam variat, translata refectiuncula in aliud tempus.*”<sup>4</sup> The same doctrine is laid down by Cardinal Cozza, who quotes<sup>5</sup> in favour of it, the authority of Toletus, Lessius, Reginald, Azor, Laymann, Diana, Bossius, and others. It is taught also by Busembaum,<sup>6</sup> and adopted by Saint Alphonsus.<sup>7</sup>

Taking this view of the obligation of conforming in this respect to the established usage, those writers, without an exception, teach that even a slight cause will justify a departure from it. If, therefore, there were question merely of the lawfulness of inverting the order which usage has established, there could be no doubt that the persons to whom our correspondent refers, or indeed any persons who would thus be enabled more easily to observe the ecclesiastical fast on days of obligation, could lawfully conform to the continental usage and take their collation in the evening.

But will this method of fasting suffice when there is question of gaining an indulgence? Undoubtedly. For as we have already seen, such a departure from local usage, although it involves a violation of the fast, does not interfere with the fast being *substantially* observed. Now, the substantial observance of the prescribed conditions will, beyond all question, suffice for gaining an indulgence: “*Si l'on n'a omis qu'une faible partie des œuvres prescrites,*” says M. Loiseaux,<sup>8</sup> “*les auteurs enseignent communement que l'on gagne le Jubilé.*” It is, of course, unnecessary to quote in detail the authority of

<sup>1</sup> *Theologia Moralis*, Lib. 3, pars ii., n. 1297.

<sup>2</sup> *Theologia Moralis*, Lib. 4., Tract vi., n. 1025.

<sup>3</sup> *Cursus Theologiae Moralis*, Tract 23, jam. cit., cap. ii., n. 82.

<sup>4</sup> *De Jejunio*, Disp. ult., quaest i., punct. iii., n. 6.

<sup>5</sup> *Tractatus Dogmatico-Moralis de Jejunio Ecclesiastico*, Pars. iii. Art 2, Dub. i., nn. 2-10.

<sup>6</sup> *Medulla Theologiae Moralis*, Tract 6, cap. iii., *De Praeceptis Ecclesiae*. Dubium Primum.

<sup>7</sup> *Theologia Moralis*, Lib. 4., Tract vi., n. 1024.

<sup>8</sup> *Traité du Jubilé*, Chap v., art i., n. 4.

theologians in support of a principle so well known as this ; it will be more useful to place before our readers the terms of an instruction issued in 1835 by the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences, from which, as M. Loiseaux remarks, it clearly follows that the teaching of theologians on this subject has received the definitive approbation of the Holy See.

"Animadvertere hic præstat," are the words of the Sacred Congregation, "ad indulgentias acquirendas, adimpleantur oportet opera injuncta . . . Quod si aliquod ex operibus injunctis vel omnino vel in parte *notabili* sive per inscientiam, negligentiam, impotentiam, vel quacunque alia causa non servetur . . indulgentiæ minime acquiruntur."<sup>1</sup> It is an obvious inference from the terms of this decree that the indulgence will be gained provided that a notable part of the prescribed work is not omitted, or, in other words, provided that the work is substantially performed.

And since, as we have seen, the method of fasting described by our correspondent does not interfere with the substantial observance of the ecclesiastical fast, there can be no doubt that those persons who, whether with or without sufficient cause, thus depart from the method which has been introduced into this country by the established usage of the faithful, will, nevertheless, gain the Jubilee, provided, of course, that they comply also with the other conditions enumerated in the Encyclical.

2. "Must the three fasting days be observed in the order in "which they are enumerated in the Encyclical—'qui feria "quarta, sexta et sabbato jejunaverint,'—or may the fast be "commenced on Friday or Saturday?"

The view suggested in the latter portion of this question is undoubtedly the correct one : it will suffice to fast on the three days which his Holiness specifies, no matter in what order they may be selected. For, as far as this condition is concerned, nothing more is required than compliance with the requirements of the clause which our correspondent quotes. that is to say, fasting on Wednesday, on Friday, and on Saturday. And it is obvious that the inversion of the order which is observed in the clause, will by no means interfere with the performance of the three works enumerated in it. Is it not plain for instance that a person can be said to have fasted on Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, who fasted on Saturday in the first week of February, on Friday in the second, and on Wednesday in the third?

But, it may perhaps be asked, is not something more than

<sup>1</sup> *Decret. S. Cong. Indulgent.* (18. Feb., 1835.)



the mere performance of these works necessary to constitute compliance with this clause? Must not the fact of their being enumerated in a certain order, be regarded as a proof that the Pope requires this order to be observed? No: this principle of interpretation is rejected by all writers of authority. "Sensus est," says Laymann, "ut si haec omnia, *quocunque tandem ordine* impleta fuerint, indulgentiam consequi liceat."<sup>1</sup> And Lacroix writes—"Perinde est quo ordine praestentur ea opera."<sup>2</sup> Manifestly, then, the observance of the order in which the prescribed works are enumerated is not required.

3. "Is it necessary to observe the strict Lenten or Black Fast, including abstinence from eggs and lacticinia, when the time of Lent is selected for gaining the Jubilee?"

Our correspondent, probably, is not aware that a Rescript in reference to this subject was obtained some months ago by His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Dublin. This Rescript, dated 29th August, 1869, was published in the ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD for last October; by referring to which it will be seen that the Holy Father, considering how difficult it is in this country to procure the fasting fare, the use of which alone is allowed during the time of Lent by the common law of the Church—"cum ob defectum olei, fructuum ac etiam leguminum in Hibernia, difficile esset ut maxima pars populi adimplere posset conditionem *jejunandi solis cibis quadragesimalibus*:"—declared in accordance with the petition of His Eminence, that the faithful in this country can gain the Jubilee without abstaining from eggs and lacticinia, provided, of course, that they abstain from meat:—"ut praedicta *conditio jejunii pro Jubilaeo in Hibernia lucrando, cum sola abstinentia a carnibus, servato caeteroquin ipso jejunio quoad quantitatem adimpleri possit*."<sup>3</sup>

The terms of this rescript are universal: no distinction is made between the days of Lent and other days which may be selected throughout the year. Hence no doubt can be entertained, that even within the time of Lent, as far as this country is concerned, the use of eggs and lacticinia is consistent with the observance of the fast required for the Jubilee.

W. J. W.

<sup>1</sup> *Theologia Moralis*. Lib. v., tract 7, cap. viii., n. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Theologia Moralis*. Lib. vi., pars ii., n. 1407.

<sup>3</sup> See *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Vol. VI., No. lxi., October, 1869, page 38.

## NOTICE OF BOOK.

MANUALE SACRARUM CAEREMONIARUM IN LIBROS OCTO  
DIGESTUM A PIO MARTINUCCI APOSTOLICARUM CAERE-  
MONIARUM MAGISTRO. Romae, 1869. Vol I., pp. 365.

Monsignore Martinucci, Assistant Librarian of the Vatican Library, one of the Papal Masters of Ceremonies, has spent several years in the preparation of this work, which his learning, his experience, and his lucid style will render valuable to all who prize the order and beauty of the rites of the Church. The first of his eight volumes has appeared, and upon the encouragement given to it will depend the issue of the remaining volumes. But as each is complete in itself, it may be used and preserved as a safe guide, even if the others shall not be published. Their contents will be in the following order:—

The first volume contains the Ceremonies which are performed by all who have not received the Priesthood, on all days of the Liturgical year, as well as the rites of high and low mass on such days, and during the exposition of the Most Blessed Sacrament.

The second book will describe the ordinary ceremonies of the year in cathedral, collegiate, parochial, and conventual churches.

The third will give the chief ceremonies required in rural churches, where the clergy are few in number.

In the fourth will be detailed the administration of the Sacraments by parish priests, the functions which belong to him in his own right, and the blessings which the bishop may commit to him or to other priests.

In the fifth and sixth books all the pontifical rites of the year will be laid down.

In the seventh, the bishops will find explained the rubrics on the administration of Sacraments, and of the consecrations, and blessings which are reserved to them.

The eighth book will show the ceremonies which are performed by bishops out of their own dioceses.

The following note respecting the colour of the stole used in giving Holy Communion out of mass, will enable the reader to form an opinion of the author's style. After referring to the rubric which prescribes that the stole be of the colour of the vestments used at mass on the same day, he proceeds:—  
“Si quis causam requireret cur in S. Eucharistia extra missam administranda praescribatur stola concolor officii quod celebratur, responderi posset hoc esse constitutum, ut coloris una



eademque ratio esset cum reliquis paramentis quae Altare exornant. Videtur tamen, quod praeter hanc rationem, alia quoque subest magis intrinseca. Vetustis Ecclesiae Seculis S. Eucharistia administrari fidelibus extra sacrificium non solebat. Mos hic deinde invaluit apud Ecclesiam Hierosolymitanam, quo tempore sede illa potiebatur S. Cyrillus Episcopus, ut desiderio et petitioni satisfaceret peregrinorum, qui ad visitanda sancta loca undique confluebant, et quia non semper in promptu erat qui Sacrum faceret, idcirco Panis Eucharisticus ministrari Fidelibus extra missam coeptus est. Quocirca ad significandum veterem Ecclesiae ritum intra missam communicandi, constitutum est à Rituali, ut Eucharistiae Sacramentum administretur cum ejusdem atque officii sit coloris. Quaecumque demum opinio sit gravium auctorum, quos magni facimus, qui affirmant posse aut debere communio administrari cum stola albi coloris, quum admodum pateat Ritualis dispositio, quae nullis subjici potest interpretationibus, existimamus non esse iis adhaerendum, et legem positivam nobis potius sequendam, quam privatam opinionem Scriptorum ceteroquin eruditorum et insignium."

Our author purposely omits quoting the decrees of the Sacred Congregation, or the opinions of Rubricists, for the sake of clearness in giving his explanations.

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## DOCUMENTS.

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### I.—LETTER OF THE HOLY FATHER TO THE SUPERIOR OF THE CHRISTIAN BROTHERS, DUBLIN.

#### PIUS PP. IX.

Dilecte Fili, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Constans illa fides, ac sincera in Apostolicam sedem observantia qua Hiberni semper praestiterunt perspicue elucebat in literis tuis, quas una cum adiectis muneribus ad Nos misisti, nomine etiam fratrum tuorum quibus praees, et alumnorum qui ab iis docentur, ut communes gratulationes et obsequia erga Nos testareris. Nos autem dum grati ac benevolentis animi tibi profitemur affectum, guademus quod juvenes tuae eorumque vigilantiae concrediti solidae pietatis sensibus imbuantur atque confidimus illos inter acatholicos ipsos conversationem habentes bonam catholico nomini decori et ornamento futuros

ut heterodoxi, *ex bonis operibus eos considerantes*, juxta B. Petri effatum, *glorificent Deum in die visitationis*. Alacri igitur animo in illud opus incumbere quod Venerabilis congregationis tuae Institutor a filiis suis peragi voluit, et uberem a Deo laborum mercedem confidenter expecta. Interim divini favoris auspicem et praecipuae Nostrae dilectionis testem Apostolicam Benedictionem tibi piisque fratribus nec non discipulis universis quorum curam geris peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum, die 19 Januarii 1870. Pontificatus Nostri Anno Vigesimo quarto.

PIUS PP. IX.

## II.—THE ROSARY AND THE COUNCIL.

In answer to the humble petition of the Most Rev. the General of the Order of St. Dominic, His Holiness Pope Pius IX., has been graciously pleased to issue a Brief dated 3rd December, 1869, by which is granted, for all the time the General Council of the Vatican may be sitting, a PLENARY INDULGENCE to all the Faithful, who shall recite daily within the week, five decades, or one third part at least, of the Rosary of the Blessed Virgin in the usual manner prescribed; and who being truly penitent, having gone to confession and communion, shall make one visit in the same week to any church or public oratory, and there devoutly pray for the happy progress of the Council until its close, and in accordance with the Pope's intention. This indulgence is applicable to the souls in Purgatory, and may be gained every week on which the above conditions shall be duly performed.

PIUS PP. IX.

### AD FUTURAM REI MEMORIAM.

Egregiis Sui Ordinis Institutoris excitatus exemplis, ejusque vestigia sequi prae oculis habens dilectus filius Vincentius Iandel Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Magister Generalis humiliter Nobis exponendum curavit, maximum rei christianae emolumentum fore obventurum, si quotquot sunt in orbe fideles ad frequentiore hodiernis diebus Rosarii B. M. V. recitationem alliciantur. Quemadmodum enim S. Dominicus illa precatione tamquam gladio invicto ad nefariam Albigensium haeresim confringendam, quae christianae reipublicae pacem et tranquillitatem pessumdare minabatur, usus est, sic fideles hoc veluti



armaturae genere instructi, nempe quotidiana Rosarii B. M. V. recitatione, ut tot errorum monstra in praesens undique grassantia potenti Deiparae Immaculatae subsidio, et Concilii Oecumenici Vaticani a Nobis indicti mox auspicandi auctoritate, convellantur, eradicentur, facilius erunt consecuturi. Quo vero id certius fiat, enixe a Nobis petiit ut Indulgentiis, quae a Summis Pontificibus Praedecessoribus Nostris jam fidelibus illa precandi formula *Rosario* nuncupata utentibus concessae sunt, alias quoque adiicere de Benignitate Nostra dignaremur. Nos qui a Nostra prima aetate, ac praesertim cum in hanc B. Petri Cathedram, benignissimo Deo sic jubente, ascendimus, Nostram fiduciam in Bma. Dei Matre Maria totam posuimus, Eique soli a Deo datum fuisse, ut cunctas in universo mundo haereses interimeret, pro certo habentes, piis precibus Nobis oblatis ultro obsecundare, ac ut infra indulgere volumus. Quare de Omnipotentis Dei misericordia ac BB. Petri et Pauli Apostolorum ejus auctoritate confisi, omnibus et singulis utriusque sexus Christifidelibus, qui, donec Concilium Oecumenicum Vaticanum perduraverit, singulis cujusque hebdomadae diebus saltem quinque decades Rosarii devote recitaverint, servatis quoque, quae in ejus recitatione alias injuncta sunt; insuper vere poenitentes et confessi ac S. Communione refecti quamlibet Ecclesiam, seu Oratorium publicum visitaverint, ibique pro felici Concilii Oecumenici Vaticani exitu, et juxta mentem Nostram pias ad Deum preces effuderint, qua hebdomada id egerint, plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum indulgentiam et remissionem, quam etiam animabus Christifidelium, quae Deo in charitate coniunctae ab hac luce migraverint, per modum suffragii applicare possint, misericorditer in Domino concedimus. Praesentibus Concilio Generali et Oecumenico Vaticano perdurante valituris. Volumus autem ut praesentium Litterarum transumptis seu exemplis etiam impressis manu alicujus Notarii publici subscriptis et sigillo Personae in Ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae munitis eadem prorsus fides adhibeatur, quae adhiberetur ipsis praesentibus si forent exhibitae vel ostensae.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub Annulo Piscatoris die III Decembris MDCCCLXIX Pontificatus Nostri Anno Vigesimo quarto.

N. Cardinalis PARACCIANI CLARELLI.

CATALOGUS OMNIUM PATRUM QUI AD ŒCUMENICAM SYNODUM VATICANAM USQUE AD DIEM 20 DECEMBRIS, 1869, Convenerunt Alphabetico Ordine quoad Episcopos Dispositus juxta seriem Dioecesium.

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EMINENTISSIMI ET REVERENDISSIMI DOMINI S. E. R. CARDINALES.

ORDINIS EPISCOPORUM.

MARIUS MATTEI, Episcopus Ostiensis et Veliternus, Sacri Collegii Decanus.  
 CONSTANTINUS PATRIZI, Episcopus Portuensis et S. Rufinae.  
 ALOISIUS AMAT, Episcopus Praenestinus, S. E. R., Vice-Cancellarius.  
 NICOLAUS CLARELLI PARACCIANI, Episcopus Tusculanus.  
 CAMILLUS DI PIETRO, Episcopus Albanensis.

ORDINIS PRESBYTERORUM.

PHILIPPUS DE ANGELIS, Tituli S. Laurentii in Lucina, Archiepiscopus Firmanus S. E. R. Camerarius.  
 ALOISIUS VANNICELLI-CASONI, Tit. S. Praxedis, Arch. Ferrariensis.  
 FRIDERICUS SCHWARZENBERG, Tit. S. Augustini, Arch. Pragensis.  
 COSMAS CORSI, Tit. SS. Ioannis et Pauli, Arch. Pisanus.  
 FABIUS MARIA ASQUINI, Tit. S. Stephani in Monte Caelio.  
 DOMINICUS CARAFA DI TRAETTO, Tit. S. Mariae Angelorum, Arch. Beneventanus.  
 SIXTUS RIARIO-SFORZA, Tit. S. Sabinae, Arch. Neapolitanus.  
 JACOBUS MARIA MATHIEU, Tit. S. Silvestri in Capite, Arch. Bisuntinus.  
 CAROLUS ALOISIUS MORICHINI, Tit. S. Onuphrii, Episcopus Aesinus.  
 JOACHIMUS PECCI, Tit. S. Chrysogoni, Episcopus Perusinus.  
 JOSEPHUS OTHMARUS RAUSCHER, Tit. S. Mariae de Victoria, Arch. Viennensis.  
 ALEXANDER BARNABO, Tit. S. Susannae.  
 ANTONIUS ANTONUCCI, Tit. SS. Silvestri et Martini ad Montes, Episc. Anconitanus et Humanensis.  
 HENRICUS ORFEI, Tit. S. Balbinae, Arch. Ravennatensis.  
 JOSEPHUS MILESI-PIRONI-FERRETTI, Tit. S. Mariae in Aracoeli, Abbas Com mendatarius perpetuus et Ordinarius SS. Vincentii et Anastasii ad Aquas Salvias.  
 PETRUS DE SILVESTRI, Tit. S. Marci.  
 CAROLUS SACCONI, Tit. S. Mariae de Populo.  
 ANGELUS QUAGLIA, Tit. SS. Andreae et Gregorii, in Monte Caelio.  
 ANTONIUS MARIA PANEBIANCO, Tit. SS. XII Apostolorum, Major Poenitentarius.  
 JOSEPHUS ALOISIUS TREVISANATO, Tit. SS. Nerei et Achillei, Patriarcha Venetiarum.  
 ANTONIUS DE LUCA, Tit. SS. Quatuor Coronatorum.  
 JOSEPHUS ANDREAS BIZZARRI, Tit. S. Hieronymi Illiricorum.  
 LUDOVICUS DE LASTRA Y CUESTA, Tit. S. Petri ad Vincula, Archiepiscopus Hispalensis.  
 JOANNES BAPTISTA PITRA, Tit. S. Callixti.  
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 Nemesinus, *in part. infid.*, Ephrem Garrelon Episcopus.  
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 Neo-Eboracensis, Joannes Mac-Closkey Archiepiscopus.  
 Neo-Pampilonensis, Bonafacius Toscano Episc.  
 Nepesinus et Sutrinus, Julius Lenti Episc.  
 Neritonensis, Aloisius Vetta Episc.  
 Navarcensis, Jacobus Rooswell Bayley Episc.  
 Nicaragua (De), Emmanuel Ulloa Episc.  
 Niciensis, Petrus Sola Episc.  
 Nicolai et Benedicti (SS.), Romaricus Flugi Abbas.  
 Nicopolitanus, Joseph Pluym Episc.  
 Nicopolitanus *in part. infid.*, Joannes Mac Donald Episc.  
 Nicosiensis, Melchior Piccolo Episc.  
 Nicoteriensis et Tropiensis, Philippus de Simone Episc.  
 Nisibenus *in part. infid.*, Vincentius Tizzani Archiepiscopus.  
 Nissenus *in part. infid.*, Angelus Di Pietro Episcopus.  
 Nivernensis, Theodorus Forcade Episc.  
 Nolanus, Joseph Formisano Episc.  
 Northantoniensis, Franciscus Kerril Amherst Episcopus.  
 Nottinghamensis, Richardus Roskell, Episc.  
 Novae Aureliae, Joannes Odin Arch.  
 Nucerinus, Antonius Pettinari Episc.  
 Nursinus, Raphael Bachettoni Episc.

Olindensis, Franciscus Cardoso Ayres, Episc.  
 Olympensis, Leonardus Melano Episc.  
 Olomucensis, Fridericus de Furstenberg Arch.



- Oppidensis, Joseph Teta Episc.  
 Oranensis, Joannes Baptista Callot Episc.  
 Oregonopolitanus, Franciscus Blanchet Archiepiscopus.  
 Oriolensis, Petrus Cubero y Lopez de Padilla Episcopus.  
 Oritanus, Aloisius Margarita Episc.  
 Oscensis et Barbastrensis, Basilius Gil y Bueno Episcopus  
 Ostiensis et Veliternus, Marius Card. Mattei Episcopus  
 Ovetensis, Benedictus Sans y Fores Episc.  
 Owtawiensis, Eugenius Guigues Episc.
- Pacensis in Bolivia, Callixtus Clavigo Episc.  
 Pacensis, Ferdinandus Ramirez y Vasquez Episc.  
 Pactensis, Petrus Celesia Episc.  
 Palentipus, Joannes Lozano Episc.  
 Palmyrensis Arch. (jam) *in part. infid.* nunc Episc. Urbevetanus, Marinus Marini.
- Pampilonensis et Tudelensis, Petrus D' Uriz y De Labayru Episc.  
 Panamensis, Odoardus Vasquez Episc.  
 Paphensis *in part. infid.*, Hilarius Alcazar Episcopus  
 Paranensis, Joseph Gelabert Episc.  
 Parentinus et Polensis, Georgius Dobrilla Episc.  
 Parisiensis, Georgius Darboy Arch.  
 Parmensis, Felix Cantimorri Episc.  
 Pariensis *in part. infid.*, Hannibal Fantoni Episc.  
 Patarensis *in part. infid.*, Joseph Novella Episc.  
 Paterbornensis, Conradus Martin Episc.  
 Patracensis *in part. infid.*, Philippus Gallo Archiepiscopus  
 Pauli (S.) de Urbe, Leopoldus Zelli Abbas  
 Pennensis et Atriensis, Vincentius D'Alfonzo Episcopus  
 Perthensis, Joannes Brady, Episc.  
 Perusinus, Joachim Card. Pecci Episc.  
 Petrensis *in part. infid.*, Petrus Castellacci Archiepiscopus.  
 Petriculanus, Odoardus Fitzgerald Episc.  
 Petri (S.) Fluminis Grandensis, Sebastianus Dias Larangeira Episc.  
 Petrocoricensis, Nicolaus Dabert Episc.  
 Pharanensis, Ignatius Moraes Cardoso Episc.  
 Pharensis, Georgius Dubocowich Episc.  
 Philadelphiensis, Fridericus Vood Episc.  
 Philippensis rit. Graec., Stephanus Stefanopoli Arch.  
 Pictaviensis, Ludovicus Pie Episc.  
 Pinerolensis, Laurentius Renaldi Episc.  
 Pisanus, Cosimus Card. Corsi Arch.  
 Pisaurensis, Clemens Fares Episc.  
 Pisciensis Joannes Benini Episc.  
 Pistoriensis et Pratensis, Enricus Bindi Episc.  
 Pittsburgensis, Michael Domenec Episc.  
 Placentinus, Antonius Ranza Episc.  
 Plata (De), Petrus Puch y Solona Arch.  
 Plymutensis, Guillelmus Vaughan Episc.  
 Polemoniensis *in part. infid.*, Joannes Pinchon Episc.  
 Popayanensis, Carolus Bermundez Episc.  
 Porphyriensis, Franciscus Marinelli Episc.  
 Portlandensis, David Bacon Episc.  
 Portorico (De), Paulus Carrion Episc.  
 Portuensis et S. Rufinae, Constantinus Card. Patrizi Episc.  
 Portus Aloisii, Michael Hankinson Episc.  
 Potentinus et Marsicensis, Antonius Fania Episc.  
 Praenestinus, Aloisius Card. Amat Episc.  
 Pragensis, Fridericus Card. Schwarzenberg Archiepiscopus.  
 Presmiliensis, Antonius Manastyrski Episc.  
 Prienensis *in part. infid.*, Eligius Cosi Episc.

Ptolemaidensis, *in part. infid.*, Joannes Balma Episcopus.  
 Ptolemaidensis rit. Melch., Agapitus Dumani Episcopus.  
 Puniensis, Joannes Huerta Episc.

Quebecensis, Franciscus Baillargeon Arch.  
 Quinque Ecclesiensis, Sigismundus Kovacs Episcopus.  
 Quitensis, Joseph Checa Arch.

Ragusinus, Vincentius Zubranich Episc.  
 Ramathensis *in part. infid.*, Petrus Bigandet Episcopus.  
 Raphanensis *in part. infid.*, Jacobus O'Gorman Episc.  
 Rapotensis, Daniel Mac Gettigan Episc.  
 Ratisbonensis, Ignatius Senestrey Episc.  
 Ravennatensis, Henricus Card. Orfei Arch.  
 Recinatensis et Lauretanus, Thomas Gallucci Episcopus.  
 Regiensis, Carolus Macchi Episc.  
 Reginensis, Marianus Ricciardi Arch.  
 Rhedonensis, Godefridus Saint Marc Arch.  
 Rhemensis, Joannes Landriot Arch.  
 Rhodiensis *in part. infid.* Episc. Melitensis, Augustinus Paceforno Arch.  
 Rhodiopolitanus *in part. infid.*, Paulus Tosi Episcopus.  
 Richmondensis, Joannes Mac Gill, Episc.  
 Rosaliensis *in part. infid.*, Fidelis Suter Episc.  
 Rosensis, Carolus Poirier Episc.  
 Rossanensis, Petrus Cilento Arch.  
 Rossensis, Michael O'Hea Episc.  
 Rostensis, Bernardus Mac Quaid Episc.  
 Rothomagensis, Henricus Card. De Bonnechose Arch.  
 Rubensis et Bituntinus, Vincentius Materozzi Episcopus  
 Rupellensis, Benidictus Thomas Episc.  
 Ruthenensis, Ludovicus Delalle Episc.

Sagiensis Carolus Rousselet Episc.  
 Salamantinus et Civitatis—Joachim Lluch Episcopus.  
 Salernitanus, Antonius Salomone Arch.  
 Salfordensis, Guillelmus Turner Episc.  
 Salisburgensis, Maximilianus de Tarnoczy Arch. Primas.  
 Salmasiensis ritus Chald., Augustinus Bar-Scinu Arch.  
 Saltensis, Bonaventura Rizo Episc.  
 Salutarum, Laurentius Gastaldi Episc.  
 Samariensis *in part. infid.*, Franciscus Allard Episcopus.  
 Sanctoriensis, Fidelis Abbati Episc.  
 Santanderiensis, Joseph Lopez Grespo Episc.  
 Sappensis, Petrus Severini Episc.  
 Sardinianus *in part. infid.*, Petrus Giannelli Archiepiscopus  
 Sareptanus *in part. infid.*, Nicolaus Power Episcopus  
 Savanensis, Augustinus Verot Episc.  
 Savonensis et Naulensis, Joannes Baptista Cerruti Episc.  
 Scopiensis, Darius Bucciarelli Arch.  
 Scrantonensis, Guillelmus O'Hara Episc.  
 Sebastiana (S.) Fluminis Januarii, Petrus Delacerda Episc.  
 Sebenicensis, Joannes Zaffron Episc.  
 Secoviensis, Joannes Baptista Zwerger Episc.  
 Sedunensis, Petrus de Preux Episc.  
 Seguntinus, Franciscus Benavides Episc.  
 Seleuciensis (jam) Arch. *in part. infid.*, nunc Episc. Auximanus et Cingulanus, Salvator Vitelleschi.  
 Senogalliensis, Joseph Aggarbati Episc.  
 Senonensis, Victor Bernardou Arch.  
 Serena (De), Joseph Orrego Episc.  
 Sergiopolitanus, Adrianus Lanquillat Episc.



Severi (S.), Antonius La Scala Episc.  
 Severini (S.), Franciscus Mazzuoli Episc.  
 Signinus, Aloisius Ricci Episc.  
 Sinitensis *in part. infid.*, Eugenius Des Fleches Episc.  
 Sinopensis *in part. infid.*, Joseph Papardo Episcopus.  
 Sinus Viridis, Joseph Melcher Episc.  
 Siracensis rit. Arm. *in part. infid.*, Eduardus Hurmuz Arch.  
 Siuniensis rit. Arm. *in part. infid.*, Georgius Hurmuz Arch.  
 Smirnensis, Vincentius Spaccapietra Arch.  
 Southwarcensis, Thomas Grant, Episc.  
 Sozopolitanus *in part. infid.*, Franciscus de Charbonell Episc.  
 Spalatensis, Marcus Calogera Episc.  
 Squillacensis, Raphael Morisciano, Episc.  
 Strigoniensis, Joannes Simor Arch. Primas.  
 Suessionensis, Joannes Dours Episc.  
 Surensis *in part. infid.*, Henricus Maret Episc.  
 Surrentinus, Franciscus Xaverius Apuzzo Archiepiscopus.  
 Sydoniensis rit. Melch., Theodosius Kojungi Episcopus.  
 Syncellus Patr. rit. Syr., Elias Casetme Episc.  
 Sypontinus, Vincentius Taglialatela Arch.  
 Syrens, Joseph Alberti Episc.  
 Szathmariensis, Ladislaus Birot de Kerdi Polany Episc.  
 Tamassensis *in part. infid.*, Alexius Canoz Episc.  
 Tanensis *in part. infid.*, Thomas Salsano, Episc.  
 Tarentinus, Joseph Rotundo Arch.  
 Tarbiensis, Bernardus Mascarou Laurence Episcopus.  
 Tarnoviensis, Joseph Pukalski Episc.  
 Tarraconensis, Franciscus Fleix y Solans Archiepiscopus Primas.  
 Tarsensis *in part. infid.* rit. Arm., Arsenius Avak Wartan Angiarakian Arch.  
 Taurinensis, Alexander Riccardi di Netro Archiepiscopus.  
 Tarvisinus, Fridericus Zinelli Episc.  
 Tenensis et Miconensis, Joannes Marango Episcopus.  
 Tergestinus et Justi Nopolitanus, Bartolomaeus Legat Episc.  
 Terracinensis (jam), Guillelmus Sillani Episc.  
 Terracinensis Privernensis et Setinus, Bernardinus Trionfetti Episc.  
 Tessalonicensis *in part. infid.*, Alexander Franchi Arch.  
 Theatinus, Aloisius De Marinis Arch.  
 Thelesinus, Aloisius Sodo Episc.  
 Thermopylensis *in part. infid.*, Stephanus Fennelly Episc.  
 Thermularum, Vincentius Bisceglia Episc.  
 Thyatirensis *in part. infid.*, Joseph Del Prete Episc.  
 Tiberiadensis *in part. infid.*, Alexander Valsecchi Episc.  
 Tiburtinus, Carolus Gigli Episc.  
 Tipasitanus *in part. infid.*, Aloisius Elloy Episcopus.  
 Tirasonensis, Thomas Marrodon y Rubio Episcopus.  
 Tlascalensis, Carolus Colina Episc.  
 Tolosanus, Julianus Desprez Arch.  
 Tornacensis, Gaspar Labis Episc.  
 Toronensis *in part. infid.*, Jacobus Etheridge Episc.  
 Torontinus, Joannes Lynch Episc.  
 Trajanopolitanus *in part. infid.*, Antonius Claret y Clara Arch.  
 Tranensis Nazarenus et Barulensis, Joseph De Bianchi Dottula Arch.  
 Transylvaniensis, Michael Fogarasy Episc.  
 Trapezuntinus *in part. infid.*, Georgius Errington Arch.  
 Trapezuntinus rit. Arm., Joannes Ghiureghian Episc.  
 Trecensis, Emmanuel Ravinet Episc.  
 Trevirensis, Matthias Eberard Episc.  
 Tricaricensis, Simon Spilotros Episc.  
 Tridentinus, Benedictus di Riccabona Episc.

Trinitatis Cavensis (SS.), Julius De Ruggero Abbas.  
 Tripolitanus *in part. infid.*, Philippus Manetti Episc.  
 Triventinus, Aloisius de Agazio Episc.  
 Trojanus, Thomas Passero Episc.  
 Tuamensis, Joannes Mac-Hale Arch.  
 Tudensis, Raymundus Garcia y Anton Episc.  
 Tudertinus, Joannes Rosati Episc.  
 Tulancingo (De), Joannes Bapta Ormaechea Episcopus.  
 Turonensis, Josephus Guibert Arch.  
 Tusculanus, Nicolaus Card. Clarelli Paracciani Episc.  
 Tutelensis, Joannes Baptista Berteaud Episc.  
 Typhernatensis, Paulus Micaleff Episc.  
 Tyrensis rit. Melch., Athanasius Kauam Arch.  
 Tyrensis et Sydoniensis rit. Maron, Petrus Bostani Arch.

Ultrajectensis, Andreas Schaeppman Arch.  
 Ultrajectensis (jam) nunc Episc. Buscoducensis, Joannes Zwyrren Arch.  
 Urbinatensis, Alexander Angeloni Arch.  
 Urgellensis, Joseph Caixal y Estrade Episc.  
 Utinensis, Andreas Casasola Arch.  
 Uxellensis et Terralbensis, Franciscus Zunnui Casula Episc.

Vaciensis, Antonius Peitler Episc.  
 Valentinus, Marianus Barzio y Fernandez Arch.  
 Valentinensis, Franciscus Gueullette Episc.  
 Vallis Vidonis, Alexius Wicart Episc.  
 Vallisoletanus, Joannes Card. Moreno Arch.  
 Vapincensis, Amatus Guilbert Episc.  
 Varmiensis, Philippus Kremenz Episc.  
 Veglensis, Joannes Vitezich Episc.  
 Venetensis, Joannes Becel Episc.  
 Venetensis (jam), Joannes Baptista Gazailhan Episc.  
 Venetiarum, Joseph Card. Trevisanato Patriarc.  
 Ventimiliensis, Laurentius Biale Episc.  
 Verae Crucis, Franciscus Suarez Peredo Episc.  
 Verdunensis, Augustinus Hacquard Episc.  
 Veronensis, Aloisius Di Canossa Episc.  
 Versaliensis, Joannes Mabile Episc.  
 Verulanus, Joannes Bapista Maneschi Episc.  
 Vesprimiensis, Joannes Ranolder Episc.  
 Vicensis, Antonius Jorda y Soler Episc.  
 Vicentinus, Joannes Farina Episc.  
 Victoriensis, Rodesindus Salvado Episc.  
 Viennensis, Joseph Card. Rauscher Arch.  
 Vincennapolitanus, Mauritius De S: Palais Episc.  
 Vincentii et Anastasii (SS.) ad Aquas Salvias, Joseph Card. Milesi-Pironi-Ferretti Abbas.  
 Viterbiensis, Eustachius Card. Gonnella Episc.  
 Vivariensis, Ludovicus Delcussy Episc.  
 Volaterranus, Joseph Targioni Episc.  
 Vratislaviensis, Henricus Forster Episc.

Wellingtonensis, Jacobus Viard, Episc.  
 Westmonasteriensis, Henricus Manning Arch.  
 Weelingensis, Richardus Whelan Episc.

Zacatecas (De), Ignatius Guerra Episc.  
 Zakuensis rit. Chald., Emmanuel Asmar, Episc.  
 Zamorensis in Hispania, Bernardus Conde y Corral Episc.  
 Zenopolitanus *in part. infid.*, Aloisius Moccagatta Episc.



## ABBATES GENERALIS ORDINUM MONASTICORUM MITRAE USEM HABENTES.

### REVERENDI PATRES.

- Albertus Passeri, Abbas Canonicae S. Agnetis, extra Urbis moenia, Vicarius Generalis Congregationis Canoniorum Regularium Lateranensium SS. Salvatoris.
- Aloisius Garces, Abbas Monasterii SS. Salvatoris Messanensis Visitator Generalis Ordinis S. Basilii ritus graeci.
- Henricus Schmid, Abbas Monasterii S. Mariae Einsiedlensis Ordinis S. Benedicti, Praeses Congregationis Helvetiae.
- Richardus Placidus Burchall, Abbas Monasterii S. Petri Westmonasteriensis Ordinis S. Benedicti, Praeses Congregationis Angliae.
- Bonifacius Wimmer, Abbas Monasterii S. Vincentii in Pennsylvania Ordinis S. Benedicti, Praeses Congregationis Americanae in statibus foederatis Americae septentrionalis.
- Otto Lang, Abbas Monasterii S. Michaelis Mettensis Ordinis S. Benedicti, Praeses Congregationis Bavariae.
- Germanus Gai, Abbas Monasterii S. Praxedis de Urbe, Generalis Congregationis Vallis Umbrosae.
- Theobaldus Cesari, Abbas Monasterii S. Bernardi ad Thermas de Urbe, Praeses Generalis Ordinis Cistercensium.
- Ephrem Van de Meulen, Abbas Montis Olivarum B. Mariae de Trappa Vicarius Generalis Ordinis Cisterciensis antiquioris reformationis in Gallia.
- Adamus Adami, Abbas Monasterii S. Benedicti Fabrianensis, Generalis Congregationis Silvestrinae.
- Elisaens Elias, Ordinis S. Antonii, Abbas Generalis Congregationis S. Hormisdæ ritus chaldaici.
- Basilus Grifoni, Ordinis S. Benedicti, Abbas Monasterii S. Andreae et Gregorii in monte Caelio, Vicarius Generalis Congregationis Camaldulensis.
- Benedictus Santini, Ordinis S. Benedicti, Abbas Archicoenobii Montis Oliveti majoris in Hetruria, Vicarius Generalis Congregationis Olivetanae.

## GENERALES ET VICARII GENERALES CONGREGATIONUM CLERICORUM REGULARIUM.

### REVERENDI PATRES.

- Alexander Maria Teppa, Praepositus Generalis Congregationis S. Pauli.
- Bernardinus Sandrini, Praepositus Generalis Congregationis Somaschae.
- Petrus Beckx, Praepositus Generalis Societatis Jesu.
- Quiricus Quirici, Rector Generalis Congregationis Matris Dei.
- Joseph a Calasancio Casanovas, Praepositus Generalis Congregationis Scholarum Piarum.
- Franciscus Maria Cirino, Vicarius Generalis Congregationis Clericorum Regularium.
- Joseph Maria Novaro, Vicarius Generalis Congregationis Clericorum Regularium Minor.
- Camillus Guardi, Vicarius Generalis Congregationis Clericorum Regularium Infirmis Ministrantium.

## ORDINUM MONASTICORUM.

- Gregorius Cioci Ordinis S. Benedicti, Major Eremitarum Camaldulentium Congregationis Hettruriae.  
 Rinaldus Lesti Ordinis S. Benedicti, Major Eremitarum Camaldulentium Congregationis Montis Coronae.  
 Carolus Maria Saisson, Prior Generalis Ordinis Carthusianorum.  
 Thomas Cabbasce, Ordinis S. Basilii, Abbas Generalis Congregationis Soaritae Alleppinae ritus graec. melchit.  
 Demetrius Giamed, Ordinis S. Basilii Abbas Generalis Congregationis Soaritae Baladitae ritus graec. melchit.

## ORDINUM MENDICANTIUM.

## REVERENDI PATRES.

- Vincentius Jandel, Magister Generalis Ordinis Praedicatorum.  
 Bernardinus a Portogruario, Minister Generalis Ordinis Minorum.  
 Ludovicus Marangoni, Minister Generalis Ordinis Minorum Conventualium.  
 Nicolaus a Sancto Joanne, Minister Generalis Ordinis Capuccinorum.  
 Joannes Bellomini, Prior Generalis Ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini.  
 Dominicus a Sancto Joseph, Praepositus Generalis Ordinis Carmelitarum Discalceatorum.  
 Joannes Angelus Mondani, Prior Generalis Ordinis Servorum B. M. V.  
 Raphael Ricca, Corrector Generalis Ordinis Minimorum.  
 Benedictus a Virgine, Minister Generalis FF. Discalceatorum Ordinis SS. Trinitatis Redemptionis Captivorum:  
 Carmelus Patergnani, Generalis Ordinis Hieronymiani Congregationis B. Petri a Pisis.  
 Victorius Menghini, Generalis Ordinis FF. Poenitentiae.  
 Franciscus Salemi, Vicarius Generalis Tertii Ordinis Regularis S. Francisci.  
 Innocentius a Sancto Alberto, Vicarius Generalis Ordinis FF. Discalceatorum S. Augustini.  
 Angelus Savini, Vicarius Generalis Ordinis Carmelitarum Veteris Observantiae.  
 Joseph Maria Rodriguez, Vicarius Generalis Ordinis, B. Mariae de Mercede Redemptionis Captivorum.  
 Antonius Martin y Bienes, Vicarius Generalis Primi Ordinis SS. Trinitatis.



## THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

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APRIL, 1870.

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### THE FIRST IRISH MISSION OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

ON St. Patrick's eve, in the sixth year of the pontificate of Paul III., and the sixth year of the heresy of Henry VIII., two priests were speaking of India, Italy, and Ireland, in a house of the Piazza Morgana in Rome. Both of them had the "sangre azul" and the dignified bearing of the Spanish hidalgos and nobles of long ago. The elder, who had passed the meridian of life, was a man of middle stature. His head was bald, his forehead broad and high; his eyes, deep and full of fire, glowed from beneath brows, which Phrenology, had she then been born, might have portrayed in her loftiest style; but which, without her aid, announced a mission from on high to subjugate and to rule mankind. His head seemed the home of power and wisdom, and on his imperial countenance modesty and majesty were harmoniously blended. This man, thus described by Protestants and Catholics, was St. Ignatius of Loyola, founder of the Society of Jesus.

The other priest, who had just returned from the Vatican, was thirty-three years of age. His features were finely chiselled, his eyes were blue, and beaming with genius and goodness; his hair was auburn and his complexion fair; his whole form was tall, well-made, full of grace, manliness, and majesty. Of this companion of St. Ignatius a writer of the *Edinburgh Review* has said: "No hero of ancient or modern times was of a nobler mould than Francis Xavier, the magnanimous, the holy, the gay, the canonized Saint, not of Rome

only, but of universal Christendom." By the Brahmins of Asia he was called "the great father, the master, the man of heaven, and the god of the world." To Catholics he is known as St. Francis Xavier, the Apostle of the Indies.<sup>1</sup>

Having heard on the previous day, from the lips of Ignatius, that he was to go to India by order of the Pope, Xavier could reveal the excess of his joy only by passionate sobs. He mended his threadbare tunic, and went to receive the behests and blessings of the Sovereign Pontiff, and he has now come to get the last blessing of him, whom he called "the father of his soul" and "the man of God." He has come to bid farewell to Father Ignatius, whom he venerated so highly, that he kept his signature as a relic, wrote to him on bended knees, and sent him letters with the singular, and perhaps prophetic address: "To my Saintly Father in Christ, Ignatius"—"A mi in Cristo Santo Padre Ignatio."

St. Ignatius embraced St. Francis Xavier most affectionately, and finding him but scantily clad, he exclaimed: "O Francis, this is really too bad! what! not even a poor piece of cloth to cover your chest!" Having said this, he took off a vest, which he wore to protect his breast, during a fit of sickness, under which he was then labouring, and he made the missionary put it on.

St. Francis Xavier felt, as we learn from his letter to Ignatius, that he would never again meet "the father of his soul," "until he should see him in heaven, face to face, as he said, and greet him with the tenderest embraces."<sup>2</sup> While, with that feeling, he looked for the last time into the face of Ignatius, his own open, cheerful, sunny countenance, which was usually lighted up with pure heart-beaming rays, was, doubtless, "smiling through sorrow's streams," as we may well believe that the stern heart of St. Ignatius was "saddening through pleasure's beams;" for both were offering a great sacrifice to the greater glory of God, in separating for ever in this life. St. Ignatius gave St. Francis his last paternal blessing and confided to him a letter for his nephew Don Beltran de Loyola, which was couched in the following terms:—

"JESUS!

"The Lord be with us always by His grace and favour!

"The very great haste, with which we are pressed to send some Fathers to India, some to Ireland, and some throughout Italy, hinders me from writing to you at as great length as I should wish. The bearer of this letter is Francis de

<sup>1</sup> Bartoli, Bouhours, etc., Edinburgh Rev. July, 1842.

<sup>2</sup> Letter of St. Francis to St. Ignatius in 1540, among the Epist. S. F. Xaverii.



Xavier, a son of the Lord of Xavier, and a member of our Society. He is going to India by order of the Holy Father and at the request of the King of Portugal. It is only right that you should know that the Portuguese Ambassador, with whom Master Francis travels, is our firm friend, and that he is anxious to help us in all that concerns the service of the Lord our God. Wherefore I ask you, for the service of the Lord our God, to entertain him most sumptuously and honourably.

“Place in Master Francis all the confidence you would place in myself. I beg you will commend me very much to your lady and to all the family.

“God our Lord be always with us by his grace and favour.

“YÑIGO.

“Poor in goodness.

“Rome, March the 16th, 1540.”

This letter, which is found among the *Epistolae Sancti Ignatii*, shows how Ireland lay near the heart of our Patriarch on that Vigil of St. Patrick, and it gives us some reason to conjecture, that on the Feast of our Apostle he offered up the Holy Sacrifice for the Irish Mission, and paid his respects to Robert of Armagh, the successor of St. Patrick, who was then in Rome, and had been for some time urging the claims of the Isle of Saints on the charity of the Society.

That great and good Primate, at whose venerable figure we can give but a passing glance, had the honour and merit, or as Dr. Mant will have it, the “glory or shame,” of being, with St. Ignatius, the founder of the Irish Mission of the Society of Jesus. He was by birth either a Caledonian or an Irish Scot, and he had distinguished himself at the University of Paris, where he obtained the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and, perhaps, began his acquaintance and friendship with St. Ignatius and his companions. By his learning, piety, and prudence, he won the esteem and confidence of Paul the Third, and was by him appointed successively Legate a Latere to the Germans, Nuncio to France, Primate of Ireland, and Papal Representative at the Council of Trent; in all which functions he displayed a prudence and diplomatic skill, which entitle him to rank with his great contemporaries, the Cardinals Sadolet, Pole, Caraffa, and Contarini. He must have been a very perfect man indeed, says Father Pallavicino in his history of the Council of Trent, since the only fault Protestants could find in him were, that he was blind and rode post better than any man in Christendom. Spondanus makes a more becoming eulogium of him, in enumerating his noble embassies to the Kaiser, and

to the King of France, for the good of Holy Church, at a most critical period of her history.

This holy Primate had heard from the agents of the clergy of Armagh, and from other Irish sources, about the persecutions and butcheries which marked the progress of St. George's banner, about the martyrdom of many Religious throughout the country, about the obscurity which hung around Henry's headship, and about the confusion of the temporal and spiritual supremacy. With his soul full of these sad tidings, he went to the Holy Father, to lay before him the afflicted state of the Irish Church, and to ask him to send some fathers of the Society of Jesus to enlighten and comfort the children of St. Patrick.<sup>1</sup>

The Pope felt that the chair of St. Peter owed a great testimony of love and piety to such a people, and that he must send to them men who could brave the image of misery, tortures, and death, and who could by their learning and virtue instruct and console the faithful in the midst of their sufferings, and also in the midst of the scandals given them by the apostasy of Staples, the English Bishop of Meath, and by the weakness of Cromer of Armagh, who, being an Englishman, bent before the blast, although for a time he stood firm like an old Irish oak. The Holy Father consulted St. Ignatius on this most important matter, and, on his recommendation, named Fathers Codure and Salmeron Nuncios, early in the year 1541.

Orlandini and Cretineau-Joly say that Father Codure alone was appointed, and it is strange that Ignatius would offer two of his companions for the Irish Mission, whereas to the King of Portugal, who asked him for six fathers to preach to the Indies, he gave only St. Francis Xavier, saying, "what would the rest of the world do, if I sent six to India?" However, that two were told off for the arduous nunciatura to Ireland is clear from the Pope's Brief to Con Baccagh O'Neill, who reigned in Ulster for forty years, and, as the Four Masters inform us, spent his age and time without blemish or reproach. This Brief is still preserved in the *Annales* of Renaldus, and in the *Bruodin Manuscript* of the Arundel Library at Stonyhurst. It runs thus:—

"To our well-beloved Son, the Noble Con O'Neill, Prince of the Irish in Ulster.

"Beloved Son, Greeting—We have received your Lordship's letter, dated on the Vigil of All Saints, and brought to us by our son, your Raymond, who explained matters to us most fully by word of mouth. Our soul has been variously affected

<sup>1</sup> Cf, Mgr, Moran's "Archbishops," p, 22,



by the things we have learned. We have heard with the greatest grief how a modern king ravages your Island with the most wanton cruelty and tramples on the honour of God. On the other hand, when we perceived from your letter and from the words of Raymond, that you are the defender of God's honour, of the Roman Church, and of the Catholic Religion, we exulted with the feelings and joy of a fatherly love.

"Therefore, beloved son, do we praise you as you deserve, and commend you in the Lord God, whom we thank for having endowed you with so much valour and piety, and for having given you to us at this time, for the preservation of that Island; and we pray to Him that He may preserve you to us for a long time. We have taken that anxious care of you, which we owe to you and to the other defenders of the Catholic Faith. Wherefore in the Almighty we exhort your Lordship, and all the people of Ireland, who look up to your authority and piety, to persevere in the Catholic Religion, which you have received from your Forefathers, and have preserved down to these times with the greatest constancy, and in a manner worthy of yourselves and of the true faithful of Christ. We love that Island with particular charity, and wish it to be preserved in the old worship of holy Faith; and we will never forsake your Lordship, and the others, who imitate your piety, as you shall understand more fully from John and Alonzo our Nuncios, and from your agent Raymond.

"Given at Rome, the 24th of April, 1541, the Seventh Year of our Pontificate."

This Brief shows that O'Neill as well as Dr. Waucop, was urging the Holy Father to send Legates to this country, and it sets us thinking, who was this Raymond, "*Filius Raymundus tuus*," the confidential agent of O'Neill. Could it be, that he was the great Redmund O'Gallagher, who, in the Consistory of the 6th of November, 1545, was appointed Administrator of Killala, and was named Bishop of that Diocese in 1549, and was made "a glorious Martyr" at the close of the reign of Elizabeth?<sup>1</sup> It seems more than probable that he was the Raymond, who was to guide the Nuncios into Ireland, and that he was recommended afterwards by them as worthy to wear the mitre of Raphoe. However this may be, it seems certain that there were two Nuncios appointed. Why they did not start at once, on the receipt of the Pope's Brief, is a question we cannot clear up. Neither can we see why they did not come to Ireland a year earlier, for

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Mgr. Moran's "*Archbishops*," pp. 180, 181.

Ignatius in the letter, which he gave to St. Francis Xavier, seems to say that their departure was imminent. They remained to take part in the election of St. Ignatius to the Generalship of the new Society, and soon after, on the 22nd of April, they made their solemn Profession at St. Paul's outside the walls, and were to start for the Island of Saints a few days after. But Father Codure fell sick, and on the 24th of June calmly breathed his soul into the hands of his Creator, and joined the recent Irish martyrs in praying for the success of Fathers Salmeron and Brouet, who were sent to Ireland after his death.<sup>1</sup>

Brief and bright is the history of this holy man, who seems to have been ordained by Providence, merely to inscribe his name on the rolls of the infant Society, "to show his virtues for a day to wondering eyes and wing away." Had he lived to exercise his burning zeal and his brilliant talents in the service of the Faith during those troublous and melancholy times, who can tell what good he would have achieved in Ireland and on the Continent! As Dr. Pise remarks, "we are utterly incapable of forming an idea of the usefulness of Codure, had he been permitted to measure the ordinary number of years allotted to man; but of him we may emphatically say, 'Being made perfect in a short space, he fulfilled a long time. For his soul pleased God; therefore He hastened to bring him out of the midst of iniquities.'"<sup>2</sup>

John Baptist Codure was a native of the South of France, and, strange to say, he was born, baptised, ordained, and gathered to his fathers on the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist. He was brought to the standard of St. Ignatius in the year 1536, by the saintly words and example of his countryman, the celebrated Father Faber. Before pronouncing his vows on the Mountain of Martyrs in Paris, he abstained from all food and drink for the space of three days, as did also the other fathers; and on that occasion, as well as in the various occupations, in which the early companions of St. Ignatius were employed, no one showed a greater spirit of devotion than Father Codure. At the time of his solemn profession, which he made immediately after St. Ignatius himself, so lively was his piety, so great was the exuberance of his spiritual consolation, that in spite of every effort to conceal them, they burst from the depths of his soul in frequent and involuntary sobs.

After his profession, when making a pilgrimage to the Seven Churches at Rome, he could not control his emotions;

<sup>1</sup> Orlandini and Joly, *Hist. of Soc. of Jesus*.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Pise, "St. Ignatius and his Companions."



he prayed aloud and sobbed and wept, and seemed to Father Laynez, who was his companion, as if he would die of very joy and of thankfulness towards God.

Such sensibility seemed not fitted for this cold earth of ours, and God willed that Codure should not be suffered to sojourn long amid its sorrows and cares. Indeed the pious father foresaw the speedy coming of the angel of death, and prepared for his exit from this mortal existence, with the resignation of one predestinated to immortal bliss. He was very sick on the eve of the Nativity of St. John. Ignatius, on the following morning, was walking in silence to St. Peter's in Janiculo, to say Mass for his recovery, when he stopped suddenly on the Ponte Sisto, and looked fixedly towards heaven; then turning to his companion John Baptist Viola, he said, "let us return home, our dear Codure is no more." Father Codure had actually died at that very moment, and his soul, it was believed, was seen by Ignatius going up to heaven, as he had previously seen the soul of Father Hosius. Hence the saint did not celebrate mass for him, and he announced his death in a letter to Faber, adding that a pious man, while rapt in prayer, beheld Father Codure's soul, all radiant with a glorious light, taken up to heaven amidst choirs of angels.

What we have seen of his short career shows the opinion St. Ignatius and Laynez entertained of his holiness. Of his learning and prudence we have evidence in the facts, that he was a Doctor of Theology, that he had been appointed Confessor to Margaret, daughter of Charles V., and that he was thought fit to fill the arduous office of Apostolic Legate to Ireland, at a most critical moment in the history of this country.

After the death of Father Codure, Ignatius had only four Fathers with him in Rome, and these were insufficient for the work which was before them, as they had to teach, preach, and form twelve novices to the life of the Society. Nevertheless, he felt for the Irish people the same admiration and sympathy as the Sovereign Pontiff expressed in his Brief to Con O'Neill, and he placed half his staff at the disposal of his Holiness for the Irish Mission, and thus Father Brouet, as well as Father Salmeron, was invested with all the prerogatives of the Nunciatura.

Father Alonzo Salmeron was a native of Toledo. At the age of eighteen he filled a Chair of Philosophy, and could then speak fluently the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages. Being attracted by the far-famed sanctity of Ignatius, he and his intimate friend Laynez went to Paris to place

themselves under his spiritual guidance, as well as to study Divinity in the great French University. The first man they met, on entering the capital of France, was their saintly countryman. Recognizing him by the modesty and composure of his bearing, they spoke to him, placed themselves under his care, and went through his spiritual exercises, during which, for three consecutive days, they abstained from food and drink of every kind. These two youths of Toledo completed their course of theology with the greatest éclat, as might be expected, for they had intellects keen and bright as the blades of their native city.

Salmeron went with the other companions of Ignatius from Paris to Venice, and in the hospitals of that place he found a wide field for the exercise of his ardent zeal. There also he had before his eyes the heroic examples of virtue, given to him by St. Francis Xavier, with whom he passed forty days midst the mortifications and meditations of a spiritual retreat. From Venice he journeyed on foot to Rome, where his brilliant talents and his solid virtues at once commanded universal attention, and won for him, at the early age of twenty-five, the name of an eloquent preacher, a learned professor of divinity, and an enlightened master of spiritual life. It is said of him that he used the "Exercises" with so much dexterity, that he led many souls to a singular and exalted perfection,—amongst others, Francis de Villanova, who became a perfect mirror of the apostolic life. But Rome was to be deprived of his services for a season, as the esteem and confidence of the Pope raised him from the Divinity Chair of La Sapienza, and from the pulpits of the Eternal City, to a high and dangerous dignity, the perils of which he ardently embraced, while he ambitioned not its glory or its honours.<sup>1</sup>

Father Salmeron's companion was Pasquier Brouet, a native of the North of France, who had been a priest and learned Doctor of Divinity before he was influenced by the virtue and example of Father Faber to join the standard of Ignatius. He was present at the profession of vows at Montmartre; with the other companions he abstained for three days from all food and drink; with them he travelled barefoot from Paris to Venice, with staff in hand and his manuscripts under his arm, and with those pilgrims he suffered very much from hunger and fatigue, and escaped almost miraculously the many dangers to which he was exposed on the frontiers of France.

<sup>1</sup> Orlandini, Hist. S. J. Patrignani, and the Preface to Salmeron's Works,



In Italy Brouet worked with untiring zeal. Being sent by his Holiness to reform a relaxed convent at Siena, he not only succeeded in that work, which others had attempted in vain, but he exercised also among the citizens the usual functions of the Society with the most consoling results. In his skilful hands the Spiritual Exercises were singularly efficacious. By them he converted many persons. Among these converts was a clergyman, who had acquired a sad celebrity as a writer of comedies, and who did not blush to act publicly in his own burlesque compositions. This poor priest, being brought to a sense of his duty by the Exercises, ascended the pulpit with a rope round his neck, and there, with clasped hands and downcast eyes, asked pardon of the faithful for all the scandalous levities of his life. Thus the man who, as an actor or buffoon, had by his histrionic powers evoked peals of laughter from the merry Sienese, as a contrite penitent, drew from them tears of piety and compassion.

So wonderful was Father Brouet's success at Siena, that its Archbishop wrote to St. Ignatius—"Father Brouet persuades the citizens by his eloquence, stimulates them by his example, charms them by his humility, and by his charity fires them with a desire to live well." This very success deprived Siena of the long enjoyment of his labours, for the Holy Father was struck with the tact and energy which Brouet displayed in that little republic, and he resolved to send him on a much more distant and difficult mission, where he would not have a Hospital of Santa Maria to rest in, after the labours of the day, and where the only bed and pillow, which Tudor hospitality would prepare for him, were the scaffold and the block.<sup>1</sup>

Such were the two Jesuits, whom Paul the Third was sending as his representatives to the Irish people.

They were departing from Rome without attendants, without money, without provisions for the long journey, "without sack or sandal," as the Apostles went forth to win the world to Jesus Christ. They were to travel on foot, staff in hand, dependence on the charity of the world being their only purse, and their breviary and their confidence in God, their only outfit.

Such self-denial in so exalted a dignity powerfully attracted a Notary Apostolic, named Francis Zapata, who had for some time been thinking of consecrating himself to God in the Society of Jesus. He fancied that the Irish Mission would be a good probation for the religious life; and as he impressed

<sup>1</sup> Orlandini, Hist. S.J. Patrignani "Pic Memorie," Art. Broeto.

on St. Ignatius the necessity of having money to avoid suspicion in those critical times, he was allowed to defray the travelling expenses of the Legates, and to share their labours and dangers.

On the 10th of September, 1541, the three fathers left the Eternal City, bearing with them the Briefs of the Holy See for the King of Scots and the Irish Princes, and also private instructions from their General, which would do honour to the most consummate diplomatist. In a paper which will ever remain as a monument of his knowledge of men and things, St. Ignatius says<sup>1</sup> :—

“With all persons, and particularly with equals and inferiors, be sober and circumspect in your words; be ever ready to listen attentively to all they have to say, and having heard all, give a clear, decisive answer in a few words. To win the good will of men, for the greater glory of God, imitate the Apostle, who became all to all to gain all to Christ; study the character of those with whom you converse, be lively with the impetuous, and rather grave and slow with the slow and circumspect. If you are dealing with a man of quick and irascible temper, and are likely to disagree with him in opinion, beware, and prepare your souls to bear patiently whatever unpleasant things he may say or do to you. In drawing men to God, fight the demon with his own weapons, as St. Basil recommends. The devil attacks the just indirectly, and hides his snares from them; he feigns to adapt himself to their pious inclinations, and by degrees draws them into sin. Thus, too, you must not attack men’s vices at first; but commend their good qualities, and afterwards, when you have found the way to their hearts, pour in the light, and pluck out their vices. With those who are sad and troubled in mind be bland in words, and sunny and serene in looks, in order to restore peace to their souls.

“In your public discourses and private interviews, and especially when you are striving to reconcile enemies, never forget that all your words and actions may be published to the world, and thus you will always act with becoming prudence. Never put off matters of business; rather do to-day what you promise to do to-morrow. Never meddle in money matters, not even with the fines fixed for the dispensations which you have the power to grant, and let any moneys that may be collected be distributed to the poor by other hands than yours, so that you may be able to affirm on oath that you never touched even one farthing during your Legation. In interviews with the Magnates of the land, Pasquier Brouet

<sup>1</sup> Orlandini, Crétineau.



shall be the spokesman, but in your private consultations, if you should differ in opinion, decide on doing whatever two out of the three shall think best. Write to Rome frequently during your journey, and also immediately after your arrival in Scotland, and again on landing in Ireland, whence you shall diligently send an account every month about the success of your Legation."

These instructions, given by St. Ignatius to the departing Nuncios, show that he was well acquainted with the state of Ireland, and with the hostile elements that existed there. He penned those admonitions after prolonged prayer for light from on high, and after many conversations with Dr. Waucop and perhaps also with the Irish agent Raymond sent to Rome by the Archdiocese of Armagh and by Con Baccagh O'Neill. These agents and the primate and all in Rome expected the happiest results from this first mission of the Society; while high hopes of its success were entertained by the persecuted people of Ireland. These hopeful longings of Erin are passionately expressed in the Celtic ode called "Roisin Dubh," supposed to have been addressed by O'Donnell to his native land, and thus exquisitely rendered in Clarence Mangan's translation:—

"Oh my dark Rosaline!  
Do not sigh, do not weep!  
The *Priests* are on the ocean green,  
They march along the deep;  
There is wine from the Royal *Pope*,  
Upon the ocean green,  
And *Spanish* ale shall give you hope,  
My dark Rosaline!  
My own Rosaline!  
Shall glad your heart, shall give you hope,  
Shall give you health and help and hope,  
My dark Rosaline!"

In these verses of O'Donnell the wine typifies the spiritual aid expected from the Holy See; and the ale means the help promised by the Catholic powers of the Continent. But the spiritual help was a long time coming, as priests did not find it easy in those troublesome days to get on or off "the ocean green;" and the fathers took twice more time to come from Rome to Ireland than an Irish Jesuit now takes in going to his far-off mission of Australia. War was breaking out everywhere, and flaming round the frontiers of France. Francis the First had five armies in the

field against Charles the Fifth; and all Europe was set on fire by the mutual jealousies and the ambitions of those powerful princes. This state of things, and the presence every where of a licentious soldiery, impeded the progress and endangered the lives of the Legates; and besides, most probably, Henry's ubiquitous and unscrupulous agents and spies were dogging their steps, in order to seize their persons, and prevent them from entering Ireland. "The murderer of his wives" and of his subjects, who, according to Miss Strickland, intended perhaps to murder his nephew that he might marry his nephew's widow,<sup>1</sup> would not have been displeased, if his faithful agents waylaid or poisoned the Papal Envoys. The English State Papers show pretty clearly, that he and his daughter Elizabeth thought it quite lawful to get rid of their enemies by poison, or by the dagger of the assassin. At all events, it would be strange if all their movements were not traced, and then transmitted to London. For Mr. Froude informs us in his history, that at that time the English government had agents in Rome, whose business was to overhear conversations though held in the most secret closet of the Vatican, to bribe secretaries in order to obtain copies of private dispatches, to *practise* (such was the word) for intelligence by fair means or else by *foul*. These men did their work well. Thus in 1539 access was obtained by bribery, or by *some other form of treachery*, to a letter from some person high in the Pope's confidence in Rome, to the Cardinal of Seville, an analysis of which found its way into the hands of Cromwell. The letter stated that an Irish nobleman, evidently the Earl of Desmond, had sent a confidential agent to the Holy Father, to explain at length the weakness of the English power in Ireland, and to describe the impunity with which the Earl despised it. He promised, if aided by thirty thousand Spaniards, to conquer the whole Island and to govern it as Viceroy of the Pope.

Having passed through the spies of Henry, and the soldiers of the belligerent princes, after many trials and dangers on land and sea, the Legates arrived in Scotland, where reigned James the Fifth, the father of Mary Stuart and the nephew of Henry the Eighth. They were the bearers of a letter from the Pope, exhorting the King of Scots to remain faithful, and recommending the Irish Nuncios to his protection. The Fathers saw James, begged of him in the interests of the Church, of his crown, and of his soul, not to abandon the faith of his fathers. He promised to

<sup>1</sup> Miss Strickland's "Queens of Scotland," Vol. I., p. 398.



resist all the solicitations of his uncle, and gave them the following letter for his Irish allies:—

“James, by the grace of God, King of Scots, to the Lords and Gentlemen of Ireland who are our friends, greeting—

“We have received, through Pasquier Brouet, Alonzo Salmeron, and Francesco Zapata, a Brief of the most Holy Father, which abundantly testifies how much his Holiness has at heart the affairs of Ireland, and how much he thirsts for the salvation of her people. Since those Nuncios are going to Ireland and must journey through our kingdom, his Holiness has asked me to commend them, first to our Islanders, and then to the friends through whose dominions and lands they shall pass. Wherefore we ask you to receive them with kindness and hospitality, and to help them in all necessary matters. We are most anxious that you would so receive them, for our sake, as if they were our own men. Farewell.

“Given at our Palace of Stirling, the First of February, 1542.”

On the same day he wrote a special letter to O'Neill, Prince of Tyrone, alluding to the previous letter, and concluding thus:—“Wherefore we beg of you to have them so treated in your dominions, that they may feel our recommendation to be of use to them.—Friend, farewell.”<sup>1</sup>

*(To be continued.)*

## QUESTIONS REGARDING THE JUBILEE.

### IX.—THE POWER OF COMMUTING THE PRESCRIBED WORKS.

I. “IN what circumstances is a confessor empowered to commute the performance of the works enumerated in the Encyclical as conditions for gaining the Jubilee? Can he, for instance, grant a commutation of the fasting days when the circumstances of the case are such as would justify him in declaring a penitent exempt from the ecclesiastical law on “fasting days of obligation?”

<sup>1</sup> Scotch S. P.

From the words of the Encyclical, *Nemo certe ignorat*,<sup>1</sup> which are substantially identical with those hitherto employed by the Popes on similar occasions in reference to this subject, it is manifest that a commutation can be granted only to those persons who cannot perform the works enjoined by his Holiness :—"qui memorata opera," are the words of the Encyclical, "*praestare nequiverint.*" Hence Gobat says :—"Non sufficit absolute quodcunque impedimentum, sed requiritur impedimentum cum *impotentia.*"<sup>2</sup>

But it must be observed that according to the unanimous judgment of theologians, the Pope does not intend to restrict the exercise of this power to cases of absolute physical impossibility. A commutation can be granted when the performance of the prescribed works is *morally* impossible, that is to say, when it would be attended with very great and serious difficulty. For in this sense it is hardly necessary to remark, the words *moraliter impossibile* are commonly understood by writers on Moral Theology. "*Sufficit moralis impotentia,*" continues Gobat, "*atque adeo notabilis seu magna et gravis difficultas.*"<sup>3</sup>

It is plain, then, that no general rule can be laid down which would enable a confessor to determine in every case, with mathematical accuracy, whether he is authorised to grant a commutation. But some assistance may perhaps be derived from the following principles, taken in connection with the explanations which are laid down in any of the ordinary theological treatises, under the headings *De causis excusantibus a jejuniis, ab auditione missae, etc.*

In the first place, it is obvious that a confessor is not empowered to grant a commutation in any case where the difficulty of performing the work enjoined in the Encyclical is not such as would exempt a person from the obligation of performing it, if it were prescribed by an ecclesiastical law. The grounds on which this principle rests are unquestionable. For, since according to all theologians, ecclesiastical laws do not bind in any case where their observance is morally impossible,<sup>4</sup> it clearly follows that when they do bind, the performance of the prescribed work is not morally impossible, and that consequently in such cases a commutation cannot be granted. A confessor therefore cannot grant a commutation of the visits

<sup>1</sup> See *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Vol. 5, No. lvi., May, 1869.

<sup>2</sup> *Opera Moralia.* Tract iii. *De Jubilaeo.* Cap. xv., n. 99.

<sup>3</sup> *Id. ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> "Impotentia moralis excusat a lege, quia legislator non censetur urgere obligationem cum tanto incommodo, juxta communem Doctorum interpretationem." GURY, *Compendium Theologiae Moralis. Tractatus de Legibus*, n. 108.



to the churches or of the fasting days in any case where the circumstances are not such as would justify the person who applies for the commutation, in absenting himself from Mass on a day of obligation in the former case, or in failing to observe the Ecclesiastical Fast in the latter.

In the second place, it is to be observed that a confessor is not empowered to grant a commutation in every case where the difficulty of performing the work in question is such as would suffice to exempt a person from the obligation of an ecclesiastical law. The reason on which this principle rests is equally clear. For the precepts of the church cease to bind not only where their observance is morally impossible, but sometimes also in cases where the difficulty of observing them is not such as to amount to moral impossibility. And in such cases, as is obvious from the principles already explained, a commutation cannot be granted.

Take, for instance, the precept of hearing Mass on Sundays and Holidays. "*Hoc praeceptum juxta communem Doctorum interpretationem,*" says Suarez, "*cum hac moderatione latum est ut non sit necessaria causa admodum gravis ad excusandum.*"<sup>1</sup> The same doctrine is taught by Saint Alphonsus: "*Excusat ab auditione missae*" he says, "*quaevis causa mediocriter gravis.*"<sup>2</sup> And in Gury's Cases of Conscience the teaching of theologians in reference to this point is most accurately stated, as follows:—"Excusat a missa audienda diebus dominicis et festis *non solum impotentia physica et moralis, sed etiam causa mediocriter gravis, quae involvit notabile incommodum in bonis animae vel corporis aut bonorum.*"<sup>3</sup>

The inference from this doctrine is obvious; several of the causes which are laid down by theologians as sufficient to exempt a person from the obligation of going to the church to hear Mass on Sundays are not sufficient to authorise a confessor to commute the visits which are enjoined in the case of the Jubilee. And this, in fact, is the conclusion at which those writers have arrived, who have entered most fully into the examination of this question. "*Mihi dubium non est,*" says Gobat, "*quin multae ex causis quae excusant ab auditione Missae, die festo, praestent impedimentum sufficiens ad commutationem faciendam in visitatione Ecclesiae.*"<sup>4</sup> In which passage it is of course clearly implied that some of the causes which are sufficient in the case of the ecclesiastical

<sup>1</sup> *De Eucharistia.* Disp. 88, sect. iv., n. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Theologia Moralis.* Lib. iv., Tract. 3, cap. i., *De Tertio Praecepto Decalogi*, n. 324.

<sup>3</sup> *Casus Conscientiae.* *De Tertio Praecepto Decalogi.* Casus iv., n. 347.

<sup>4</sup> *Opera Moralia.* Tract. iii. De Jubilaeo, Cap. xv., n. 100.

law are not sufficient in the case of the Jubilee. The same doctrine is taught in almost the same words by M. Loiseaux: "La plupart des causes," he says, "qui excusent de l'assistance à la messe aux jours de Dimanche fournissent un motif suffisant de commuer la visite de l'église."<sup>1</sup>

But, if we regard this precept, not as its nature is theoretically explained by theological writers, but as it is practically observed, with such exemplary diligence, in almost every part of Ireland, it may safely be laid down that a confessor can commute the visitation of the churches in every case in which according to the usual practice of the faithful in this country, a person would be regarded as excused from the obligation of hearing Mass on days of obligation.

With reference to the commutation of the fast, the rule laid down by theologians is that in all cases where the difficulty of fasting is such as to exempt a person from the obligation of the ecclesiastical law on fasting days of obligation, a confessor can grant a commutation of this condition in the case of the Jubilee. For the law of fasting, according to the common doctrine of theologians, does not cease to bind except in those cases where its observance would involve a serious and notable difficulty, such as, according to the authorities already quoted, is not required in the case of the obligation of hearing Mass. Hence, Gobat, whose views upon this point are adopted by Loiseaux, writes:—"In jejuniis [sufficit difficultas] quae ratione infirmitatis aut laboris sufficiens est ut quis quadragenarius excusetur a jejuniis vigiliarum per annum occurrentium absque dispensatione; nam talis non eximitur nisi difficultas sit notabilis et gravis, ut suppono ex communi doctorum sensu in materia de jejuniis."<sup>2</sup>

2. "Is the fact of a person's being under twenty-one years of age, a sufficient reason for granting him a commutation of the three days' fast?"

It is not. The Encyclical clearly points out the cases in which the power of commutation can be exercised, and it is obvious that the description does not apply to all those cases to which our correspondent refers. The words are:—"Qui memorata opera vel eorum aliqua *praestare nequiverint*;"<sup>3</sup> meaning, as we have just seen, that the power is

<sup>1</sup> *Traité du Jubilé*. Chap. vi., art. 2, sect. i., par. 4, n. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Opera Moralia*. Tract. iii. *De Jubilaeo*. Cap. xv., n. 100.

<sup>3</sup> *Encycl.* *Nemo certe ignorat*. See *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Vol. 5, No. lvi., May, 1869, p. 387.



restricted to those cases in which the performance of the prescribed works would be attended with serious difficulty.

Now it is plain that in very many cases the observance of the Jubilee Fast by persons under twenty-one years of age, would not be attended with such difficulty. In those cases, then, a confessor is not empowered to commute the observance of this condition. This view of the question is taken by all Theologians. Laymann, for instance, writes of it as follows:—"Utrum," he asks, "adolescens v. g. annorum octodecim qui Ecclesiasticis quidem jejuniis nondum astringitur, sed *sine magna difficultate* jejunium tridui perferre potest, jejunare teneatur, si jubilai participes esse velit? Respondeo affirmative."<sup>1</sup> And Viva, after stating that this is the common teaching of Theologians, adopts it in these words:—"Non datur sufficiens causa commutandi nisi per accidens ex debilitate complexionis aut alio ex capite jejunare non possent *absque notabili incommodo*." He also states, with great distinctness, a principle to which Laymann refers, and to which, it is evident, a confessor should attend in coming to a decision upon this subject in any particular case:—"Quamvis Ecclesia istos non obligat ad jejunia ecclesiastica quae, cum multa sint, essent valde onerosa adolescentiae nihilominus *tria jejunia* possint ab adolescentibus facile impleri."<sup>2</sup>

3. "A confessor who, through mistake, has commuted one of the prescribed works in a case where the difficulty of performing it was not sufficient to justify him in granting the commutation, wishes to know whether this commutation was valid."

Undoubtedly it was, if he acted *bona fide*, that is to say, if, after having endeavoured with ordinary diligence to ascertain the extent of his power, and the circumstances of the case in which he was called upon to exercise it, he felt satisfied when granting the commutation that he was authorised to do so.

Since, however, in thus acting he really exceeded the limits laid down in the Encyclical, it is clear that this decision can be explained only by applying the principle which is also applied in many cases of a somewhat similar nature, in connection with the administration of the Sacraments of Penance and Matrimony, namely, that the Pope, in consideration of the special circumstances of the case, supplies

<sup>1</sup> *Theologia Moralis*. Lib. v., tract. 7, cap. viii., n. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Opusculum de Jubilæo*. Quaest. viii., art. vii., n. 3.

the jurisdiction which is wanting. The case which we are examining is, indeed, the only instance in connection with the gaining of an indulgence, in which this principle is applied ; but it is not difficult to understand the reason of this special interference. For if, in this case, the commutation were invalid, the penitent would lose the indulgence, whilst acting in strict conformity with the injunctions of his confessor, and thus observing all the conditions imposed upon him by the director to whose judgment in all such cases, the determination of these conditions is referred by the Pope in the Bull of Jubilee.

But, whatever may be the motive, there can be no doubt as to the fact that in this case the defect of jurisdiction is supplied by the Pope. "Si causa commutandi," says Lacroix, "fuit re ipsa insufficiens sed *bona fide judicata est sufficiens, nihil impedit*. . . quia commutatio remittitur iudicio confessarii."<sup>1</sup> "Si Confessarius," says Gobat, "*bona fide ratus* adesse sufficientem commutationis rationem, commutet tunc, *cum a parte rei non est sufficiens*, videtur nihilominus *valere commutatio*, nec periclitari jubilaum. Ducor, quia non videntur posse aliter sedari conscientiae confessariorum et poenitentium."<sup>2</sup> Ferraris lays down the same doctrine almost in the very words of Lacroix.<sup>3</sup> And, not to exhaust the patience of our readers, coming to more recent times, we find M. Loiseaux perfectly at one with the earlier writers just quoted :—"Quoi qu'il en soit," he says, "le confesseur doit agir sans scrupule, sans inquietude. Lorsque de bonne foi, il a cru qu'il y avait une raison suffisante . . . quoique en réalité il n'y en eût point *la commutation est valide, au jugement des auteurs*. . . Telle est l'intention présumée des souverains Pontifes. C'est le seul moyen de calmer les inquiétudes des confesseurs et des pénitents."<sup>4</sup>

In fact, every theologian who discusses the question adopts the same view of it ; and this unanimity is, in itself, a sufficient guarantee of the truth of the opinion which is thus put forward. For, as Lacroix expresses the argument on which the modern theologians mainly rely in support of the commonly received doctrine regarding the cases in which the jurisdiction required in the administration of the Sacrament of Penance is supplied :—"Quando scit ecclesia et non reprobatur cum facile posset ideoque deberet, certum est tunc dari jurisdictionem si forte desit."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Theologia Moralis*. Lib. vi., pars. ii., n. 1443.

<sup>2</sup> *Opera Moralia*. Tract. iii. *De Jubilaeo*. Cap. xv., n. 102.

<sup>3</sup> *Bibliotheca*. In verb. *Jubilaeum*. Art. ii., n. 59.

<sup>4</sup> *Traité du Jubilé*, chap. vi., art. ii., sec. i., par. iv., n. 11.

<sup>5</sup> *Theologia Moralis*, Lib. vi., pars. i., n. 117.



4. "The days on which the Jubilee fast are to be observed—Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday—are determined in the Encyclical. When a commutation of one or more of the fasting days is granted, does the same restriction as to time, extend to the performance of the works which are substituted?"

The clause in question regards only the three days' fast enjoined in the Encyclical: it has no reference to the performance of other works of piety enjoined in its stead by a confessor when a commutation is granted. For in the clause which confers the power of granting commutations—"in alia pietatis opera commutare eaque injungere quae ipsi poenitentes efficere possint"<sup>1</sup>—the confessor's power is not restricted in reference to the time at which the works enjoined should be performed.

In this sense, the clause in question has always been interpreted by the writers who have undertaken to explain its meaning. "Infero," says De Lugo, "commutationem non debere necessario fieri in opera quae eisdem diebus subrogentur, sed posse jejunium v. g. sabbati commutari in aliquod opus pium quod fieri possit v. g. feria quinta . . . In Bulla enim non restringitur quoad hoc facultas commutandi."<sup>2</sup>

At the same time, it is necessary to bear in mind that if a confessor, in commuting one of the fasting days, should assign in its stead some other work of piety to be performed on Wednesday, Friday, or Saturday, it is in such a case necessary to comply with this injunction; for otherwise, it is obvious, the condition imposed by the confessor would not be complied with. "Le confesseur," says M. Loiseaux, "n'est pas obligé de fixer aux Mercredi, Vendredi, et Samedi les ouvres qu'il substitue aux jeunes. S'il le fait, le pénitent devra se conformer a sa volonté."<sup>3</sup>

W. J. W.

<sup>1</sup> Encycl. *Nemo certe ignorat*. See *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Vol. v., No. lvi., May, 1869, p. 387.

<sup>2</sup> *De Sacramento Poenitentiae*, Disp. 27, sect. vii., n. 120.

<sup>3</sup> *Traité du Jubilé*, chap. vi., art. 22, sect. i. §. 4, n. 38.

## THE PROTECTING CORSELET OF MARY.

[The late Professor O'CURRY, in the last Lecture which he delivered in the Catholic University a few days before his lamented death in July, 1862, when speaking of the music of ancient Erin, referred to "a beautiful ancient hymn to the 'Blessed Virgin, some seven hundred or more years' old." He added, with that simplicity which cast such a charm over all his words: "My father sang this hymn, and well too, almost every night, so that the words and the air have been impressed on my memory from the earliest dawn of life. This sweet poem consists of twelve stanzas of four lines each, beginning:

'Direct me how to praise thee.'

The air of this hymn is not popular; I never heard it sung but by my own father. I know it myself very well, and I know several old poems that will sing to it, such as the poems ascribed to *Oisín*, the son of *Find Mac Cumhaill*, and the great religious poem called 'The Festology of *Ængus Ceile De*,' written in the year 798."

Mr. BRIAN O'LOONEY, who with such untiring energy continues in the Catholic University the researches of the lamented O'CURRY, has discovered a much larger number of stanzas than the twelve mentioned by the late Professor. To Mr. O'LOONEY we are indebted for the following translation in full of this most interesting monument of the piety of our ancestors, and of their devotion to the Immaculate Mother of God.]

1. Direct me how to praise thee,  
Though I am not a master of poetry,  
O, thou of the angelic countenance, without fault,  
Thou hast given the milk of thy breast to save me.
2. I offer myself under thy protection,  
O, loving mother of the only Son,  
And under thy protecting shield I place my body,  
My heart, my will, and my understanding.
3. I am a sinner full of faults,  
I beseech of thee, and pray thee do it,  
O, woman physician of the miserable diseases,  
Behold the many ulcers of my soul.
4. O, Temple of the three persons,  
Father, Son, and Holy Spirit,  
I invoke thee to come to visit me  
At the hour of my judgment and of my death.
5. O, Queen to whom it hath been granted by the King,  
The eternal Father, out of the abundance of his love,  
As inheritance to be the mother,  
I implore thy assistance to save me.
6. O, Vessel who carried the lamp,  
More luminous than the sun,  
Draw me under thy shelter into the harbour,  
Out of the transitory ship of the world.



7. O, flower of beauty, O, mother of Christ,  
O, lover of peace and mildness,  
I pray thee hear me, may it ne'er occur to me  
In any trial to forsake thee.
8. O, Queen who refuseth not any person  
Who is pure in his deeds, (morals, actions  
Beseech thee Christ to put me  
(From the wily demons) amidst the saints.
9. O, Queen of the saints, of the virgins, of the angels,  
O, honeycomb of eternal life,  
All-surpassing power, presumptuous valour  
Goes not far without thee.
10. I am under thy shelter amidst the brave,  
O, protecting shield, without being injured by their blows,  
O, Holy Mary if thou wilt hear thy suppliant,  
I put myself under the shelter of thy shield.
11. When falling in the slippery path,  
Thou art my smooth supporting hand-staff,  
O, Virgin from the southern clime,  
May I go to heaven to visit thee.
12. There is no hound in fleetness or in chase,  
North wind or rapid river,  
As quick as the mother of Christ to the bed of death,  
To those who are entitled to her kindly protection.
13. O, heart without sin, O, bosom without guile,  
O, Virgin woman who hath chosen sanctity,  
In thee I place my hope of salvation  
From the eternal torture of the—pain.
14. O, Mary, gentle, beautiful,  
O, Meekness, mild and modest  
I am not tired of invoking thee,  
Thou art my guarding staff in danger.
15. Turn thine eye, O woman friend,  
Upon the distressed nobles of Erin,  
To them restore [the happiness of] their lives,  
And obtain [for them] from the Eternal Father:
16. Every sinner who has fallen into trouble,  
Of their numbers and is in need of succour;  
Redeem them, O Virgin woman,  
They are in misery until you do it.

17. To the true faith without dissimulation  
May the kings of the world be obedient,  
Through the invocation of Mary, which is not weak,  
And may they renounce the false religion.\*
18. To those who are in the pit of pain in fire [heat],  
Whose portion is of evil,  
Deign thy relief to them, O Mary,  
And Amen, say O cleric.<sup>1</sup>

*The following additional Stanzas follow here in Royal Irish Academy, MS. No. 23, c. 20, p. 70.*

19. Every woman sick in childbirth,  
If she has this, or that it be read for her,  
She will get relief by the grace of God,  
And of Mary Mother of the only Son.
20. Going to a sea voyage,  
Or going to a single-handed combat,  
Whosoever of the two hath justice on his side  
Shall return alive without danger.
21. Every person who recites it from memory,  
And hears it with due reverence,  
And with sweet devotion to Mary,  
Shall get relief and protection.
22. When you are rising in the morning,  
And when going into bed do it [recite it],  
And you shall have Mary as your friend  
To redress all your grievances [wants].
23. A house is seldom burned  
Which is under protection of the shield  
Of the Virgin Mary,  
If appropriate reverence be given to her.
24. Many are the countless virtues  
Of the *protecting* shield corselet of Mary,  
If we be in the state of grace,  
And pray to her at all times with devotion.

<sup>1</sup> The following extract will serve to explain this stanza:—

“Mary and the virgin saints sit around the Lord God giving him praise and glory, and praying for the souls in trouble.”—“Saint Adamnan’s Vision.” *Leabur na h-Uidhe*, p. 27 et seq.; also, *Secla lai Breta*, Story of the Day of Judgment. *Ibid.* p. 31, col. I, et seq.



## LETTERS OF BALMEZ.

## VI.—SOCIAL TRANSITION.

MY DEAR FRIEND—If I had no other proofs of the truth of the Catholic doctrine, *that faith is a gift of God*, what I have experienced in you and others who have had the misfortune to wander from the faith of their forefathers, would incline me in no small degree to regard it as certain. They dispute, they listen, apparently with docility—they make one conceive the greatest hopes that they are about surrendering themselves to the evidence of the arguments with which they are pressed; but in the end they come out with a cold, "*but, what do I know,*" which freezes the blood, and dissipates at one fell swoop all the illusions of the believer, who was thirsting for the moment when he might see the stray sheep return to the fold. This is what you have done in your last; you have nothing to object to what I said about the *blood of the martyrs*, you confess that no religion can bring forth such an argument, you show yourself satisfied with the contents of my former letters with respect to the various points that formed the object of your doubts; and when my heart leaped with joy, thinking you were going to determine, I will not say on entering again into the number of the believers, but at least on diving deeper and deeper into the discussion, with the desire of definitely finding out the truth, I meet with this desolating clause that has filled me with profound sadness: "What do we know," you say, with a prostration of spirit that penetrates my heart, "what do we know? Man is of so little worth!—let us cast a glance around us and we discover nothing but darkness. Who knows where the truth lies?—who knows what in time will become of that faith, of that Church which you believe shall last to the consummation of ages? I do not despise religion, I see that Catholicity is a grand fact which I am unable to explain by ordinary causes; you appeal to history, you press me to cite anything similar; I have already told you on other occasions I am not the one to intrench myself behind impotent negations, that I am not the one to resist the evidence of facts, but for all that, *I cannot believe*. I am contemplating the present society, and I think its restlessness is a sign that the world is on the eve of colossal events; the new era should undoubtedly be inaugurated with an intellectual and moral revolution, and then perhaps that dark horizon, where nothing is discovered but error and uncertainty, may in some measure clear up.

Let us allow that epoch of transition to pass, and perhaps new times shall decipher the enigma."

Do not believe, my esteemed friend, that in my affliction I wonder at such language ; you are not the first from whom I have heard it ; but allow me at least to tell you that with your words nothing is answered, nothing is proved, nothing is affirmed, nothing is denied ; you do no more than relieve yourself vainly by painting the true state of your mind. You have the truth before you, and you have not courage enough to embrace it ; you incline towards it for a moment, but soon allowing yourself to fall fainting, you say—*I cannot*. Then you speak of that future at which you yourself laughed in one of your former letters, you speak of that *transition* of which you know not in what it consists ; you doubt, you fluctuate, you put off your resolution for some time longer, you postpone it to future times, to those times, alas ! in which you shall have ceased to exist !. Sad consolation !—deceitful hope !

But if you faint, my dear friend, I should not do so ; God has commenced the work, and He will finish it ; I have the sweet presentiment you shall not die in the arms of scepticism. You say you heartily desire to discover the truth ; persevere in your determination ; I have confidence that He who shed His blood for you on the summit of Cavalry will not fail to bring you to it.

I know well you are not in a disposition to receive an answer treating principally of purely religious subjects ; the scepticism of the age has recovered its ascendancy over you in a sad way, and jumping from the discussion you have run into the regions of *socialism* and of the *future*, talking about *transitions*, *critical* epochs, and I know not what of the same kind. I have already said I will follow you wherever you wish ; if you do not like to treat of dogmas to-day, we will leave them aside ; and as you talk of *transition*, of transition will I talk too.

I told you in one of my former letters I did not believe transition was characteristic of our epoch, and that it was common to all ages ; because I cannot agree that under this conception, anything is taking place now which did not take place, more or less, always. But when I assert this, I speak principally of countries which move, not of those which, frozen in the midst of their career, remain fixed as statues during the course of ages. If we except these, and direct our view to the others, we shall see, in the first place, that the Greeks and Romans lived in perpetual transition. The age of Draco has no similarity with that of Solon, nor the latter's with that of Alcibiades ; nor do that of Alexander and that of Demetrius resemble one another. And yet



these ages were very near one another, which indicates that Grecian society incessantly passed from one state to another very different. The time between Brutus who expelled Tarquin and Brutus, Caesar's assassin, is not very long ; but see what various phases the social and political state of the Romans presents in that space. Analogous observations could be made with respect to other ancient peoples ; and even as regards those which we call stationary, it should not be forgotten that they are little known to us, that their internal history, which would pourtray their religious ideas, their domestic customs, their social organization, their legislation, has remained for the greater part hidden from our view, and buried in the ruins of time, without our being able to acquire but a very slight and superficial knowledge of them except through the medium of foreign historians. Modern science is making an effort to supply this defect ; but how difficult it is to discover the truth at such a distance of time, in the case of languages so unlike, of ideas and customs so dissimilar ! Be this as it may, it may yet be affirmed that these nations were far from being in a state of immoveability ; and that besides what the little knowledge we possess regarding them manifests to us, a simple reflection on the nature of things is sufficient to induce us to conjecture that their changes and modifications have been more numerous than we are aware of, and of greater importance than we are wont to consider ; and that consequently they, too, have been in a state of *transition*.

But leaving the ancient and comparatively unknown peoples, and coming to modern ones, beginning from the appearance of Christianity, the changes and modifications they have incessantly experienced are innumerable ; so that it is not possible to prognosticate any change in society of the present day which had not its equivalent or superior in former times. Though we should grant that the most exaggerated predictions of some socialists should be verified, and their wildest plans put in execution, the new social state would not be more different from the present, than the various ones through which Christian nations have passed.

If the men who lived when slavery was general and was considered as an indispensable condition in all well-organized society, had heard of a state similar to that which European nations enjoy at present, they would not have been able to conceive how public order could be maintained, nor labour distributed, nor conveniences and pleasures supplied to the richer classes ; in a word, they would believe it impossible for societies so numerous to subsist when deprived of the basis, which was so necessary in their eyes. Tell a

feudal lord intrenched in his fortress, that a day shall come when all his titles shall be despised, when his name and that of all those of his class shall sink into oblivion, when his descendants shall be confounded with those of his poor and unfortunate vassals whom he regards with proud disdain, as they pass submissive and humble at the foot of his turrets; tell him that that same people shall rise against him, and struggle for a long time, and triumph, and become rich, powerful, influential, eclipsing all the splendour of their lords, and filling the world with the fame of their deeds; tell him so, and he will hear you with astonishment, and he will imagine you are relating fairy tales, and that you speak in jest, or have lost your wits. What more? It is not necessary that you consider the social metamorphoses at such a distance in order that they may appear incredible; announce to those nobles of the time of Charles VI. and Francis I., to those descendants of the ancient lords, who are transforming the independence of their ancestors into heroic fidelity to their kings, who are translating their residence from the country to the capital, and hastening to become converted from warriors into courtiers, that in the space of three centuries it will not be they who shall occupy the lofty posts in the state, who shall lead the armies to victory, who shall exercise the functions of the magistracy, and that their vote on great subjects shall not be considered of more value than that of the descendants of those plebeians who water the earth with their sweat, who fill the most lowly offices, and who, gathered in small groups, appear to be content with the social position that fell to their lot after the war of their ancestors—the Commons; and one may well venture to say that those nobles will not comprehend you, that they will not believe a particle of your prognostics; and no matter how much you labour to show them the signs which clearly appear at no great distance, they will think you take the illusions of your imagination for reality.

Transfer yourself to the Europe of the eleventh and twelfth centuries—to the Europe of Suger and St. Bernard—and tell the men of that epoch that the rich monasteries, the opulent abbacies that compete in splendour and magnificence with the castles of the feudal lords, will disappear in time, and that at an epoch not very remote nothing shall remain of them but some ruins, the object of the curiosity of archaeologists; that the clergy whose influence in everything is immense, and whose power and riches do not yield to those of any other class whatever, shall find itself limited to the precincts of the temples,



despoiled of its privileges, deprived of its property, curtailed in its right to teach, whilst the minister of religion is placed in the category of the humblest citizen, if he be not sunk below this level by being denied what is granted to all; tell them, I repeat, of this change, and you will see how they will look on it as impossible, unless they conceive its realisation by supposing that a Saracenic invasion had subdued the Christian power, or that new hordes of unknown peoples had been scattered over Europe and changed its face. They will not be able to conceive how, without irruptions of barbarous peoples, without the conquest of the Saracens, but on the contrary, after their complete overthrow, the simple course of ideas and events could produce in society changes so profound.

All the revolutions that can take place, can in the end lead to no other result than to alter the position and relations of individuals and classes. Let what changes you will be supposed—scarcely can one be imagined with respect to property, organization of labour, distribution of products, domestic condition, social rank, or political influence, of more importance or magnitude than those verified in preceding times. *Transition* has always existed as it exists at present; European nations have incessantly passed through different states, either completely abandoning that which they had, or modifying it in a thousand ways, till they transformed it into another nowise resembling the former.

I wish, my esteemed friend, you would begin to make suppositions, even the most arbitrary and capricious, and compare them with the historical facts of which no one is ignorant, and I am sure you would be convinced of the truth of what I am after saying. Do you wish to suppose the needy classes will escape from the dejected state they hold at present, and will approach the middle and even the superior ones? See whether the labourers of to-day are at a greater distance from their employers than slaves from their masters, and vassals from their lords; certainly not: and nevertheless, not even a trace of ancient slavery remains in Europe, and but slight vestiges of vassalage are preserved, and the descendants of those who lived subject to these conditions, hold the same rank as the grandchildren of those who one day saw themselves placed at an immense distance above them, as well in point of riches as of honours, respect, and all kind of distinctions and power. Do you wish to suppose that property shall suffer great modifications, that its distribution shall be subject to laws very different from those that hold at present? Compare the middle ages with ours, the France of Charlemagne, for

example, with the France of Napoleon, that of St. Louis with that of Louis Philippe. Do you wish to imagine a new organization of labour, subjecting the workman and the capitalist to other rules, notably altering their relations, and varying the present bases of the partition of products? Compare the tenant of the present day with the vassal of the feudal lord, the workman of our time with the slave of old. Are industry and commerce to be subject for the future to new laws, which shall alter the internal organization of nations and their foreign relations? Open our commercial codes, cast a glance at our habits and customs in this regard, and compare them with what existed among our ancestors. No matter on how vast a scale these branches of trade be extended, no matter how great the strength and vigour they may acquire, will they differ more from their present state than it differs from that in which they found themselves when the Church in her councils attended paternally to the protection of the newly-born mercantile traffic? Do you not think the powerful commercial companies of France, of Belgium, of Germany, of England, of the United States, differ somewhat from those caravans of merchants whose safety on the road the excommunications of the Church could with difficulty secure? Do you not think that in this there has been no small *transition*?

And what might we not say, if we attended to the social and political changes, to the diversity of position the different classes have respectively lost or won? We are separated from our ancestors by an abyss so profound that if they should rise from the tomb, they would understand nothing of the present state of affairs. Where is the power of feudalism, of the nobility, of the clergy? What became of the prerogatives, the privileges, the honours, they enjoyed? In what do the thrones of the present day resemble those of old? What similarity exists between our forms of government and ancient ones—between our administration—between our financial systems—between our wars and our diplomacy, and those of other days? We think differently, we feel differently, we act differently, we live differently; both our private and public condition has changed so completely that to comprehend what it was, we have to make an effort of imagination, which withal is able to supply us only with very imperfect and discoloured pictures. Why do those times appear to us so poetical, my esteemed friend? Why do they cut such a figure in our literature?—because they are at an immense distance from the reality before us.

I would infer from this, that when great changes in the organization of peoples are announced, we should not refuse to believe



them, simply because they may appear strange to us ; for on close observation, present society does not differ less from what preceded it, than the future one, in all the combinations that can be made and conceived would from ours. Instability is one of the distinctive characters of human things ; and whoever prognosticates a long duration for what of itself is as weak and changeable, must have reflected very little on the nature of man, must have derived very little fruit from the lessons of history and experience. Let society be under whatever power it may, revolutionary or conservative, let them endeavour to impel it or detain it as they will, it always varies, it passes without ceasing from one state to another, whether that other be better or worse.

This alternation between better and worse, brings me, my dear friend, to another question, of which as far as I can understand you are fond, as you could not be otherwise, considering the spirit of our epoch. It is said every moment that progress is the law of societies ; that they never disobey it, and that in the midst of the most terrible revolutions and catastrophes humanity tends to a destiny, which, as the speakers know not what it is, they take care to cover over with a golden veil. I shall not be the one to dishearten the movement of humanity, by dissipating flattering hopes ; though neither can I allow a proposition which as it stands is in contradiction with philosophy, history, and experience, to be established with too much generality, and without the necessary explanation.

It is very usual to speak of perfection, of perfectibility, of the law of progress, without distinguishing anything ; without expressing whether societies taken in particular or in general are treated of ; that is, without determining whether the law, the existence of which is asserted, holds in all society, or is peculiar to the human race solely, considered with abstraction from this or that one of its parts. I will make bold to ask those who say that progress towards perfection is the constant law of all society, what progress can be discovered in the North of Africa, or the Coasts of Asia, comparing the present state with that which they enjoyed when they produced such men as Tertullian, St. Cyprian, St. Augustin, Philo, Josephus, Origen, St. Clement, and many others whom it would be long to enumerate ?

This does not admit of reply, as, on the other hand, it proves nothing against those who say that though this or that society decays, humanity progresses, that civilization migrates, that one nation acquires what another loses, and that in this way there exists a real compensation. Thus, for

example, in the present case, humanity has been indemnified for its losses in Africa and Asia with the immense expansion it has attained in Europe and America ; for if the millions of men who live at present under civilized rule were counted, the number would be incomparably greater than it was then ; and if we add to this the advantages modern civilization has over the ancient, not only in its bringing with it a greater and more perfect intellectual and moral expansion, but also in its supplying a greater amount of material comforts, and greatly diminishing the evils that afflict the poor human race, the difference between them will be so great and so palpable, that it will be impossible to establish a rational comparison between them.

I confess, my esteemed friend, that these reflections are of great weight, and that in my opinion they decide the question, from the historical point of view, considering humanity in mass, and taking into account the compensations indicated above ; so that I hold it as demonstrated that humanity has always progressed, that its state was better in the middle ages than during the ancient civilization, and that at present it has many advantages over what it had in all former times.

How, you will say, is it possible to forget the confusion and calamities of the epoch of the irruption of the barbarians, and the dark ignorance and sickening corruption that followed it ? Can we say humanity, at the time of Attila, was comparable with that of the age of Augustus ? I believe nevertheless that this, so false and absurd at first sight, is rigorously true, and besides susceptible of a demonstration so conclusive that it leaves no room for doubt. The diffusion of true ideas about God, man, society, and the relations existing between them, the propagation of civilization to a great number of peoples, who lived previously in the most abject barbarity, the abolition of slavery, the extension to the generality of men of the enjoyment of the rights of man, this was being realized in the epoch we are speaking of, and nothing of this was known in the age of Augustus ; with the leave, then, of the manes of Virgil and of Horace, I prefer without hesitation the so-called barbarous times.

Do you smile at the paradox, my esteemed friend ? Do you imagine I myself do not believe what I say ? Well, be sure I speak in all truth, and my words are the expression of profound convictions. I have already told you in one of my former letters, that in certain matters perhaps you did not carry the spirit of examination so far as I, and that I was moderately infected with scepticism : this prevents me from being dazzled with names or *received opinions* ; and no



matter with what security I hear anything asserted, I whisper to myself, a *who knows?*—which renders me distrustful and meditative. In spite of all this, I think you will with difficulty forgive me for the blasphemy I have uttered against the age of Augustus; and so it is incumbent on me to make my excuses. Listen to them without prejudice, for in the end I should not wonder if you would agree with my mode of thinking.

And in truth, dazzling are the rays of science, bewitching are the enchantments of poetry, seducing is the brilliancy of the arts; but if nothing of all this contributes to the good of humanity, if it be limited to realize splendour only, and to increase and quicken the pleasures of a few that dwell in opulent palaces, living on the sweat of the people, dissipating the treasures wrung from the provinces with the greatest cruelty, what does the human race gain in it? Is this civilization anything more than a beautiful life? There is peace, but this peace is the silence of the oppressed; there are enjoyments, but they are the enjoyments of a few, and the misery of the many; there are sciences, fine arts, but prostrate at the feet of the powerful, they do not fulfil their mission, which is to improve the intellectual, moral, and material condition of man; all is vice, prostitution, flattery; perish then all, one would say who could extend his glance to future times; let there be war, but a regenerating war which will change the face of the world, calling to Christian civilization hundreds of barbarous nations, dethroning the oppressor of the world, and giving birth to great nations that will astonish us with their advancement and power; let there be public calamities, for at least they will not be so much felt or offensive as that slavery, which weighs heavily on the greater number of the individuals who form ancient society, and in the course of time will come the happy era, in which to enjoy the rights of a citizen it will be enough to be a man; let the sciences and fine arts perish, since for future ages are reserved prodigious geniuses, as Tasso, Milton, Chateaubriand, Michael Angelo, and Raphael, Descartes, Bossuet, and Leibnitz; let that false civilization, that ricketty refinement which sanctions the monopoly of social advantages be torn in shreds, and yield its place to another civilization and refinement more extensive, more splendid, and above all, more just and equitable, that shall call to participate in them a greater number of individuals, opening the gates that all may enjoy the advantages they bring with them, as far as the nature of man and of the objects on which he exercises his activity admits.

After the irruption and subsequent heavings of the barbarous

hordes came feudalism ; a social and political system against which you may say whatever you wish ; but it was undoubtedly a real progress, because by erecting, if we may say so, territorial property into sovereignty, a principle was established which, modified and corrected in the course of time, might aid much in the organization of modern societies. There were disorders, oppression, vexations, evils without number, it is true ; but at least a system began to be established, a position was given to the conquering tribes, love of husbandry and respect for property were sown, the domestic spirit increased ; and the inclinations of the heart meeting with objects more stable and peaceable became of necessity less turbulent, and began to be calmed down and sweetened. Bad as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were, who would not prefer them to those which immediately followed the dissolution of the empire of Charlemagne ?

No one can deny that up to the beginning of the sixteenth century European society was rapidly improving ; so that as no notable decadence took place in any other part of the world, since the other nations it might be said remained stationary, we can still confess that the human race was progressing. The great discoveries that took place in the fifteenth century excited hopes that in the sixteenth a new era of prosperity and felicity should commence, which, overflowing in Europe, might be extended over all the regions of the earth. Unfortunately Luther's schism came to destroy, in a great measure, those flattering hopes, and the calamities that have befallen Europe during the last three centuries might make us doubt of the proposition we have established.

Be this as it may, even taking into account the evils brought on by the religious schisms, and the incredulity and indifferentism which have been the consequence, I do not think it can be denied humanity has been compensated as we said above. Taking things from the root—that is from the time Luther and his followers divided in two the great European family—it should be considered that the successive conquests Catholicism has gone on making in the East and West Indies cover, and perhaps more than cover, the losses the unity of faith has suffered in Europe. If to this we add that wherever the Catholic religion has not been established, there have been at least a few lights of Christianity scattered by means of one or other of the dissenting sects, which, whatever it be, is always preferable to the idolatry and debasement in which these countries were buried ; if we attend to the progress, the intellectual, moral, and material development of the individual and of society has made even there, it results that even



painting the history of the last three centuries in Europe in the blackest colours, humanity has not lost, but on the contrary has been recompensed with usury.

Nor is it true either that Providence has chastised European pride in such a way as not to shower on us at the same time a torrent of inestimable benefits. The country where men so eminent in all the branches of learning were born, which boasts of astonishing geniuses in all regions, and which under the religious and moral aspect can present us with a St. Ignatius of Loyola, a St. Francis of Sales, a St. Vincent de Paul, and hundreds of others of heroic virtues, who realized the life of angels on earth, cannot complain of Providence being unfavourable to it, cannot lament in the midst of its material and moral revolutions, that a greater portion of misfortunes than usually befalls unhappy humanity has fallen to its lot.

This last consideration, my esteemed friend, brings me to examine what is the cause of this uneasiness which continually torments us Europeans, and all those who have participated in our civilization. To hear us complain of our lot, and bemoan our present situation, and paint the future in sombre colours, one would say we bear a greater amount of evils than any other people of the earth; and even comparing us with our ancestors, it would appear they were much more fortunate. They never talked so much of *transition, of the necessity of new organizations, of the insufficiency of everything that exists*; they never announced, as we do, that epoch which is to realise the golden age, under pain of the world's sinking into chaos, after an astounding conflagration.

Every epoch has suffered its evils, and has had profound changes, more or less; every epoch has had necessities either wholly unattended to, or hardly satisfied; every epoch has carried in its bosom a germ of death for something in it, which should yield to what the future involved. I will add, that I doubt much if the present time is at all behind the past, considering civilized nations in general, and not counting the exceptions, which of necessity must be transitory; and I am inclined to believe, that our evils are not greater, but appear greater for two reasons—1st, because we reflect too much on them; like the sick man who sharpens his pains by making them the continual object of his thoughts and words—2nd, because we have greater liberty to complain, as well *viva voce* as in writing, adding moreover that the press, and not always with a right intention, exaggerates everything.

For instance, pauperism is spoken of. I admit it is a painful sore, and deserves to attract the attention of all lovers of

humanity ; but what I would wish to know is what result we should have, if we examined it with relation to the times that have preceded us. What greater and more painful pauperism than ancient slavery ?—is that state to be compared with that of the inferior classes of our epoch, either in the number of the wretched or the degree of wretchedness ? I know that some have gone so far as to say that the lot of the negro slaves is preferable to that of our labourers. I will not deny that if no more than some exceptional extremes be considered, as well in good as in evil ; if we take a black slave, whose lot has been cast with a rational, prudent, compassionate master, guided by the inspirations of sound reason and Christian charity, and compare him with some of our more unfortunate labourers, the comparison perhaps can be sustained ; but speaking in general, and placing on one side the mass of negro slaves, and on the other that of European labourers, is the lot of the former preferable to that of the latter ? Can it even be compared with it ? I do not believe it can ; and even though it were not possible to point out positive facts, which certainly are not wanting, the simple consideration of the nature of things would be enough to remove any indecision of judgment.

When slavery was abolished in Europe, and feudalism succeeded it, continuing with more or less pretensions for long ages, I do not believe the poorer class enjoyed a better state than it does at present. Read the history of those times, and you will not entertain a doubt of this. Let us imagine for a moment that the innumerable legions of pamphleteers, newspaper men, and writers of works that inundate civilized countries at present, had suddenly appeared in the midst of feudalism, that they had been able to examine the castle of the proud lord, scrutinising its commodious apartments, its luxurious furniture ; that they had seen him go to the hunt, with his fiery horses, his bold attendants, his innumerable dogs, all insulting with the richness of their trappings the misery and nakedness of his vassals ; that they had witnessed the unjust demands, the arbitrariness, the cruelty with which he harasses his subjects ; and let us suppose, for a moment, that in the small towns that here and there were established, and which so laboriously won their liberty, the presses of Paris and London should appear by enchantment, and that the people too, suddenly learning to read, should find infinite articles in which the violences, the injustices, the immoderate luxury of the lords, and the oppression, the misery, the calamities of the vassals, should be narrated and painted with the



colours you may guess—do you not think the picture would come out black, that a general clamour would be raised in the four quarters of the earth, demanding vengeance?—do you not think the whole world would agree that never were the evils of humanity greater, that the application of a remedy was never more indispensable, that a profound change in the social organization was never more necessary, never more imminent?

Let us turn the medal and look at the reverse: let us imagine that in the present age the press and orators keep peace, that public attention is distracted from politics, that no one thinks about questions of social organization, that masters employ themselves with their business solely, and workmen with their labour, that no one takes the trouble to count how many poor there are in England, in France, and other countries, that descriptions of the sufferings of the needy classes be not circulated with a calculation of the ounces of bread or potatoes that fall to the lot of the wretched labourer and his children, and with a picture of the poor and filthy dwelling in which he hides himself, and that withal the movement of industry should continue as now, and the same hands be employed, and the same wages given, and the price of food and clothing remain the same, is it not very clear our social state would not appear in such black colours, nor the future be regarded as so threatening.

See here, my esteemed friend, with how much reason I said our evils were greater because we thought more on them, because there are a thousand means and motives for recollecting them, for exaggerating them, and because the present state of civilization necessarily brings with it the reflective act of occupying itself with itself. And do not believe that I am not for giving the necessary publicity to the sufferings of the poor, or that I desire silence should be imposed on the class that suffers in order to avoid giving annoyance and molestation to the class that enjoys; I have merely wished to indicate one character of our epoch, pointing out the reason why it appears to have certain peculiarities, that are attributed to it as such, notwithstanding their being common to those that have preceded it. As regards sympathies in favour of the needy, I yield to none; and though respecting, as I should, the property and other legitimate advantages of the higher classes, I am not ignorant of the want of reason and the injustice that often tarnish and injure them.

I am inclined to believe that if you have not adopted my opinions in all their parts, you will at least agree they are not

to be despised, supposing the truth of the arguments on which they are founded; and I am certain that in future you will consider better the true meaning of the word *transition*, and will not give it so much importance as heretofore. Certainly I cannot conceive how so much noise has been produced by this and other expressions like it when, on being analysed, they are found to signify nothing more than the instability of human things; an instability the knowledge of which does not surely date from modern times.

Neither can I conceive how some people venture to prognosticate the death of Catholicity, because, as they say, the new state into which society is going to pass, cannot admit of the dogmas nor the forms of this divine religion; as if the world had endured for eighteen centuries without any kind of change; as if the faith and the august institutions which Jesus Christ left us stood in need of the works of man for their preservation.

Was not the social organization of the first age of Christianity very different from that of the time of Theodosius the Great? Did the Europe of the Barbarians resemble in the least the Europe of the Empire? Was the epoch of feudalism at all like the confusion of the irruption of the northern hordes, or the preponderance of the barons similar to the power of the monarchy? Was the age of Francis I. the age of Louis XIV., or his that of Louis Philippe? In that space of eighteen centuries colossal revolutions took place, innumerable vicissitudes passed over European society, the public and private life of nations was modified, was changed in a thousand ways; and nevertheless, religion always remaining the same, without submitting to any of those transactions that would destroy her very foundation, was able and knew how to accommodate herself to what the diversity of times and circumstances demanded; without betraying the truth, she has not lost sight of the march of ideas; without sacrificing the sanctity of her morals, she took into account the changes of habits and customs; without altering her internal organization in what it has of unalterable and eternal, she has created an infinite variety of institutions accommodated to the necessities of the peoples subjected to the faith.

Are you ignorant of these facts, my esteemed friend?—is there anything in them you can object to or dispute? Then leave aside those vain words that signify nothing, which only serve to nourish with vague generalities that fatal state of doubt and scepticism which is the real agony of the mind. You well know I do not abhor the progress of society,



that I regard it as a favour of Providence, that I am not a positivist, and that I do not take pleasure in condemning everything that exists at present and everything that can be descried in the future, but I desire to distinguish between good and evil, truth and error, the solid and the futile ; I desire to do what sceptics require of us, but what they do not practise—to examine with sincerity, to judge with impartiality.

I remain, &c.,

J. B.

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## DOCUMENT.

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### LETTER OF OUR MOST HOLY FATHER PIUS IX. TO THE BISHOP OF CLOYNE.

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PIUS PAPA IX.

VENERABILIS FRATER.—Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

In iis obsequiis testimoniis quae nomine cleri et populi dioecesi tibi creditae nobis obtulisti, quum ad urbem concilii causa venisses, manifestum indicium agnovimus constantis illius devotionis, quae Hiberni fideles Apostolicam sedem studiose semper coluerint. Nos itaque a te petimus ut aperias illis sensus paternae caritatis nostrae et spem quam fovemus ut eorum solida pietate et virtutum exemplo plures ex acatholicis ad deligendam atque amplectendam religionem nostram sanctissimam moveantur. Ut id praestare possint coelestis gratiae praesidium illis adprecamur ac testem praecipuae dilectionis nostrae Apostolicam Benedictionem tibi clero et fidelibus tuae sollicitudini demandatis peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum, die 16, Martii, 1870.  
Pontificatus Nostri, anno vigesimo quinto.

PIUS PP. IX.

Venerabili Fratri,  
Guillelmo Episcopo, Cloynensi.

These are so often mentioned in documents respecting the General Council now sitting, that our readers may be glad to have the short description of them which is given in his *Documents relatifs aux Eglises de l'Orient*, by Baron de Avril (Paris, 1869), who as Diplomatic Agent in the East, had the most ample means of collecting accurate information. He states that as Monothelism has disappeared, there are now in the East the two Heresies of the Nestorians and Eutyrians (Monophysites), and the Greek Schism.

## FIRST GROUP.

### HERESY OF THE NESTORIANS.

These Heretics have a Patriarch at Kotchavès, in Kurdistan. (Language, *Chaldean*.)

### CATHOLICS ONCE NESTORIANS.

These are in Persia and Turkey, under a Patriarch living at Mossoul, and are Chaldeans. Their brethren of Malabar are under the Latin V. Apostolic of Verapoly. (*Chaldean*.)

## SECOND GROUP.

### MONOPHYSITE HERESY.

These reject the Council of Chalcedon, and form four bodies :—  
I.—The Armenians, called Gregorians from their Apostle St. Gregory, the Illuminator. Their Patriarch, or Catholicos, lives at Eschmydzin, near M. Ararat, and they have others at Sis, Agthamar, and Jerusalem. (*Armenian*.)

### CATHOLICS ONCE MONOPHYSITES.

The Armenians of the East, in union with Rome, have their Patriarch at Constantinople.  
The United Armenians of Europe have an Archbishop at Lemberg, and Abbots-General at Venice and Vienna. (*Armenian*.)

II.—The Jacobites of Syria and Mesopotamia, followers of Eutyches, have a Patriarch at Zag-Faran, near Mardyn. (*Syriac*.)

The Christians of Syria, in union with Rome, are called United Syrians. Their Patriarch is at Mardyn. (*Syriac*.)

III.—The Copts have a Patriarch at Cairo. (*Coptic*.)

The United Copts have a V. Apostolic at Cairo. (*Coptic*.)

IV.—The Abyssinians have a Bishop named by the Patriarch of Cairo. (*Gheez*.)

The United Abyssinians are under a Latin Vicar Apostolic. (*Gheez*.)

## THIRD GROUP.

### MONOTHELITE HERESY.

The Monothelite heresy has disappeared, or has been absorbed by the Nestorian Heresy.

### CATHOLICS ONCE MONOTHELITES.

The Maronite Patriarch of Antioch lives on the Lebanon. The Maronites deny that their fathers were Monothelites. (*Syriac*, mixed with *Arabic*.)



FOURTH GROUP.

ORTHODOX GREEKS (SCHISMATICAL).

I.—The Patriarch of Constantinople (*Greek*) has a chiefship of honour only over the nine following bodies, and his authority over the three first is merely nominal :—

1. The Servians of the Principality, who have a Metropolitan at Belgrade. (*Slavonian*.)
2. The Moldavians and Wallachians of the United Greek-Roumain Provinces have a Primate at Bucharest. (*Wallachian*.)
3. The Orthodox Bulgarians have had no Hierarchy since their rising against the See of Constantinople. (*Slavonian*.)

II.—Greek Patriarch of Alexandria: (*Greek*.)

III.—Greek Patriarch of Antioch. (*Greek and Arabic*.)

IV.—Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem. (*Greek and Arabic*.)

V.—Archbishop of Cyprus. (*Greek*.)

VI.—The Synod of Athens for the Kingdom of Greece. (*Greek*.)

N.B.—The Georgian Archbishop of Tiflis, is absorbed as Chief of his Church by the Synod of St. Petersburg. (*Georgian*.)

VII.—Synod of St. Petersburg. (*Slavonian*.)

VIII.—Servian Patriarch at Carlovitz in Austria. (*Slavonian*.)

IX.—Bishop of Montenegro. (*Slavonian*.)

X.—Wallachian Metropolitan at Hermanstadt in Transylvania: (*Wallachian*.)

NOTE.—I. The rite of the Churches comprised in the three first groups is the same for the Catholics and for the Heretics.

2. The languages marked in this list as Liturgical are unintelligible to the people, and even to the lower Clergy. As the Wallachian version is of recent date, it is the only language of the Liturgy that is one with the vernacular.

3. All the Churches of the fourth group, United or Schismatical, use the same Liturgical (*Greek*) rite, although their Liturgical languages differ.

4. All the Chiefs of United Greeks of group four are immediately subject to the Pope, except the Bishops of Eperies, Munkatch, and Kreutz.

UNITED GREEKS (CATHOLICS).

N.B.—The United Church, using the Greek language and rites, exists in Italy only, and is forming at Constantinople. (*Greek*.)

I.—The United Bulgarians have an Apostolic Administrator at Adrianople. (*Slavonian*.)

II.—The Christians of these three Patriarchates, who have become Catholics, are called Melchites, and are all under the Patriarch of Antioch, living at Damascus. (*Arabic*.)

N.B.—The United Georgians have passed to the Armenian or Latin rite.

III.—The United Ruthenians of Poland have a Bishop at Chelm, (*Slavonian*.)

IV.—The United Ruthenians of Austrian Galicia have an Archbishop at Lemberg. (*Slavonian*.)

V.—The United Ruthenians of Hungary have Bishops at Eperies and Munkatch, suffragans of the Latin Archbishops of Gran. (*Slavonian*.)

VI.—The United Servians have a Bishop at Krigévatz (Kreutz), suffragan of the Latin Archbishop of Agram. (*Slavonian*.)

VII.—The United Wallachians of Austria have a Metropolitan at Fogaratch in Transylvania. (*Wallachian*.)

# MONASTICON HIBERNICUM;

OR,

## A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE ANCIENT MONASTERIES OF IRELAND.

[N.B.—The text of the “Monasticon” is taken *verbatim* from Archdall: the notes marked with numbers are added by the Editors.]

### COUNTY OF CLARE.

*Beagh*,<sup>1</sup> in the barony of Burren; there was a monastery here of the third order of Franciscan Friars.<sup>2</sup> The Abbey of Beagh and the townland of Abbey Beaghan are mentioned in the records.

<sup>2</sup>*War. mon.*

<sup>1</sup> Beagh, or Beatha. This abbey was situated in the present townland of Beatha, which lies north of the Abbey of Corcumroe, in the barony of Burren, and bounded on the other side by the bay of Kinvara.

Continuation of Note 4, County of Cavan, from page 248.

“Adamnan,” page 99.) In the life of St. Munna it is also related that St. Columbkille presided over that monastery, and St. Munna lived for some time there as one of his disciples: “Venit B. Munna ad scholam S. Columbae, qui tunc erat magister in loco qui dicitur Scotice *Ceallmor Dithraimh*, id est, *Cella magna remota*, et ibi S. Munna legit apud virum sapientem Columbam . . . Et mansit ibi B. Munna ad tempus cum S. Columba vivens satis religiose.” (*Colgan ‘Tr.’ Th.* page 469.) Among the nineteen saints mentioned in the Martyrology of Donegal on the 9th of August we find the “*Four sons of Dioman of Kil-mor-Dithruibh*.” The “*Annals of Ulster*” (*ad an.* 734) and the “*Four Masters*” (*ad an.* 730) record the death of St. Flann, son of Conaing, *Abbot of Kilmore-Ditibh*. The death of Crunmmael, Bishop and Abbot of *Cill-mor-Eimhire*, is registered in the year 765, and again at 807 (*recte* 812) we find the death of Flaithbheartach, *Abbot of Cillmor-Emhoc*. In 872 it is also stated that *Cill-mor-maighe-Emhir* was plundered by the Danes (F. M. *ad an.* 827). O’Donovan conjectures that this was Kilmore near Armagh, but Lynch in his *MS. History* expressly identifies Kilmore-Emhir with Kilmore of the County Cavan: “Kilmoria (he thus writes) quondam *Kilmoria Emeri* dicta in Comitatus Cavanensis regione quae Brefnia orientalis dicitur, sita est.” (fol. 191.) Lynch also commemorates a second Bishop Fedhlimidh who held this see and died in the year 841. The other Bishops of Kilmore mentioned by our Annalists are, Hugh O’Finn who died at Inish-Cloghran, an island of Lough Ree, in 1136, Murchertach O’Maelmocheige who died in 1149, and Tuathial O’Conaictaig, who was present at the synod of Kells in 1152, and died, according to the “*Four Masters*,” in 1179. Florence or Flann O’Conaictaig, who died in 1231, was the first Bishop of this see known to Ware. For the subsequent History of the Diocese of Kilmore, see *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, vol. 2, page 485.

The Abbey gave name to an island of Lough Oughter in which it was situated, and which is still called “Trinity Island.” The ruins of the Abbey may still be seen there, and its cemetery is the principal burial-place of that district. Opposite Trinity Island, on the main land, is the townland of *Slanore*, formerly *Snalore*, which was the site of a famous Abbey in the early ages of our church. The Irish form of the name was *Snamh Luthir*, and Archdall makes mention of it when treating of the county Sligo. Dr. O’Donovan, however (An. F. M. *ad an.* 731,) and Reeves sufficiently expose this error of our author. The monastery of Slanore was founded by St. Columban, son of Eochaieo, who died about



*Ceannindis*, or *Keannindse*,<sup>2</sup> is the name of a hill in Dalcassia, now the county of Clare.<sup>a</sup> St. Comgall, who was abbot of Gleanussen, in the King's County, founded a church here; he died before the year 569.<sup>b</sup>

*Clare*,<sup>2</sup> on the river Fergus, where it falls into the river Shannon, in the barony of Islands.

An abbey was founded near to this town, under the invocation of St. Peter and St. Paul, for canons regular following the rule of St. Augustin, by Donald O'Brien the Great, King of Limerick; he appointed Donatus abbot, and richly endowed the abbey. This charter was dated at Limerick in 1195, and witnessed by M., archbishop of Cashell, D., bishop of Killaloe, A., bishop of Fenabore, and B., bishop of Limerick.<sup>c</sup>

A great battle was fought here in the year 1278, by Donell, son of Teige Caoluiske O'Brien, accompanied by the two septs of O'Coilen, with the tribe of Fearmaic and Owney, against Mahon O'Brien, who was defeated with a great slaughter.<sup>d</sup>

Thady, bishop of Killaloe, exemplified King Donald's ancient charter in this monastery on 18th July, 1461.<sup>e</sup>

In 1543, King Henry VIII. granted the abbey to the baron of Ibrachan,<sup>f</sup> together with a moiety of the rectories of Kilchrist, Kilmoyle, Kilmacdevan, Kilberverragh, Ballinregdan, Ballylogheran, and Ballylegford.<sup>g</sup> This abbey was granted in Fee to Donough, Earl of Thomond, January 19th, 1620, and a new grant was made, September 1st, 1661, to Henry, Earl of Thomond.<sup>h</sup>

<sup>a</sup>*Mss. notes on Vard.* <sup>b</sup>*Act. SS. p. 417.* <sup>c</sup>*King, p. 203.* <sup>d</sup>*Annal. Munst. King, p. 203.* <sup>e</sup>*Cox, vol. I. p. 276.* <sup>f</sup>*Auditor Gen. Office.* <sup>g</sup>*Rolls.*

the year 640. His memory is honoured in our Martyrologies on September 6th at Rosglanda, now Donaghmore, in the county of Tyrone, as well as in Snamh-luthir. The festival of St. Comaigh, sister of Columban, was also kept in this latter church on the 7th of May. This monastery was rendered famous in the sixth century by two great miracles performed there. The first is mentioned in the Life of St. Fechin of Fore: "on a certain day St. Fechin came to the place, called Snam-luthir in the district of Caerbregabhra: and meeting there St. Colman, son of Eochaidh, who had been for a long time blind, he applied to his eye the water with which he had washed his hands, and the blessing of sight was immediately restored to the blind man." (*Acta SS.* page 136.) The second miracle was performed by St. Ruadhan of Lorrha: "St. Ruadhan coming to the city called Snam-luthir in the district *Gabhra Carbre*, the body of the lately deceased King of that district was being borne on a chariot towards the city, and the whole people were weeping around him. Then Ruadhan, moved to compassion, prayed to the Lord, and the King rose up living and offered that city and people to St. Ruadhan." (*Acta Bolland*, April, vol. 2, page 383.)

<sup>2</sup> Clare abbey was situated midway between the towns of Ennis and Clare. The ruins, still in pretty good preservation, may be seen within a few perches of the Ennis railway station.

*Corcumroe*,<sup>1</sup> a small village in the barony of Burren, it was thrice plundered by Rotheric O'Connor and Dermot O'Brien in the year 1088.<sup>k</sup>

A.D. 1194. Donald, King of Limerick, founded a sumptuous monastery here for Cistercian Monks, and dedicated it to the Virgin Mary;<sup>l</sup> others say that Donagh Carbrac, his son, was the founder, in the year 1200. This abbey was also called the abbey of the Fruitful Rock, and was a daughter of that of Suire; it was afterwards made subject to the celebrated abbey of Furnes, in Lancashire; the cell of Kilsonna, alias Kilshanny, was some time after annexed to this house.<sup>m</sup> The founder died the same year.<sup>n</sup>

1267. Donogh O'Brien, King of Thomond, was killed in the battle that was fought at Siudaine;<sup>o</sup> he was solemnly interred in this abbey, where a grand monument was erected to his memory, the remains of which are to be seen at this day.<sup>p</sup>

1317. A dreadful battle was fought near this town, in which many of the principal of the O'Briens fell; amongst the slain were Teige and Mortogh Garbh, sons of Brien Ruadh, King of Thomond.<sup>q</sup>

1418. The abbot John was made bishop of Kilmacduagh.<sup>r</sup>

This abbey, with eleven quarters of land in Corcumroe and Glanemanagh, was granted to Richard Harding.<sup>s</sup>

*Ennis*,<sup>t</sup> on the river Fergus, in the barony of Islands, is a market and a borough town.

<sup>1</sup> Was called anciently *Corcamruadh*. <sup>k</sup> Ann. Munst. <sup>l</sup> Liber rubr. de Kilken. <sup>m</sup> War. mon. <sup>n</sup> Lodge. vol. 1. p. 251. <sup>o</sup> In the barony of Burren. <sup>p</sup> Collectanea, No. 4, p. 600. <sup>q</sup> Id. p. 605. <sup>r</sup> War. Bishops, p. 648. <sup>s</sup> Auditor Gen. Office. <sup>t</sup> Was anciently called *Inis Cluanruada*.

<sup>3</sup> The Abbey of Corcumroe was situated in the townland of Abbey, and parish of Abbey, in the barony of Burren, about eighteen miles north-west from the town of Ennis, and about five miles from the town of Ballyvoughan.

This abbey, though situated in the present barony of Burren, is always called the Abbey of Corcumroe, i.e., the abbey of the territory of Corcumroe, which comprised the entire of the diocese of Kilfenora. It gives name to the townland and parish of Abbey, in the barony of Burren.

In the *Caithreim Toirdhealbaig* (or wars of Thomond), at the year 1267, it is called the Abbey of Burren. Its church, which was built in a beautiful style, is still in good preservation. Its chancel contains a monument to the memory of Peter O'Loughlin the last prince of Burren, and a tomb having a full-size figure of Conor na Sudaine O'Brien, King of Thomond, who was killed by O'Loughlin of Burren, in the year 1267, in the battle of *Sudain* in *Gleann-Aragach* (now Glenaraga), at *Beal-an-Chlogaid*, at the head of Pouldoody, and interred in this Abbey. See "Annals of the Four Masters," A.D. 1514, n.a. See a sketch of this Abbey, and of the monument of Conor O'Brien, King of Thomond, in the "Dublin Penny Journal" for 1834, p. 341, where it is erroneously called the tomb of "Donogh O'Brien."

<sup>4</sup> The Abbey of Ennis, or *Inis Cluanramhfada*, now a Protestant Church, was situated in that part of the present town of Ennis called Church-street. Of the history and splendour of this famous Abbey, as well as of the other ecclesiastical



1240. About this time Donagh Carbrac O'Brien built a very noble and beautiful monastery here for Conventual Franciscan Friars.<sup>u</sup>

1305. The "Annals of Inisfall" inform us, that this monastery was built or repaired this year by Terlagh, the son of Taigh Caoluiske O'Brien, who presented the friars with holy crosses, embroidered vestments, and other needle work, cowls, and every necessary furniture, beautiful book-cases, and blue painted windows.<sup>w</sup>

1306. Died Cumheadha more Mac Nemarra. He was interred with his King in this monastery.<sup>x</sup> This year Dermot, the son of Doncha, son of Brien-roe, at the head of a powerful army of Irish and English, entered the town, and did burn and destroy every house in it.<sup>y</sup>

1311. About this time Donogh, King of Thomond, bestowed the entire revenues of his principality towards the support of the poor friars of this monastery, and for enlarging and beautifying their house.<sup>z</sup>

1313. Dermot O'Brien, prince of Thomond, was buried in this monastery in the habit of a Franciscan Friar.<sup>a</sup>

1343. Moriartach O'Brien, the son of Theodoric, prince of Thomond, died June the 5th, and was buried here;<sup>b</sup> and the same year Matthew M'Comara, called the Blind, who built the refectory and sacristy of the monastery, was buried here in the habit of the order.<sup>c</sup>

1350. Pope Clement VI. granted several indulgences to this monastery;<sup>d</sup> and Theodoric, the son of Donogh O'Brien, was interred therein.<sup>e</sup>

1364. Dermot O'Brien, late prince of Thomond, died on the vigil of the Conversion of St. Paul, at Ardrachan, in the county of Galway, but he had his sepulture in this monastery.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>u</sup>War. Mss. vol. 34, p. 159. War. mon. <sup>w</sup>The use of stained glass in our abbies, shows that the fine arts were at that time cultivated in this kingdom. <sup>x</sup>Annal Inisfal. <sup>y</sup>Id. <sup>z</sup>Collect. vol. 1, p. 614. <sup>a</sup>Ann. Inisfal. <sup>b</sup>Ann. Nenaght. King, p. 316. <sup>c</sup>Id. <sup>d</sup>Allemande. <sup>e</sup>King ut sup. <sup>f</sup>Id.

foundations now in ruins around Ennis, much might be written. Among them may be noticed the ruins of the parish churches of Dromcliff, and Dura, and Kilbrikane, all of undoubted antiquity. In an ancient manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, class H. 2-8, may be found an old poem ascribed to St. Breacan Arand, whose first proper name was Breasal, son of Eochaidhe Ball Dearg, King of Cashel, who was contemporary with St. Patrick. In this poem we are told that the King made an offering of his son Breasal to St. Patrick and to God; that St. Patrick then baptized him, and called him Breacan; that he kept him as his own disciple, till finally prepared to receive ordination, and that Patrick himself gave him orders, after which he became the famous St. Breacan of Kilbreakane, and in this poem he relates the circumstances under which he founded the churches of Dura and Kilbrikane, near Ennis. See "Book of Lecain," fol. 214, b. b., and MS. H. 2-8, T.C.D. See note at *Innislaui*.

1370. Matthew O'Brien, prince of Thomond, dying on the feast of St. Philip and St. James, was also interred here.<sup>g</sup>

1375. This year King Edward III., moved with compassion for the poverty of this house, and the scarcity of provisions in this part of the country, granted a licence, dated at Limerick, August the 22nd, to the guardian and friars, to enter into the English pale, and purchase provisions of every kind.<sup>h</sup> And he also granted a licence to Marian Currydany, a brother of the house to go to the city of Argentine, in Almanian, and there to study in the schools.<sup>i</sup>

This friary was reformed by the Franciscans of the strict observance.<sup>k</sup>

In a rental of the crown, in the year 1577, in the office of the auditor general, the crown was then in possession of the site of this monastery, a mill on the river Fergus, an eel and salmon weir, with some houses and gardens in the village.

On the 1st of June, 1621, it was granted to William Donegan, Esq.<sup>l</sup>

Many of the ancient ornaments of this building still remain, this with other similar instances must argue the refined taste of our ancestors. It is now the parish church.<sup>5</sup>

*Enniskerry.*<sup>6</sup> There are two islands of this name, about three miles from the mainland of the barony of Ibrichan.

St. Senan of Iniscathy, built an abbey on Iniscaorach, in the territory of Hybreccain,<sup>m</sup> in Thomond.<sup>n</sup>

*Finish,*<sup>7</sup> an island in the river Shannon, where it receives the river Fergus.

<sup>g</sup>*King ut sup.* <sup>h</sup>*Harris Coll. vol. 3.* <sup>i</sup>*King, p. 139.* <sup>k</sup>*War. Mss. vol. 34, p. 159.* <sup>l</sup>*Rolls.* <sup>m</sup>*The barony of Ibrichan.* <sup>n</sup>*Act. SS. p. 540.*

<sup>5</sup> The Protestant Church of the parish is erected in the nave of the old Franciscan Abbey.

<sup>6</sup> The abbey (or church of Enniskerry) was situated on the Island of *Inis Caerach*, now Anglicised Enniskerry, and Mutton Island. There are two islands of the name situated in the parish of Kilmurry and barony of Ibrikane, a short distance from the mainland, off that part of the western coast of Clare, which from its rocky and dangerous character is called Mal-bay.

In the Irish Lives of St. Senan it is called *Inis Caerach-Ccoil*, and St. Senan is stated to have founded a church upon it, and to have left a party of his clerics there. The ruins of an ancient church and round tower still mark the place, and are popularly supposed to have been the remains of the primitive church founded there by St. Senan of Iniscattery. The island contains about 210 statute acres of good land. See "Ordnance Map of the County of Clare," sheet 38.

<sup>7</sup> This is the island of *Fid-Innis, insula sylvae*, situated in the mouth of the Fergus. It is certainly the *Fid-Innis* on which St. Senan built a church, according to the "Ancient Life of St. Senanus," published by Colgan; but there is neither church nor graveyard on it at present, nor does any tradition survive of the former existence of either. The only ruin at present on this island is a small fragment of a castle. This castle is mentioned in the College List as the Castle of Finnis, belonging to *Brian na Farraire O'Brien*. See "Ordnance Survey Papers," R.I.A.



St. Brigid, the daughter of Conchraid, of the family of Mactalius, presided over an abbey of nuns in the island of Inisfidhe, or Cluainfidhe, in the 5th century, in the time of St. Senan.<sup>o</sup>

*Gleanchaoin*.<sup>8</sup> This valley is in Hy Luigdheach in Munster, at the bounds of the see of Killaloe. St. Patrick built an abbey here.<sup>p</sup>

This place is now unknown.

*Glanholuimchille*.<sup>9</sup> St. Columb founded this abbey; it is now a parish church in the diocese of Kilfenora.<sup>q</sup>

*Inchycronane*,<sup>10</sup> is an island in the river Shannon. Donald O'Brien, King of Limerick, founded an abbey in the island of Inifcronane, for regular canons, about the year. 1190.

This abbey, and a moiety of the tithes of the parish of Inchycronane, were granted to Donogh, Earl of Thomond, January 19th, 1620, and again in fee to Henry, Earl of Thomond, September 1st, 1661.<sup>r</sup>

*Inchmore*; an island in Loughrea in the river Shannon.

St. Senan, the great Saint of Iniscathy, built an abbey at Inismor, and placed St. Liberius, one of his disciples, over it.<sup>s</sup> His memory is still celebrated in the island.<sup>t</sup>

*Inisanlaoi*.<sup>11</sup> Turlogh, son of Teige Caoluisge, son of Conor na Suidaine O'Brien, King of Thomond, built a magnificent abbey here, in which he was buried in the year 1305.<sup>u</sup>

*Iniscunla*, in Hy Sedna, an ancient territory in this county; St. Senan built a church here, and placed over it the Saints Finan and Finnen.<sup>w</sup>

This church is now unknown.

<sup>o</sup>Act. SS. p. 541. <sup>Tr. Th.</sup> p. 612. <sup>p</sup>Act. SS. p. 207. <sup>q</sup>Tr. Tr. p. 495. <sup>r</sup>Rolls. <sup>s</sup>Act. SS. p. 539. <sup>t</sup>War. Mon. <sup>u</sup>Annal. Inisfal. <sup>w</sup>Act. SS. p. 534.

<sup>8</sup> Gleanchaoin, now Glanquin, in the parish of Killenaboy, and barony of Inchinquin, a small distance to the north-east of the town of Corofin. The place is pointed out on the "Ordnance Map of the County of Clare," sheet 10.

<sup>9</sup> Glanholuimchille, or Gleann-Choluim-Chille, i.e., *Vallis Columbae Cillae*. The two townlands of this name, *North* and *South*, are situated on the east side of the parish of Ca:ran, in the diocese of Kilfenora, and in the barony of Burren, on the north-east side of the county of Clare. The Ordnance Map marks the graveyard of St. Columkill's church in ruins. *Vide* Reeves' "Adamnan's Life of Colum Cille," p. 283, n. 23.

<sup>10</sup> In the Irish Life of St. Senan, this island is mentioned: *Inis mor an Jorrus Tuascert*, i.e., Inish more in Jorrus North.

<sup>11</sup> In the Ordnance Survey Papers in the Royal Irish Academy, Inisanlaoi is identified as the place now called Ennis. It was also called *Inis Cluain-Ramhfota*, i.e., the lawn, meadow, or insulated holm of the long rowing, now Clonroad, a townland on the river Fergus, in the parish of Drumcliff, adjoining the town of Ennis.—See "Annals of the Four Masters," A.D. 1408, note x.

There is good reason, however, to think, that these were formerly two distinct places, namely, Inis-an-laoi, the island where the town of Ennis now stands, and

*Iniskeltair*.<sup>12</sup> an island in Loughdery, in the river Shannon, and on the borders of the counties of Clare and Galway.

St. Camin founded an abbey here, which was afterwards a church, and still retains his name; he died in the year 653, and was buried in his own church; his feast is observed on the 25th of March.<sup>x</sup>

St. Stellan, the abbot, died May the 24th, about three years before St. Camin.<sup>y</sup>

St. Coelan, a monk of this abbey, flourished about the end of the 7th, or beginning of the 8th century. He wrote a life of St. Brigid in Latin verse, in which he expressly tells us, that this abbey was a convent of Benedictines.

— Keltra est conventus ritē virorum

Prudentum, sacro Benedicti dogmate florens.<sup>z</sup>

A. D. 834. This island was ravaged by the Danes, and the same year it was destroyed with fire by Tomar, a Danish commander from Limerick.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>x</sup>Usher. Act. SS. p. 746 747. <sup>y</sup>Act. SS. p. 17. <sup>z</sup>Tr. Th. p. 594, 598. <sup>a</sup>M<sup>c</sup>Geogh.

*Inis Cluain Ramh-foda*, or the island holm of Clonroad, and that each was a fortified town or residence. We learn this from the following entries in the "Annals of Innisfallen":—

"A. D. 1284. The castle of Ennis was built by Torlagh Mac Taige Caoluisge [O'Brien], and it was he that made the first building of stone-work in *Mur-Inse* (wall or fortification) on the west side."

"A. D. 1284. Torlagh More O'Brien, with a great hosting about him, came to attack Turlough, son of Brian Roe O'Brien, to his house, or Fort, at Ennis, and they plundered the town and brought a great prey and booty out of it to *Cluain-Ramh-foda* (Clonroad), and expelled Torlogh Oge, son of Bryan Ruadh, out of the country."

"1306. Turlagh, son of Teige Caoluisge, son of Conor na Suidane O'Brien, died, and was buried in the monastery which himself built and whitewashed with lime at *Inse-an Laoighe*."

We learn from the *Cathreim Thoirdhealbhaig*, or wars of Turlough O'Brien, that Donough Cairbreach O'Brien was the first who erected a fortress of earth at this place. According to tradition he had also a stone castle here which stood near the bridge of Clonroad, and this seems to be confirmed by a passage in these Annals at the year 1553, where it is stated that Donnell and Turlough O'Brien made a nocturnal incursion into Cluain-Ramh-fohda (now Clonoad), against their brother, Donough More, and burned that town, and slew many persons; and that Donough went into a tower which was in the town to defend himself.—"Annals of the Four Masters," A. D. 1408, n. x. For further notes of the monastery of *Inis an laoiigh*, see Ennis.

<sup>12</sup> *Inis Caelltrach* (the Island of the Churches), so called from the great number of churches and religious houses situated in it. This island was celebrated as a spot of considerable sanctity, and resorted to as a place of pilgrimage by the faithful; hence it was called Holy Island, and is still known by that name. The island is situated in the river Shannon, above the tidal part of the river, and near the town of Scariff, which commands a view of Loch Dearg. It contains about twenty acres of land, and still preserves the remains of seven churches and a round tower, the principal church of the island is *Teampal Caimin*, i. e., the "Church of St. Caimin, who was a disciple of St. Senan. He died in the year 653.



1027. The great Brien Borombh, monarch of Ireland, erected the church of Iniskeltair about this time.<sup>b</sup>

1040. Corcran was abbot of Iniskeltair; he was the most celebrated ecclesiastic of the West of Europe, both for religion and learning, and died this year at Lismore.<sup>c</sup>

1043. Died St. Annichad; he was a disciple of the abbot Corcran; his feast is held January 30th.<sup>d</sup>

1315. Brien O'Brien, brother to Donogh, King of Thomond, was constrained to take shelter in this island.<sup>e</sup>

There yet remains here a fine round tower, with seven small churches, which bespeak, in miniature, an elegance of taste.<sup>f</sup> This island is remarkable for the great resort of pilgrims on certain festivals.

*Inislua*,<sup>13</sup> was called anciently *Inisluidhe*, an island in the river Shannon, between Limerick and the island of Inis Scattery.<sup>g</sup>

St. Senan of Corca Baiscin founded a monastery here before the coming of St. Patrick into Munster,<sup>h</sup> and St. Moronoc, called the Penitentiary of *Inisluidhe*, had a cell here at the time of St. Senan's death.<sup>i</sup>

*Inisegananagh*, or the island of Canons, in the river Shannon, near the principality of Thomond; Donald O'Brien, King of Limerick, in the 12th century, founded, or rebuilt, a priory here, for canons regular following the rule of St. Augustin.<sup>k</sup>

In a rental of the crown estate in the year 1577, the crown was then seized, in right of this abbey, of the farm of the island, viz., four acres of arable, fourteen of mountain and pasture, and the site of the said abbey, containing half an acre, a church, &c., three other islands called Inishorlth, Iniskeirke, and Inistubred, near the said island of Canons; the land

<sup>b</sup>Keating. <sup>c</sup>Act. SS. p. 206. <sup>d</sup>Calendar. <sup>e</sup>Collect. vol. 1. 616. <sup>f</sup>O'Halloran, p. 81. <sup>g</sup>Act. SS. p. 540. <sup>h</sup>O'Halloran's Hist. vol. 2. p. 44. <sup>i</sup>Act. SS. p. 540. <sup>k</sup>War. Mon.

<sup>13</sup> It is certainly a mistake to assert that "St. Senan of Carcabaiscini founded a monastery here before the coming of St. Patrick into Munster," for it is admitted by all historians that St. Senan of Inisscattery was yet unborn when St. Patrick was preaching the Gospel in Munster, and the Irish life of St. Senan and the Tripartite life of St. Patrick agree that St. Patrick, when preaching to the men of Munster on *Cruach Patraig*, in the county of Limerick in the fourth year of his mission in Ireland, prophesied the coming of St. Senan, who was then (we are told) in his mother's womb.

O'Donovan notices this mistake in the Ordnance Survey Papers in the following words:—"Inislua, it is one of the islands of the Shannon between Limerick and Inisscattery. Archdall, following some foolish authorities, says (at Inislua) that Senan founded a monastery there before Saint Patrick arrived in Munster. Harris' position, although not so absurd, is equally wrong." &c. The same observations apply to Archdall's notice of Inisscattery. See Ordnance Survey papers of the County of Clare Royal Irish Academy, vol. i., p. 69, n. 13.

called Iniskedragh, not far from the river of Galway, containing thirteen acres of mountain; also two parts of the tithes of the rectory of Kildysirt Murhull, and the vicarage of Kilchrist in Thomond.<sup>1</sup>

The moiety of the said abbey of canons and that of Clare, and the moiety of the churches of Kilchrist, Killonyle, alias Killennoyle, Kilmadovane, alias Kiluichdownen, Killoveragh, Ballymacegan, alias Ballymacregan, Ballyloghbran, and Ballyloghfadela, and the chapel of Killowe, with all their tithes and profits; and the tithes of the demesne and lands of the said abbey were granted, in fee, to Donough, Earl of Thomond, June 20th, 1605, and confirmed to him March 8th, 1609; they were again granted in fee to Henry Earl of Thomond, September 1st, 1661.<sup>m</sup>

*Inisscattery*,<sup>n14</sup> a rich and beautiful little island in the mouth of the river Shannon.

St. Senan of Corca Baiscin founded an abbey here before the arrival of St. Patrick in Munster, as some report;<sup>o</sup> but others say that St. Patrick himself was the founder, and that

<sup>1</sup>Auditor Gen. Office. <sup>m</sup>Rolls. <sup>n</sup>Was anciently called *Iniscatty*, *Iniscathuigh*, and *Cathiana*. <sup>o</sup>O'Halloran, vol. 2. p. 44.

<sup>14</sup>The island of *INIS CATAGH* (*Inis Cahy*), now called Scatterry Island and Iniscattery, is situated in the river Shannon, near the town of Kilrush, about two miles from the shore, and is remarkable for the remains of several churches and a round tower of great antiquity. A church was founded here by St. Senan, a bishop, about the year 540. See "Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. ii, pp. 2-7. It continued to be the seat of a bishop till about this period (1188), when it seems to have been united to the see of Limerick. Ussher, however, who thought that it owed its origin to Saint Patrick, informs us that its possessions were divided between the sees of Limerick, Killaloe, and Ardfer: "Atque hic notandum, Patricium in metropoli Armachana successore relicto, ad alias ecclesias constituendas animum adjecisse; in quibus sedes illa episcopalis fuit in *Sinei* (SHANAN) fluminis alveo *Inis Catti* et eodem sensu in provinciali Romano *Insula Cathag* appellata. Is episcopatus inter Limericensem, Laonensem, et Ardferensem hodie divisus." *Primordia*, p. 873. See also "Annals of the Four Masters" at the year 1188, note n.

The bell of St. Senan mentioned above is that so beautifully described in the fifth chapter of St. Odran's Irish Life of St. Senan. It properly belonged to the ancient church called *Ceill T-Senain* (Senan's Church), situated in the townland of *Fuidismaigh*, north-west of the town of Kilrush. This venerable relic of the Apostle of *Iniscathaig* was anciently known as *Clog-na-neal* (i. e. the bell of the clouds), because it was believed to have descended on the clouds from heaven to St. Senan, but it is now more commonly known as *Clog-an-Oir* (or the golden bell), because (as this old life states) it resembled gold in its appearance.

This so-called *Clog-an-Oir* (or golden bell) of St. Senan, so long venerated in the west of Clare, may be now seen in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, but it does not warrant the derivation of the name in its present appearance. It is now more of a silver colour, but it may be possible that the gold and crystal ornamentations have fallen off while the bell itself lay hidden in the earth.

This old life mentions the round tower of *Innis Cathaigh*, too, and in such a way as to leave no doubt of its period and origin, as well as of the use made of it in



[NEW SERIES.]

## THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

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MAY, 1870.

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### OUR LADY OF LOURDES.<sup>1</sup>

IT was the 11th of February, 1858, Bernadette (a child of fourteen years, born at Lourdes of a poor family) was gathering dry wood on the banks of the Gave, in company of one of her sisters, aged eleven years, and another little girl aged thirteen years. She had reached the front of the grotto called Massabielle, when, in the midst of the silence of nature, she heard a noise resembling a rush of wind ('coup de vent'). She looked at the right side of the river, which was bordered by poplars, but she saw that they were motionless. The noise having again struck her ears, she turned towards the grotto. She perceived on the brink of the rock, in a kind of niche, at the side of a bush which was moving, a Lady, who made her a sign to approach. Her countenance was of ravishing beauty; she was clothed in white, with a blue girdle, a white veil on her head, and a yellow rose on each of her feet. At this sight Bernadette was troubled: thinking that she was the victim of an illusion, she rubbed her eyes, but the object became more and more distinct. Then instinctively she fell on her knees, took out her beads, which she recited, and when the child had finished her prayers the apparition vanished.

"Whether from a secret inspiration, or at the instigation of her companions, to whom she had communicated what she had seen, Bernadette returned to the grotto on the following

<sup>1</sup> "Pilgrimages in the Pyrenees and Landes," by Denys Shyne Lawlor, Esq. 8vo. Longmans, London, pp. 634. 1870.

Sunday and Thursday, and each time the same phenomenon was renewed. On the Sunday, in order to assure herself whether this mysterious being came on the part of the Lord, the young girl sprinkled holy water three times about her, for which she received from her a look full of sweetness and tenderness. On the Thursday the Apparition spoke to Bernadette; she told her to come there during the following fifteen days, to drink and wash herself in the fountain, and to eat an herb which she would find there: the girl, not seeing any water in the grotto, was taking her way towards the Gave, when the Apparition recalled her, and told her to go to the extremity of the grotto, to the spot which she indicated with her finger. The child obeyed, but found nothing save a slight moisture on the earth. She immediately began to make a little hole with her hands, which became filled with muddy water; she drank and washed, and ate, of a kind of cress which was growing in that place.

"When this act of obedience had been accomplished, the Apparition spoke again to Bernadette. She desired her to go and tell the priests that she wished that a chapel should be built to her honour at the place where she had appeared, and the child hastened to the curé to deliver the message. She had been invited to return to the grotto for the space of fifteen days (*'faites-moi la grâce de venir pendant quinze jours'*). She responded faithfully to the invitation, and each day, with the exception of two, she beheld the same spectacle, in presence of an innumerable crowd, which had collected before the grotto, and which neither saw nor heard anything. During this fortnight the Apparition several times directed Bernadette to drink and wash in the place she had already pointed out; she recommended her to pray for sinners, and repeated her desire that a chapel should be built.

"On her side, Bernadette inquired who she was, and the only answer she received was a gracious smile.

"The fortnight for her visits was terminated. However, two other apparitions took place, one on March 25, the day of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, and the other on April 5. The day of the Annunciation Bernadette asked the mysterious being three times who it was (*'qui il était'*). Thereupon the Apparition lifted up its hands, joined them across the top of its chest, raised its eyes to heaven, and cried out, with an ineffable smile, 'I am the Immaculate Conception (*'Je suis l'Immaculée Conception'*)."

On reading the above quotation, what is the reader's first impulse? Is it not to turn back to its beginning and to examine the date? and when we find it to be so recent—



February, 1858—do we not suspect it to be an error of the press, and so conclude that it is some mediæval legend which has been quoted for our edification. And when we bring ourselves at last to believe in the date, do we not rush to the hasty conclusion that it is some wild tale which has been palmed upon a too credulous traveller, and dressed up by his fancy and poetic licence into a quasi-mediaeval form? But here again we should judge amiss; for the paragraph is quoted from a very formal and official document, even the *Mandement* or Pastoral of the Bishop of Tarbes, addressed to the clergy and faithful of his diocese, and dated January 18th, 1864; and moreover, the Bishop concludes a well-weighed and dispassionate examination of the whole evidence by this solemn decree:—

“We pronounce that MARY IMMACULATE, MOTHER OF GOD, did really appear to Bernadette Soubirous, on February 11, 1858, and on the following days, to the number of eighteen times, in the grotto of Massabielle, near the city of Lourdes; that this apparition possesses all the characters of truth, and that the faithful are justified in believing it with certainty. We humbly submit this our judgment to the judgment of the Sovereign Pontiff, who is charged with the government of the Universal Church.”

Between that February of 1858, when the Apparition first appeared to Bernadette, and the January of 1864, when the Bishop pronounced that the person who thus wonderfully revealed herself was the Immaculate Mother of God, we may be sure no pains were spared to investigate the marvel; rigid was the scrutiny, great the incredulity, and most exacting the requirements which had to be fulfilled before the sanction of the local ecclesiastical judge could be given to what involved such high and momentous interests.

We have neither time nor space to enter minutely into these details, which Mr. Shyne Lawlor has brought together in such abundance, and arranged with such perspicuity in the work before us. We must content ourselves with briefly touching upon them, and referring our readers to the work itself for a complete narrative of this and kindred subjects in his *Pilgrimages in the Pyrenees and Landes*.

Who is Bernadette to whom such special favours were vouchsafed? Our author sketches her portrait with the vigour and unflattering precision of a photograph. In 1858 she was “a little girl of fourteen years of age, remarkable only for the smallness of her person. Her family were poor, and lived by their labour, being often in great indigence. Bernadette was a miserable little creature from her birth. At the time we

she was still lank, small, and sickly, and she had been afflicted with asthma from her cradle. She had never been sent to school, contrary to the usual practice of the place, was consequently very ignorant, and the only prayer book she could read was her beads. Her intelligence was scarcely that of ordinary capacity, yet she was artless, obedient, and affectionate, and knew no falsehood. She had not yet made her first communion, but her soul seemed still to preserve its baptismal innocence unsullied. All holy things possessed inexpressible charms for her, and she had such a horror of evil that her pain was visible whenever anything bad happened to be done or said in her presence."

Such was Bernadette in her ordinary life—a simple, good, but not in any respect a remarkable child.

Now, let us see her in the presence of the "Immaculate Conception," and that we may have the testimony of one who, at any rate, was not prejudiced in her favour, let us take that of M. Estrade, a local official of rank, who, as he candidly says, "arrived at the grotto, determined to examine attentively, and, to say the truth, not unwilling to criticise and ridicule, as I expected to be present at the exhibition of some grotesque comedy." What says this unfavourable witness?

"An immense crowd became massed by degrees about and around those wild rocks. I wondered within myself at the simplicity of so many dupes, and I laughed at the credulity of a parcel of good women who were gaping, on their knees, before the grotto. We got there very early, and, thanks to my broad shoulders, I was able to push to the foremost rank, and thus I got close to Bernadette, who arrived at the usual hour, about sunrise. I remarked in her infantine countenance the same character of sweetness, innocence, and tranquillity which had struck me so much when I saw her a few days before with the Commissary of Police. She knelt down naturally, without ostentation or embarrassment, and without taking any notice of the crowd about her, just as if she were in a church, or in a desert, far from human eye. She took out her beads and began to pray; whereupon her countenance suddenly seemed to receive and reflect an unseen light. She became motionless, wonder-struck, as if charmed, and beaming with happiness, while she kept her eye intently fixed upon the opening of the grotto. I looked at it also, but I saw nothing—absolutely nothing—except the naked branches of the wild rose. And yet—shall I acknowledge it?—in presence of that child's transfiguration, all my former prejudices, all my philosophical objections, all my precon-



ceived disbelief faded away, and gave place to an inexplicable sentiment which became master of me in my despite. I felt certain, as it were, by irresistible intuition, that a mysterious being was truly there. I did not see her with my eyes; but my soul, and that of the innumerable spectators about me at that solemn moment, saw her with the light of an interior conviction, strong as any human evidence. Beyond all doubt a divine being was there. ("Oui, je l'atteste, un être divin était là.") Suddenly and completely transformed, it was no longer Bernadette. She seemed an angel of light, consumed in unspeakable rapture. She had no longer the same visage; another intelligence, another life, and, I was going to say, another soul was depicted upon it. She had not the least resemblance to herself, and seemed as if she was altogether another person. Her attitudes, her smallest movement, the manner, for example, in which she made the sign of the cross, had a nobleness, dignity, and grandeur that was more than human. She opened her large eyes, as if they could not be satisfied with what she gazed upon. It seemed as if she feared to bend her lids lest she should lose for an instant the ravishing object which she was contemplating. She smiled occasionally in a manner which conveyed the idea of ecstatic beatitude. All the spectators were affected in the same manner that I was. Like them, I held my breath, expecting to hear the colloquy which evidently was being carried on between the Vision and the child. She was listening with an expression of the most profound respect, or, to convey myself more properly, of absolute adoration mingled with illimitable love and melting delight. Sometimes, however, a shade of sadness passed over her face; but its habitual expression was that of great joy. I observed that at times she scarcely breathed. During all this time she held her beads in her hand, sometimes motionless, as if lost in the abyss of that divine vision; at another time she passed them irregularly over her fingers, as her countenance varied in its expression of admiration or of delight or of prayer. Occasionally she made the sign of the cross in that devout, noble, and commending fashion of which I have already spoken."

"A few minutes after her ecstasy was over," M. Estrade continues, "She got up and returned quietly to the town. She was no longer anything but a poor girl in tatters, whom nobody could have supposed to have taken part in any extraordinary transaction."

We are told that Bernadette was of a poor family—so poor, indeed, that many visitors who came to question the child

respecting the vision, offered money to provide the bare necessities which seemed wanting. "But every offering was refused, however delicately tendered."

As our author justly remarks, "there is much to observe in the brief announcement of the Apparition ; but one thing has especially attracted criticism. She did not say, 'I am Mary Immaculate.' Her words were, 'I am the Immaculate Conception ;' as if, thereby, she marked with an absolute character, and proclaimed by her own gracious presence the truth of that great dogma which the Church so recently had declared to be an article of faith. This was the first time Bernadette had heard the words 'Immaculate Conception,' and, not comprehending their meaning, she made great efforts, as she returned to Lourdes, to retain them in her memory. 'I kept repeating them to myself all along the road, lest I should lose them,' she once said to M. Lasserre, 'and as I went to the presbytery I was saying, 'Immaculate Conception ! Immaculate Conception !' at every step I took, because I wanted to bring to the curé the very words of the Vision, in order that the chapel might be built."

And what came of all this ? a reader may ask, and naturally enough in these days, when *cui bono* is the test of everything. Much good, we may be sure, came, as must ever come from such a source. Our Blessed Lady is ever working good around and within us, whether we recognise it or not, and this in the ordinary events of life ; how much more so may we expect to find it when she thus graciously reveals herself in so singular a manner. What miracles of grace she wrought in the soul of that simple child to whom these visitations were alone manifested to the sight, none of course can tell ; but those marvellous interviews were witnessed by crowds who swarmed in ever-increasing numbers to the sacred grotto, in whom devotion was kindled or scepticism destroyed by the sight of that child of grace in ecstasy before a Presence which all else felt, although it was not given to their eyes to behold.

From that day, when Bernadette knelt with her two young companions and first gazed on the Mother of God, until the following Easter Monday, when upwards of nine thousand persons gazed in awe upon the child in ecstasy, and saw the flame of her burning candle play about her fingers without burning her flesh ; as though the flame of devotion within her heart rendered powerless all earthly fire ; when, as we may believe for the satisfaction of the most sceptical, a physician of renown could remain sufficiently calm and collected to examine closely this powerless flame, and to note by his watch the "more than fifteen minutes during which her



fingers remained enveloped in it ;” when a spectator, with less consideration than curiosity, “desires to test the matter,” after the Vision had vanished, and her ecstasy was over, and the child had regained her normal condition, “took the same taper, which was still burning, and without being perceived by her, applied it to her hand, when she turned round in a fright, and cried out, “You are burning me, Sir,”—from first to last, who can tell how many devout souls were inflamed with fresh love for God and His Blessed Mother by their entrance thus immediately into the heavenly Presence ; how many cold hearts were kindled by this sacred, yet unseen, fire ; how many infidels brought back to the faith which condescended thus lovingly to manifest itself ; and how many careless Catholics were lured back by the sweet wiles of their Mother’s love to that life of obedience which is more than repaid by that dear Mother’s smile. And from that day to the present, who can count the numbers in those crowds of pilgrims which swarm at all seasons to the grotto over which the church which Mary asked for, now rises in grand and massive proportions. Surely *cui bono* has herein its more than sufficient answer, in the spiritual works of mercy with which that Shrine abounds.

But while there are those who prefer to walk by sight rather than by faith, the gracious condescension of our Blessed Lady is especially shown in the evidence which she affords in the corporal works of mercy which such as these better understand.

The reader may remember that on Thursday, February 25, as the Bishop tells us, “the Apparition bade Bernadette go and drink and wash herself in the fountain, and eat some herb which she would find there.” We are told that the child “looked about for the fountain, and, not seeing any streamlet there, she was proceeding towards the Gave (the river which flows in front of the grotto), when the Vision made a gesture to stop her, and said—“Don’t go there : I did not tell you to drink in the Gave ; go to the fountain ; it is here.” And stretching out her hand, she pointed with her finger to the right side of the grotto, where Bernadette had ascended on her knees on the preceding morning. Having reached the spot she saw nothing like a fountain ; there were merely some scattered tufts of a kind of grass called *la dorine*, a species of saxifrage that grows about the rocks. In the meanwhile the spectators, who heard nothing of this conversation, were much puzzled by her movements, especially when they saw her stoop down and scrape the earth with her little hands. Under this operation the earth became moist, until, issuing as if from

unknown depths, a mysterious stream began to trickle drop by drop on the hands of Bernadette, and fill the hollow that she had made. At first it seemed to be nothing but mud, and Bernadette had some repugnance to taste it; but this she overcame, drank it, washed herself, and ate a morsel of the wild grass that was growing at the foot of the rocks. It then flowed downward in a small thread, and wound its tiny course slowly to the river.

That little stream grew into a fountain of life, restoring health and strength to the sick and dying; and now it pours its waters in three jets into a marble basin, while in a small adjoining building it forms a bath for immersion or washing. Many pages in Mr. Shyne Lawlor's narrative are filled with the authenticated miracles wrought through the instrumentality of these waters. Some are recorded in the words of their yet living subjects, who, on the spot, still testify to cures which they have themselves experienced: others are quoted from books or letters which the grateful recipients have themselves written, and which are rendered still more valuable by the high literary or theological reputation of the writers. And what of the church which Mary asked for? "Now, my child," she had said, "go and tell the priests that I wish that a chapel should be erected to me here" (*et maintenant, ma fille allez, allez dire aux prêtres que je veux que l'on m'élève ici une chapelle*)—that message had been delivered to the curé, the Abbé Peyramale; and he was certainly not a man to neglect it, or to misunderstand its full purport, as an amusing incident will assure us. When M. Durand had prepared a design of what we are told was considered by himself and the group of friends who were present, "a charming little church," the curé looked at it, and his countenance suddenly became inflamed; with a rapid gesture he crumpled up the plan, tore it, and flung it in bits into the Gave. "What are you doing?" cried the stupefied architect. "You see," replied the priest, "I blush that human meanness should presume to offer such a structure to the Mother of God, and I have destroyed the unworthy conception. That which we require, in commemoration of the great events, which have been accomplished here, is not a narrow village church; it is a temple of marble as large as the summit of Massabielle will sustain, as magnificent as your genius can create. Go back, my friend, and let nothing be too daring for your pencil. We require from you a *chef-d'œuvre*; and, if you possessed the talent of Michael Angelo, it will still be unworthy of that which we celebrate here."

"But, M. le Curé," cried out every one, "millions will be necessary to do what you say."



"She who from this barren rock called forth a living spring will open the generous hands of the faithful," was his reply. "Proceed, and have no fear on that account. Why do ye tremble, O ye men of little faith?"

All honour to the Abbé Peyramale and to the artist whose genius his faith inspired! The words were no idle boast; for now upon the summit of Massabielle towers "a vast and noble Basilica," which cost upwards of one million of francs, and which is at once a monument of Mary's love to her children and of their devotion to their Immaculate Mother.

And what of her, the poor unlettered child, for whose sake Mary did so much, and who brought by her simple instrumentality such a blessing upon Lourdes, opening at once a fountain of spiritual and corporal mercies? What of Bernadette? Her life, after these days of sweetest intercourse with her heavenly Mother, was seemingly as childlike and commonplace as it had been before. "During two years immediately following the apparitions she lived with her family, often visited and interrogated by those who frequented the grotto. She was always accessible; no effort was made to conceal her, or to prevent the interrogatories of all who pleased to question her. She never exhibited the slightest appearance of vanity or self-esteem in consequence of the favours which she had received. When she spoke of them it was unaffectedly, and simply, and without emotion. It was not in her character to be very expansive, and she had no power of word-painting; her accounts were brief, and almost cold, and many questions were necessary before she would enter with animation upon the description of her visions. Those, however, who heard her narrative from her own mouth could never refuse their testimony to her truthfulness and candour.

She went daily to school at the convent. After a couple of years the Bishop placed her in the convent of the Hospice at Lourdes. The constant questioning to which she was exposed by being thus on the spot, enfeebled her health; and her ardent desire of devoting herself to God led to her being sent to Nevers, where she was placed in the Novitiate of the Sisters of Charity. On October 30, 1867, she was professed. There, we believe, she is still; the last record we have of her in Mr. Shyne Lawlor's book is an extract of a letter from a sister of the community at Nevers, which may well serve as our parting notice of Bernadette:—"She is always a truly charming child, pious as an angel, gentle as a lamb, and simple as a dove. May the good God deign to preserve her to us—it does so much good to see her."

We have quoted so largely from what is but one chapter of Mr. Shyne Lawlor's book, that we have left ourselves no space

to notice the fifteen other Pilgrimages which are described in that charming volume. Yet do we feel no compunction in so doing, as we are thereby advancing a cause which we know him to have much at heart. It is his glory to be the first to write in our own tongue a complete record of the miracle of Lourdes, and we feel sure we cannot better repay him for the pleasure the perusal of his volume has given us, than by assisting him in drawing attention to these fresh proofs of the love of our Immaculate Mother.

We know no book which we can more heartily commend to our readers for thoughtful and pleasant reading in this Month of Mary.

It is a hopeful sign when one filling so distinguished a social position and using a pen with no unpractised hand, can turn aside from the popular subjects of the day, and write upon a "subject which does not belong to the inflammatory and dangerous school in politics and poetry, or to the doubtful records of times that it were wiser to forget."

H. B.

## THE FIRST IRISH MISSION OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

(*Continued.*)

THE letter translated in our last Number from the Latin copy given in the State Papers, shows how vain were Henry's oft-repeated efforts to drag his royal nephew into schism. In the "Sadlier Papers," published by Sir Walter Scott, we find special instructions given by the fond uncle to his ambassador "to urge the King to reject that sort of *Nuncios* and slanderous orators like Reginald Pole. For as much as his Majesty doubteth not but such evil angels shall be sent to his said nephew to seduce him, if they can, his Highness hath thought good to warn his good brother and nephew eftsoones, to give no light credence to their tales."<sup>1</sup> In obedience to his instructions, the wily agent pressed James to reform the clergy and rob the Kirk. Seated in a deep embowed window of Holyrood, the monarch said to him: "I shall ever take my

<sup>1</sup> "Sadlier Papers, 1541."



uncle's cause as mine own . . . . If the clergy do amiss, by my troth, ye shall ken I will redress them ; as to their goods, by my troth, I thank God, I have enough to live on, and if we need anything that they have, we may have it at our pleasure." When Sadlier was going to impress on him that the monks at least were incorrigible, the King laughingly interrupted him, swearing "he would redress them if they were naught, and make them behave according to their profession." Then intimating that he was equal to that or any other department of his government, he dismissed the tempter for that time, and in a few days after he said to him : "For no man living shall I stain mine honour for any worldly good, by the grace of Jesu."<sup>1</sup>

This graphic account which Sadlier gives of his failure makes us regret we cannot get at the report, which the Fathers sent to Ignatius, about their reception and success at the Scottish Court. Mary of Lorraine was everjoyed, no doubt, to see and consult her distinguished countryman Brouet, who was born on the sunny banks of her own bright river Somme. The observant and accomplished King of Scots must have admired in those young priests brilliant talents and solid virtues which he could hardly find equalled in his own country, where "licentiousness had grown to a greater height than in any nation in Christendom;" for if we are to believe the *Scotichronicon*, the Kirkmen's love of riches, honours, and pleasures, is registered in acts of Parliament, in decrees of Councils, and in the confessions of Catholic writers. They were even worse than Archbishop Gladstone, who was merely "meikle given to good feeding and drinking," and was honoured with the following epitaph in the doric dialect of North Britain :—

"Here lies beneath thir laid-stanes  
The carcase of Master George Gladstones,  
Heaven's abject, for he was an earthly beast,  
A Bacchus bishop, for a fleshy feast."<sup>2</sup>

We trust the Kirk had not fallen so low, and we hope that, as Scotland is now returning to the old Faith, some honest Scot will rehabilitate and brighten many old memories which have been blackened by talented bigotry. But if the clergy were unworthy of their high calling, the laymen were as bad as bad could be. Many nobles and gentlemen were tainted with Henry's heresy, and corrupted by Henry's gold. These patriotic Scots gave the English monarch all the information

<sup>1</sup> Miss Strickland's "Queens of Scotland," Vol. i., p. 389.

<sup>2</sup> "Scotichronicon," Vol. ii., pp. 304, 357.

he wanted ; even the King's mother, the lustful and treacherous Mary Tudor, sent her son's secrets to England in a letter written from Stirling, in May, 1541, and, we may presume, revealed the expected coming of the Legates, and promised to inform Henry of their movements in Scotland and Ireland. She died before their arrival. Still they ran great risk from other spies, and from the hired assassins of England, and were, no doubt, advised to go at once to the Isle of Saints. From the King's letter recommending them to his subjects of the Isles, and from Sir William Paget's letter which we shall give in another page, we gather that the Fathers went among the people of the Isles, and paid their respects to the Bishop who was living at Iona,

"Where once came monk and nun, with gentle stir,  
Blessings to give, news ask, or suit prefer."<sup>1</sup>

There, midst the graves of Irish, Scottish, and Norwegian Kings, of princes, nobles, prelates, "Lords of the Isles," chiefs of clans and heads of religious houses, they prayed for Ireland and Scotland, they prayed to St. Columba, the patron and kinsman of the O'Donnells and O'Neills ; they prayed in the old oratory of the Irish Saint Ninian ; they said Mass in the cathedral which now stands out in solitary grandeur midst the waves—a wreck and mournful record of the Faith long passed away. Perhaps, too, they offered up the Holy Sacrifice in the Convent of Canonesses, and gave the Pope's blessing to Anna MacDonald, daughter of the Lord of the Isles, who was its last Prioress, and died a few months afterwards.

The Nuncios consulted the successor of St. Columba about the state of Ireland, recommended their mission to his prayers, and then, under the guidance of that Bishop's brother, Farquhard Farquhardson, they steered towards "that isle to which the grey eyes of Columba were unceasingly turned." They landed in Ireland in the beginning of Lent, about the 22nd of February, three weeks after their departure from Stirling, and they wrote at once to their General to inform him of their safe arrival. We have looked in vain among the Monumenta of Drs. Theiner and Lämmer for the reports which the Legates made to the Holy Father, or for the letters which they wrote to St. Ignatius when they reached and when they left the Irish shore. So we must be resigned to take a second-hand account of their mission, consoling ourselves with the "sour grapes" reflection, that Mr. Froude has compiled a history from archivistic records, and has been told

<sup>1</sup> James' letter, and Paget's letter given elsewhere.



for his pains by the charities of criticism, "that he is incurably unfair, and converts history into a party libel; that he is utterly careless as to facts, and so utterly incapable of distinguishing right from wrong, that one is shy of accepting the smallest fact on his authority alone."<sup>1</sup> These words mean more than that Mr. Froude "has woven a spider's web," and, though they may shock us by their severity, they make us regret less, that we cannot get among the cobwebs of the Roman archivium, where the papers of our Legates lie slumbering in the dust. Orlandini, who was a contemporary of Salmeron's, has given a brief *résumé* of those documents, and we will translate his classic language as closely as we can, in order not to put in a false light, or to alter in the slightest degree the picture which he has left us of the Ireland of 1542. He writes thus:—

"The Irish, crushed down by tyranny, did not dare to oppose openly Henry or his deputy; yet they preserved their faith unsullied, and cherished the most sincere obedience to the Sovereign Pontiff.<sup>2</sup> \* \* \* Having entered Ireland not without a singular protection of Providence, the Nuncios found all laid waste and desolate, and filled with trepidation and danger; they found all far worse than they had expected, in what concerns the knowledge and practice, not only of the Catholic faith, but even of civil life. They found a race of men rude and uncultivated, and, what was worse, deprived of the watchful care of pastors. There was no free provision of parish priests or bishops. All the chiefs, save one who was supposed to be soon about to follow the rest, had sworn not only to obey the King's edict, but also to burn all letters coming from the Pope, and to imprison and hand over his Nuncios to Henry or his deputy. Hence those chiefs did not dare to confer with the Legates, even for a short time, nor to help them to return in safety out of the island.

"However, the Fathers did not on that account give up all hope; but continually changing their hiding places, and watching their opportunities, they used the utmost diligence in guarding and protecting the Catholics; they confirmed them in the faith by quiet and secret admonitions; they taught thoroughly the pure and chaste practice of religion, and told them what to receive and what to reject. To many they administered the Most Holy Mysteries; they heard Confessions, and, discreetly using the powers conferred on them by the Holy See, they gave plenary indulgences, commuted vows,

<sup>1</sup> *Saturday Review*, Feb. 12, 1870.

<sup>2</sup> *Intactam tamen Fidem, et sincerissimam erga Romanum Pontificem obedientiam servabant.*

absolved many from crimes reserved to the Pope, and liberally remitted to not a few the fines imposed "*ab homine vel jure.*" These people were everywhere struck with delight and admiration by the conduct of the Fathers, and especially by the moderation and integrity, the "*continentia et integritas*" of men, who granted all the favours in their power to the poor for nothing, or for little or nothing. Even the fines they did levy they durst not touch, being mindful of the words of Ignatius; but, through those who paid them or through the Bishop, they devoted them to restore the churches, and to protect the loneliness of the widow and the virtue of the virgin; while they themselves, though most destitute of all things, would neither ask nor accept anything for their own use."

"Having traversed that region in this manner during four-and-thirty days, they heard that their presence was discovered, that the Anglo-Irish, or "*Angli Indigenæ,*" were trying to compass their destruction, and had set a great price on their heads; and that there were certain treacherous persons who would entrap them under the pretence of business, and sell them to English merchants. Wherefore, perceiving that a longer stay in the island would not be of advantage to souls, and might compromise those who would wish to harbour them, they resolved to leave Ireland, as the Pope had ordered them to do, if their presence were to bring persecution on the faithful. They departed, therefore, carrying with them the great regrets of that people, whom they had edified by singular examples of virtue. Having reached Scotland, they made a bold attempt to see the King and urge him to do something for the Catholic faith in Ireland; but, as the impious power of the lords blocked up all the approaches to his majesty, and as Scotland was burning with the same fire as England, they sailed for the shores of France, and landed safely at Dieppe."<sup>1</sup>

Here is a history that must make us hang our heads for shame. Is it possible that the Legates of the Holy See could not find shelter in the Isle of Saints? Is it true that they could get no hospitality, in the very home of hospitality, from the sixty Irish chief captains who, as the English State Papers say, "reigned in Ireland at that time, whereof some called themselves Kings, some King's Peers, some Princes, some Dukes, some Archdukes, who lived only by the sword, and obeyed no temporal person; each of whom made war and peace for himself and held by the sword, and had imperial jurisdiction within his realm, and obeyed no other person save

<sup>1</sup> Orlandinus: "*Historia Soc. Jesu, ad an. 1541.*"



such as might subdue him by the sword." Is it a fact that the Nuncios could get no protection from "the thirty great captains of the English noble folk, who followed the same Irish order, and were of Irish language, of Irish habit, and of Irish conditions?"<sup>1</sup> Could they find no refuge among those ninety independent chiefs, in the fifteen thousand square miles of O'Neill's territory, in the castles of Donnell—four of which a vessel in full sail could reach—or in the lands of the King of Thomond? These are questions which are forced upon us by the narrative of Orlandini. We approach them with shyness and timidity, for we may have to say things as unpleasant to read as they are to write, and we hesitate to wade through the voluminous filth of the papers of Henry the Eighth and of Carew, and through the bloody records of the Four Masters, in order to arrive at a solution of our doubts.

The historian of the Society asserts the political and moral weakness of the Chiefs, while he affirms the unsullied Catholicism of the people. Let us test his statements. And firstly, let us consider what was the power of the Irish princes.

When Henry, King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, shook off the authority of Rome, he did not own one-tenth of Ireland, his laws were not obeyed beyond a compass of twenty miles, and the short circuit of his judges round Dublin were compared to the contracted revolution of the cynosure round the pole.<sup>2</sup> The dangers of his deputies were thus described by Kildare, when he was accused by Wolsey of living like an Irish king: "My Lord Cardinal, in England there is not a mean subject that dare extend his hand to filip a peer of the realm; in Ireland, unless a lord has cunning to his strength, and strength to hold his own, he is lost. I sleep in a cabin, while you lie soft on your bed of down; I serve under the cope of heaven, while you are served under a canopy; I drink water from a skull, when you drink wine out of golden cups; my courser is trained to the field, when your jennet is taught to amble; when you are begraced and belorded, and crouched and kneeled unto, I find small grace with our Irish borderers, except I cut them off by the knees."<sup>3</sup>

This little picture of the period shows us the independence of the Irish character, and confirms what the State Papers say of the power of the Irish chiefs. The allegiance paid even by the Norman-Irish lords was shadowy and nominal, or, as Mr. Goldwin Smith calls it, "ironical." Whereas the power of the chiefs over their own territories, and, in some cases,

<sup>1</sup> Official Document sent to Henry the Eighth in 1515.

<sup>2</sup> State Paper of 1533. Goldwin Smith: "Irish History and Irish Character."

<sup>3</sup> Campion.

over the Pale, was real, and was maintained with a strong hand. The chiefs were brave generals, their clansmen were soldiers of high mettle. Let us take as representative men of those princes, two brothers-in-law of the above-mentioned Ninth Earl of Kildare. We find them thus described in the *Annals of Ireland*: "O'Donnell, named Hugh, the son of Hugh Roe, son of Nial the Fierce, son of Turlogh of the Wine, died in 1537, having previously taken upon him the habit of St. Francis, and having done penance for the sins and frailties of his life. His enemies never gained a victory over him, nor did he ever retreat one foot from any force, great or small. He repressed evil deeds, banished rebels, enforced the laws, established every one in his rightful inheritance, and protected from violation the sacred properties of religious orders, ecclesiastics, poets, and professors. He had not suffered the English power to come into his country; for he formed a league of peace and amity with the King of England, as soon as he saw that the Irish would not submit to the superiority of any one among themselves, but that friends and blood relations contended against each other. His son Manus was inaugurated his successor by the Coarbs of St. Columkill, with the permission of the nobles of Tirconnell." Another brother-in-law of the Earl of Kildare was O'Carroll, "a chief most distinguished for renown, bravery, prosperity, and excellence, the supporting mainstay of all persons, the rightful, victorious rudder of his race, the powerful young warrior in the march of the clans, the active triumphant champion of Munster, the precious stone, the anvil of knowledge, and the golden pillar of the Elyans. He deserved the greatest thanks from poets, travellers, ecclesiastics, and literary men, and gave more presents and entertainments than any man of his lineage. A few hours before his death his sons obtained a victory over the Earl of Ormond and the sons of John O'Carroll, and took many horses, and some cannons called falcons. This was O'Carroll's last victory, and it secured the chieftainship for his son, who was elected in preference to his seniors."<sup>1</sup>

But not only were the princes brave, but also their people were fine soldiers. "I have heard," writes Spencer, "some great warriors say that in all the services which they had seen in foreign lands, they never saw a more comely man than the Irishman, nor that cometh on more bravely to his charge. And sure their gallowglass and kerne are very valiant, great endurers of labour, cold, hunger, and all hardness, very active, vigilant, and circumspect in their enterprises; strong of hand, very present in perils, and great scorers of death."

<sup>1</sup> Four Masters, an. 1532 and 1537.



Campion describes them as "clear of skin and hue, frank, ireful, sufferable of pains infinite, very glorious, greedy of praise, and fearful of dishonour, excellent horsemen, and delighted with wars." Froissart says their young men could keep pace with the swiftest horse, would suddenly bound up behind a man riding at full speed and clutch him in their arms with the tightest grip; there was a wonderful strength and vigour in their arms. An old writer quoted by Ussher, tells that our people "were as large as giants, men of tall stature and powerful frame, and the bravest soldiers in war." And Good, an Englishman who calumniated the Irish in other respects, admitted that "the Irish in body are strong and active, of high and daring spirit, of martial and energetic temper, prodigal of life, and patient in labour, hunger, and cold."<sup>1</sup> If such were the warlike qualities of the Irish, how were they brought so low as the Nuncios found them? On this question Dr. Lynch, a Celto-Norman, very justly remarks, that so invincible were the Irish down to his day, in the seventeenth century, that instead of being their conquerors, the English coalesced with them into one people. As John Wadding writes, "In all the very numerous victories gained by the Irish, success was solely attributable, under God, to their own soldiers; whereas all the victories of the English were due to the Irish who were serving under the English banner, or who abandoned their allies. Thus we may say of Ireland what Hanibal said of Italy, 'that it could be conquered only by its own arms and its own power.'" Alas! it is most true, that, "by their own arms and by their own power" the ninety chiefs who exercised regal or lordly sway in Ireland were forced to bow to the behests of the English tyrant. Chieftains waged war on chiefs, tanists, or heirs elect, on their chiefs, brothers on brothers, children on their fathers. We could prove and illustrate this by transferring bodily to our pages the Irish annals of 1541 and 1542; but as our readers might be disgusted at the monotony of murder, we shall give a short analysis, and one or two elegant extracts. We have counted in the northern part of Ireland alone, and in the single peaceful year of 1542, ten warlike expeditions, in which the chiefs plundered and burned each other's territories, and destroyed human life. There were also six minor frays, in which six chiefs or sons of chiefs were slain, one of whom, the son of the great O'Neill, was killed by the commander of his father's gallowglasses. One of those forays of 1542, is thus described by the Four Masters:—

<sup>1</sup> *Cambrensis Eversus*, Ch. 39, n. 290, 291.

"There was a hosting by O'Donnell and the Calvagh in the summer of this year. Being joined by the contingents of O'Rorke and O'Kane, they agreed to march against MacQuillin, and crossed the Bann in spite of MacQuillin and his strong body of English allies, although they were in danger of being drowned, or attacked at great disadvantage. Having crossed, they sent light-scouring and terror-striking parties through the country and seized heavy and substantial preys. . . . On the morrow O'Donnell ordered them to kill or hough these immense spoils and preys. . . . After this MacQuillin came to O'Donnell, made him presents of horses, armour, and other beautiful articles of value, and made peace with him, and O'Donnell with his army marched home in triumph. Then, to punish O'Kane for joining O'Donnell, MacQuillin led his own clansmen and a numerous body of Scots to ravage O'Kane's country, but he was defeated with great slaughter by O'Kane and the bonachtmen of Clan Swiney, and great numbers of his people were drowned in the Bann."<sup>1</sup> These details would tempt one to think with the late Count de Montalembert that Celtic history is summed up in the word "Assassinat;" but an impartial and observant reader would easily discover by perusing the Annals, that the Irish were not as ready as were their foes, to use poison or the knife of the assassin, in order to get rid of an enemy. The annalists relate those sanguinary forays as lawful acts of war, and they brand anything like foul-play as "unbecoming," "treacherous," "malicious." We have even in the year 1542 instances of a high sense of honour and humanity, which, we regret to state, was not ever perhaps imitated by the English generals. Thus, when the son of O'Flaherty and his men attacked the country of MacSwiny, all except their young chief, were slain in battle by the son of MacSwiny, "who gave O'Flaherty pardon and protection, and sent him safe home to Connemara, 'outside his protection';" that is, having extended protection to him, as in honour bound, he prevented his being killed within the district over which MacSwiny ruled. Here is another instance of chivalrous and Christian generosity in a chief. "Tual Balb MacShain MacRuari O'Gallagher, a worthy man and one of the most powerful of the sub-chieftains of Tirconnell, died on the 1st of February," a few weeks before the arrival of the Nuncios. "He was a man of valour and prowess, though he never used to kill or destroy persons; for there was no battle or skirmish into which he went, from which he would not bring away prisoners. In his youth he heard a friar of Donegal preach,

<sup>1</sup> Four Masters, an 1452.



that in order to obtain *the reward*, one must not shed human blood, and he made a resolution never to wound a man, and this resolution he kept all his life." The observance of this vow shows that O'Gallagher was a cool, clever swordsman as well as a good Christian; and his singular humanity ought to have disarmed the brutality of the English, who slew O'Gallagher's son while he was their prisoner, because they were enraged at an unsuccessful assault on O'Gallagher's castle of Léffir. Even the siege and assault of this castle was made by O'Donnell and his son Calvagh, with the help of an English contingent, while the place was defended by O'Donnell's other son, Hugh, and by the sons of O'Gallagher. God help us! whithersoever we turn our eyes in the past of our country, we find nothing but family feuds, dissensions, reckless rivalries, wasting wars:—

"'Twas fate, they'll say, a wayward fate  
Their web of discord wove;  
And while their tyrants joined in hate  
They never joined in love."

So sings our Irish bard, and so it was. Thus, when the tenth Earl of Kildare overran the pale, seized Dublin city, besieged the Castle of Dublin, and annihilated an English detachment marching to the relief of their countrymen, the Kerne and Gallowglas of Kilkenny and Tipperary burst twice into Kildare, carried fire and sword through the homes of the Geraldines, and twice saved Henry's authority by saving the Castle, which was the only spot of Irish ground in the hands of the English.<sup>1</sup> Here Tipperary rendered more service to England than at Meancee, where eighty of her sons kept eight thousand warriors at bay, while three hundred Tipperary soldiers, supported by Sepoys, dashed into an army of nineteen thousand men. The brave young Earl of Kildare was but feebly supported by some Irish chiefs, and was opposed by his uncles, by his cousins the Butlers, by Dublin, Drogheda, Kilkenny, and Tipperary, as well as by his uncle Grey, who was Deputy, and commanded the English forces. He surrendered on promise of pardon, and was beheaded; his six uncles who conquered him were beheaded, and his cousin-german and enemy the loyal Lord Butler, was poisoned at a banquet in London, together with about twenty gentlemen and servants of his household. And as the Geraldines were almost annihilated, so were the other

<sup>1</sup> Froude, "History of England," an. 1534.

chiefs crushed and forced by the arms of their countrymen "to creep in," and admit the superiority of Henry.

These few facts will enable us to realize the state of Ireland in 1542, when the Nuncios found all "a howling wilderness," "vasta offendunt omnia." They will also help us to cast off a pseudo-patriotic sentimentality, and to dash away "the tear and the smile from our eyes." They will help us to see how false are the following ideas, which prevail at home as well as abroad, about Henry's dealings with the Celtic chieftains and people. M. Crétineau-Joly introduces the first Irish Mission of the Society with these remarks:—

"Apostacy was with the English as with the Germans a matter of calculation; but in Ireland there was a people who did not consent to change their faith as often as it pleased Henry to change his queens. They met his wishes with a refusal which three centuries of martyrdom have immortalized. He organized the most terrible system of persecution. Ireland panted under the knife of the butcher; it counted martyrs by thousands; ruin sat at its cabin doors; here the English proscribed, there they confiscated; everywhere they murdered."<sup>1</sup>

This dashing, impulsive writing, quite in the style of the accomplished historian of the Vendean War, is full of French *élan*, but is not founded on the facts of Irish history. Henry was not the only, nor, perhaps, the greatest butcher, for poor Ireland panted under the knives of her own children. We have shown this already, and, through some latent reluctance to reveal the infamy of our old chieftains, we have dwelt on Irish dissensions with episodical garrulity. We shall now, at last, plunge in *medias res*, after having briefly thanked the French writer for his handsome tribute to the fidelity of our nation. It is quite true that "the English had," as Lingard says, "shrunk into a nation of slaves," and that their faith, as Macaulay writes, "seemed to depend on the personal inclinations of their sovereign;" and it is also true that the Irish priests, bishops, princes, chiefs, and people were all faithful to the Church, and that "the lawyers particularly who held the king's fee, would not abide the hearing of *God's word*." However, we must not omit to mention that Mr. Wilberforce attempts, and he thinks with success, to shift from the English nation to the nobles the disgrace of submission to every religious whim of every successive tyrant.<sup>2</sup> He gives as a representative man of the nobility, the Earl of Pembroke, who boasted that he saved life, dignities, and lands because he had

<sup>1</sup> Crétineau, "Hist. de la Compagnie de Jesus. Vol. i., p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> "Essays," edited by Archbishop Manning, 2nd series, p. 325.



been a *willow*, not an oak. We are afraid our "independent chiefs," our Irish oaks, had dwindled to willows in the year 1542. We have it under their own oaths, which give the most damning testimony against them, if the State Papers are to be trusted. We hope that some one, who does not think, with Strype, that one old document is as good as another, and who does not fancy that one State Paper is as bad as another, will, with the calm and lucidity displayed by Mr. Hosack in his "Life of Mary Stuart," examine and weigh the conflicting evidence of the Irish State Papers, and succeed in clearing the characters of Con O'Neill and his contemporaries, so that we may be able to say with Moore—

"In after days  
They'll learn to love his name ;  
And many a deed may wake in praise,  
That long has slept in blame."

Mr. Froude says that in 1541, "Ireland settled down, apparently for ever, into an attitude of quiescent obedience. Something of this was due to the judgment of the deputy, and something also to the skill with which Henry threw a bait to the chiefs, which they swallowed with unreluctant greediness. Their devotion to the Pope was not proof against the temptation to share in the spoils of religion. The Church lands were made a present to the Irish nobles, and the participation in the sacrilege, and the actual accomplishment of the suppression, for a time compromised their orthodoxy and committed them to the English interest. Peerages and privileges were lavished on those who had most deserved them by persevering hostility ; and the Celtic and Celto-Norman chiefs, while digesting their heavy meal, were contented to be at rest till the close of Henry's reign."<sup>1</sup>

We shall illustrate this from the "Carew Papers." "On the 16th of January, 1541, Edmund, Archbishop of Cashell, and John, Bishop of Limerick (the orthodoxy of which prelates is now certain, we believe), testify to all Christians, that James, Earl of Desmond, submits to the King, and *utterly forsakes the Bishop of Rome*, and renounces the privilege of not going to Parliament, grand councils, and walled towns. On the 24th of May, Magennis promises not to admit the authority of the Pope, and to repel all persons obtaining benefices by his authority. August 6th, O'Donnell accepts Henry as his liege Lord and King, and *will renounce the usurped primacy and authority of the Roman Pontiff*. On

<sup>1</sup> Froude, Vol. v., p. 409.

the 14th, MacMahon does the same. May the 13th, 1542, 'Rory O'Moore,' recently elected Chief of his Nation, submits to the King, and rejects the Pope's usurped primacy. On the 18th of May, Maguillan, who was preyed upon by O'Donnell, and none of whose ancestors ever died in bed, *will annihilate and relinquish* the usurped authority of the Bishop of Rome. On the same day, McDonnell, Chief of O'Neill's Galloglas, having killed O'Neill's son, and being afraid of his Prince's vengeance, deserted with his men to the English, and promised to *annihilate* the supporters of the Bishop of Rome. O'Neill, on the 19th of May, submitted, when his eldest son was killed by "intermeddling with O'Neill's Captain of Galloglas." "Profiting by their displeasures," writes the deputy, "we found means to persuade the said Galloglas to utterly forsake him." O'Neill, disheartened at this, writes a Latin submission, of which I shall translate a few passages. "I, Conacius O'Neill, acknowledge his Majesty to be my sovereign Lord and King. *I entirely renounce obedience to the Roman Pontiff, and his usurped authority, and I recognise the King to be supreme Head of the Church of England and Ireland under Christ*, and I will compel all living under my rule to do the same," &c., &c. Then he renounces the blackmail which he was accustomed to levy on the King's subjects.

July the 4th, The O'Byrne, Captain of his nation, and his nobles wish to be accepted as King's lieges, but say *nothing about the Pope*. On September the 1st, O'Ruarc "will renounce the Pope;" on the 26th of the same month, the Great Barry and the Young Barry, and other southern Chiefs, promise to acknowledge the King, and "*annihilate* the usurped primacy of the Bishop of Rome and his favourers." This indenture of peace, made between the Barrys, the MacCarthies, the Roches, &c., on one side, and the Deputy and the Earl of Desmond, &c., on the other, has the following startling and strong Latin words:—"Servient contra omnes creaturas mundi" (it is a wonder they did not say *contra Creatorem mundi*), *et suam Majestatem immediate sub Christo in terris Ecclesiae Anglicanae et Hibernicanae supremum caput agnoscent, usurpatam primatiam et auctoritatem Romani Episcopi adnichilabunt, omnesque ejus fautores abolebunt, et praecipitabunt.*"<sup>1</sup> On the 4th of March of the same year 1542, MacWilliam presented a petition for pardon, for the grant of the town of Galway, and of eight other towns, also for the grant of Roscommon and Tyrone, and to be "grand capitayne" of his country, as the Earls of Ormond and

<sup>1</sup> Carew Papers, and State Papers of Henry VIII.



Desmond, to have power to present to benefices, the Archbishops and Bishops in MacWilliam's country excepted.

There is nothing here against the Pope. Neither do we find anything to convict O'Brien of having plunged into the deep infamy of the other Munster chiefs except that he attended the parliament of Limerick from February to March, and asked for the abbey and priories which were in his own country. And the deputy, while telling Henry this welcome news, says "O'Brien would hardly have been brought to this pass or to put in his pledge without open war, but only he saw that O'Neill had done the like." In a letter of the 12th of July, the deputy writes:—"O'Brien wants a commission in his country for the suppression of the monasteries there. . . O'Chaan never showed any obedience to your Majesty. . . We be at good point with O'Brien, O'Neill, O'Chonor, O'Rayly, and O'More, and thus we shall now be able to *train* those Cavanaghes—a proud and obstinate Irishman. 'O'Neill has good inclinations beyond all men's expectations. He and O'Brien and Mac-Gill-Patrick will soon, I trust, repair to your Majesty, and your Highness may say what none of your noble progenitors might, *that ever O'Neill or O'Brien came into England*; for hitherto the O'Neills called themselves Princes of Ulster, as adversaries to the power of your Highness.'" On the 22nd of April, 1542, O'Donnell sends in his submission; but we can find nothing in it against the Holy See, though there is enough to ruin him in the eyes of an Irishman. He writes:—"To the most Clement and Serene King of the English—I, your servant, Lord O'Donnell, wish all health and power." He asks not to be expected to attend parliament on account of the distance and danger; he can't send his eldest son to parliament, because he *dares not send him away from the defence of his country on account of the war with O'Donnell's brothers*. "My brothers took five thousand marks from me last year, *while I and my son went with the deputy against Lord O'Neill*. I wonder not a little your Majesty ordered me to make peace with Con O'Donnell and made no mention of the restitution of the 5,000 marks! Again, you must know, most illustrious King, *that I gave the example to all the lords of Ireland*, who live in Irish fashion; for I was the first to go to the place of the general parliament. After my example they went to the parliament; and, as to those who were forced to go, I helped the deputy not a little to force them, and especially by prevailing on Lord O'Neill to make peace—wherefore, I pray, don't forget that service, so that you may hold none of the Irish lords in as high favour as

you shall hold me; for, as I said before, I was the first to come to you. Moreover, I exhort you to protect for me any territory I possessed when I first visited your parliaments, which territory *my ancestors have held for more than a thousand years*. . . . Meanwhile, I beg you will send me a gracious answer to the aforesaid things. Farewell. From Donegal this 22nd of April, 1642. Let this letter be given to the most invincible King of the English with due reverence and immense honour."

This letter, which was written in Latin, begins with the following words —

"Jhus.

"Clementissimo et Serenissimo Anglorum Regi Vester Servus Dominus O'Donayll salutem precor *pancraticam*!"

O'Donnell, for his servility, got fair promises, but an earldom was not conferred on his name till sixty years afterwards; whereas O'Neill, whose country he helped the English to spoil, received all honour from Henry the Eighth. On the 1st of October, 1542, the Prince of Tyrone made his submission at Greenwich; but in that submission he does not renounce the Pope, while he renounces the name of O'Neill. When created an earl, he thanked the King in Irish, and his words were interpreted for Henry by a priest who was at the ceremony. Then Garter proclaimed the King's style, and afterwards that of "Très Haut et Puissant Seigneur Con, Conte de Tyrone, en le Royaume d'Irlande."<sup>1</sup>

O'Neill, who had cursed any one who should ever adopt the English language or habits, must have been very much mortified at finding himself feudalized, and degraded in the eyes of his people. What excuse could he make to his country and to his clansmen? The only excuse I have seen given for him is like the one given by Abner to the high priest Joad—

"Hé! que puis-je au milieu de ce peuple abattu?  
Benjamin est sans force, et Judas sans vertu."<sup>2</sup>

What else could he do when his country was devastated by the English, Norman, and Irish forces? He could and should have fought like a man, or submitted *like a man and a Christian*. If he submitted in the manner described by the State Papers, he is worthy of nothing but utter contempt. Henry would have been delighted to accept the submission of the Irish to his temporal supremacy. Why, then, did Desmond and

<sup>1</sup> Carew Papers, an. 1542.

<sup>2</sup> Racine's "Athalie."



O'Neill try to outstrip each other in their renouncement of the Pope? This is a question we should like to examine, if we had leisure. We shall merely say, at present, that the perusal of all the State Papers relating to this period has left on our minds the impression that O'Neill and the other chieftains never dreamed of admitting the spiritual headship of Henry. We are not going to justify this impression in this place, for we are anxious to approach at once a subject which is most evident and consoling—that is, the fidelity of the *clansmen* to the Catholic Church. However, in speaking of this constancy of the Celts, we will not omit to say a good word for the chiefs, when we shall get an opportunity, and the outcome of our researches and remarks may be that O'Neill, O'Donnell, and O'Carroll, felt like their kinsman, the young Earl of Kildare, who thus gave vent to his thoughts in a speech preserved to us by Campion. . . . “I am none of Henry's deputies, I am his foe; I have more mind to conquer than to govern, to meet him in the field than to serve him in office. If all the hearts of England and Ireland that have cause thereto, would join in this quarrel, as I trust they will, then should he be a by-word, as I trust he shall, for his heresy, lechery, and tyranny, wherein the age to come may score him among the ancient princes of most abominable and hateful memory.”<sup>1</sup> That these were the feelings with which they all regarded Henry can hardly be doubted, and if they admitted his supremacy, it was only in temporal things; and if they renounced the Pope, it was only as *King of Ireland*. If they had turned heretics or schismatics, the Irish annalists would not have praised them as they do. So we are inclined to think that Henry's “own correspondents” were as clever and brazen-faced liars and forgers as are their successors in these latter days. We venture to suggest also that, as the Irish Princes left the art of reading and writing to their Historians, Poets, and Brehons, they did not know what they were putting *their mark* to. That Henry's correspondents cooked the submissions and the Irish news so as to suit the royal palate, will appear pretty evident from what we shall relate in another page, when speaking of the lies of Lord Grey. The English did not believe in these submissions, as appears from many letters among the State Papers; and Spencer shows how illusory they were, and how those chiefs wanted only to gain breathing time. The author of the *Faerie Queen* asks in his “View of Ireland:” “Did not the whole realm and every nation therein acknowledge our late Prince for their only king and liege lord? Yes, verily, being by fair

<sup>1</sup> Campion's *Histoire*, p. 175.

means wrought thereunto, reserving yet, as some say, unto themselves *all their own former privileges and seignories inviolate*. But being straight left unto themselves and their own inordinate life and manners, they eftsoones forgot what they were taught, and as soon as they were out of sight, by themselves shook off their bridles, and began to colt anew more licentiously than before. . . . And now the heirs and posterity of them which yielded submission, are, *as they say, either ignorant thereof, or do wilfully deny or steadfastly disavow it.*"<sup>1</sup>

As a proof of what significance those submissions had, we may remark that a few months after his feudalization, the Earl of Tyrone claimed to have the Lord of Clandeboy, MacGuilin, Maguire, O'Rorke, and other Ulster lords as *subjects and tributaries*! O'Donnell claimed them too, while O'Neill exacted personal obedience and service from O'Donnell as his *vassal*!<sup>2</sup> This looks very like "shaking off their bridles;" but as we have wearied our readers and perhaps disedified them by writing of the capers of the chiefs, we turn at last our looks to the people over whom they were unworthy to rule.

Campion says that the Irish of those days were "religious, frank, great alms-givers, passing in hospitality, and being virtuously brought up or reformed, they were such mirrors of holiness and austerity, that other nations retained but a show or shadow of devotion in comparison to them. They were sharp-witted, lovers of learning, capable of any study whereunto they bend themselves, constant in travail, kind-hearted. . . . They honour devout friars and pilgrims, suffer them to pass quietly, spare them and their mansions, whatsoever outrage they show to the country beside them."

<sup>1</sup> Spencer's "View of the State of Ireland," p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> State Papers, 14th July, 1543.

(To be continued.)



## LETTERS OF BALMEZ.

## VII.—TOLERATION.

MY dear friend: in your last letter you were so kind as to say that my remarks, although they did not decide you to renounce that weakness of mind which is called scepticism, have nevertheless succeeded in convincing you of what you hitherto considered to be almost impossible, viz.:—that the Catholic faith is not incompatible with an indulgent and compassionate tolerance of those who profess a different religion, or who have no religion at all. This announcement, on your part, has given me much consolation. It is manifest, however, that, in spite of your Catholic education, you have allowed yourself to be swayed by the prejudices of infidels and Protestants, who delight to describe us as hell-born furies breathing only flames and blood. You thank me for bearing with patient calmness the doubts, the uncertainties, and the changes of your mind; but in this I am only doing my duty in accordance with the precepts of our holy religion, which holds the salvation of a single soul to be of such importance, than any labours, no matter how painful, and the devotion even of an entire life, must be considered as a trifling price to pay for it.

My own inmost conviction, or, to speak more like a Christian, the grace of God, holds me fast in my attachment to the Catholic Faith; but this does not hinder me from becoming acquainted with the actual state of ideas, and the different condition of men's minds. The sight of a sceptic fills me with lively compassion, because, unhappily there exist at present many causes which may lead to the loss of faith; and, therefore, whenever I happen to meet any of those unhappy men, I am far from saying, in my pride, *I am not such as this one*. The truly faithful man, who is deeply sensible of the grace he enjoys in being preserved in the Catholic faith, far from lifting himself up, should humbly cry out to God in the sincerity of his heart, *O Lord, be merciful to me, a sinner*.

I remember that when I was making my course of theology, I heard the professor explain the doctrine which teaches that faith is a gift of God, and that to gain it neither miracles nor prophecies, nor the other proofs of the truth of our religion, are enough, but that in addition to the motives of credulity, we need *the pious stirring of the will: pia motio voluntatis*. I candidly acknowledge that, at the time, I did not comprehend doctrines like these, nor did I thoroughly grasp

their meaning, until I had left these abodes where the very air is filled with faith, and found myself in very different circumstances, and in contact with persons of every class. Then it was that I fully realised the depth of God's goodness towards the true faithful, and the sad condition of those who rest their faith on the motives of credibility, who confine themselves to science and forget grace. Frequently have I met with men who, in my opinion, saw as well as I, the reasons that militate in favour of our religion; and yet I believed, and they did not. Whence is this I asked myself, and I could give myself no other reason, but to exclaim:—*Misericordia Domini quia non sumus consumpti.*

From this preamble you may know, my dear friend, that your doubts have not taken me unawares, or produced that shuddering they would naturally cause in me, if I had not had the preceding reflections in view; though *en passant* you will allow me to disapprove of the sharp invective you indulged in against intolerant people. Do you know that in your words you render yourself guilty of intolerance? and that a man is never perfectly tolerant until he tolerates intolerance itself. For God's sake let us be sincere, and let us not look at things with a spirit of partiality. You do me the favour of telling me that "you considered I had a sufficient knowledge of the world, not to imitate the example of those persons who cannot bear the slightest word against their faith, and who, immediately constituting themselves the heralds of divine justice, never cease talking of the hour of death, of hell, and end by deserting whoever had the imprudence or want of caution to open his mind to them." Then you relate the little story of the good clergyman who previously distinguished you with particular marks of esteem and friendship, and who was so horrified on discovering his acquaintance was an unbeliever, that he thought fit to break off all communication with you. I think, my dear friend, that in your own words I discover the apology of the person you blame so much; and in the eyes of whoever looks at the matter with real impartiality his conduct will not appear so strange. "He was," you say, "a young man of irreprehensible conduct, of severe habits, of ardent zeal, but he had the misfortune never to have mingled but with devout people, never to have handled other books than those of the seminary, and it scarcely appeared to him possible, that there could be circulated in the world other doctrines than those he had been taught for the space of some years in the college which he had just left. I had the imprudence to reply with a smile of mockery to an observation of his on a delicate point, and from that moment I was



irretrievably lost in his opinion." Well, you complain in substance, that this young man had not habits of tolerance ; where did you expect he should have learned them ? Could such an one's mind be disposed for the attack which his opponent made with the significant smile ? Is it not too much to require serenity from a man, who sees perhaps for the first time what he considers as most holy and august combated or despised ?

It is a grave mistake, and a great injustice besides, to blame the conduct of one who, guided by a strong conviction and a right heart, conducts himself as he necessarily should, considering the education and instruction he has received, and the circumstances that have surrounded the whole course of his life. Our mind is formed and modified under the influence of a thousand causes, and it is absolutely necessary to attend to them, when we want to form an exact judgment on its situation, and the path it will probably follow. To act otherwise is to insist on doing violence to things, and to put them out of joint. Could you expect that a missionary grown grey in his holy career, should look at objects in the same way as when he left college ? Would not this be a strange requirement ? It certainly would ; well it would be no less to expect from him the same conduct in his youth as long years of Apostolic labours in foreign and various countries have taught him.

It is little less than impossible without a long experience of the world, to know how to place oneself in another's position, and take a note of the reasons that impel him to think or act in this or that manner ; and it is much more difficult in religious matters, seeing that they relate to what lies deepest in the soul of man ; when we are vividly possessed of an idea, we cannot conceive how others can look with indifference on what we regard as most important in this life and in the next. For which reason, there is no subject more calculated to excite the mind ; and hence it is that religious wars have always been the most obstinate and bloody. I wish that those who talk against intolerance without distinction of any class, would take those reflections into consideration ; for then it would not happen so often that men intolerant in the extreme in everything concerning religion, would refuse to suffer the intolerance with which religious people answer them in turn.

But you will comprehend, my dear friend, that I do not desire to avail myself of these reflections to display myself intolerant ; if I have dwelt somewhat on the subject it has been with the view of removing the aversion with which the

intolerance of certain persons is viewed by some, thereby causing men for the most part worthy of esteem to be depreciated.

You talk of the difficulty of our understanding each other, our ideas being so opposed, and the tenor of our lives having been so different; it is possible such a difficulty may exist; yet as far as I am concerned I cannot discover it. Would you believe I can even comprehend very well that state of mind in which one fluctuates between truth and error, in which the mind, greedy of truth, finds itself sunk in despair, on account of its inability to discover it? Some people imagine that faith is incompatible with a clear knowledge of the difficulties that can occur to the mind against it; and that it is impossible to believe from the moment the reasons that produce doubt in others effect an entrance; this is not the case, my dear friend; there are men who believe in all truth, who humble their understanding in reverence to faith, with the same docility as the most simple of the faithful can do, and who nevertheless perfectly comprehend what passes in the soul of the unbeliever, and who assist, if I may say so, at its interior acts, as if they saw them with their eyes.

It is an illusion to think that one cannot have a clear idea of a state without having passed through it, and that no one can comprehend a certain order of ideas and sentiments but one who has experienced them. If this were so, what would become of the creative faculty of literary men? Many things are felt that are not consented to; and if one does not go so far as to feel, there is the imagination to supply all deficiencies. We Christians can fittingly illustrate this from what happens in temptation—a subject which, though it may not appear very philosophical to you, cannot fail to interest you in the application. We read in the *Lives of the Saints*, that God often permitted the devil to assault them with thoughts and desires so contrary to the virtues which they practised with greatest ardour, that they were compelled to call to their aid all their confidence in the divine mercy to avoid believing they were abandoned by heaven, and culpable of the very sins they detested most in the bottom of their heart. When the attack was so violent as to make them conceive fears of having succumbed, when the images with which foul objects were represented to their fancy were so lively, that in spite of the aversion in which they held them, they began to regard them as a reality, it may be easily conceived those holy souls could not but comprehend the state of a man buried in these vices. This, which in the first years of your life you must



have read in some of those books that could not have been scarce in the College, will give you to know how we who cannot flatter ourselves, even in thought, with being saints, have often felt the innumerable intellectual and moral ills poor humanity is heir to spring up in our souls; and as one of these is scepticism, it would be very strange if it had not presented itself, an unwelcome visitor, at the gates of our interior. The true believer keeps them closed, and, aided by grace, defies all the powers of hell to break them if they can; but then there takes place what the Apostle St. Peter tells us:—"The devil goes about like a roaring lion seeking whom he may devour." Believe me, my esteemed friend, if we *resist him strong in faith*, he cannot harm us, but we are well acquainted with his roar.

Above all, in the age in which we live, it is little less than impossible that this should not happen to those who, for one cause or another, are in contact with it. At one time, a book full of specious reasons and piquant remarks falls into one's hands; at another he hears in conversation observations, apparently very judicious and prudent, and which at first sight shake the foundations on which truth rests; perhaps the mind becomes fatigued, and feels itself seized by a weariness, sinking for some moments in the continual struggle it finds itself compelled to sustain against infinite errors; perhaps, on casting a glance at the want of faith so patent in the world, at the multitude of religions, at the secrets of nature; at the nothingness of man, at the darkness of the past, and the obscurity of the future, terrible thoughts flit through his mind. Moments of anguish, in which the heart is inundated with cruel bitterness, in which a black veil appears to be spread over everything that surrounds us, in which the spirit weighed down by the torturing fancy that presses on it, knows not whither to turn itself, and has no other recourse but to lift its eyes to heaven, and exclaim:—*Domine, salva nos, perimus*—"Lord save us, we perish."

Thus does the Lord permit his own to be tried, and renders the faith of His disciples more meritorious; thus does He teach them that to believe it is not enough to have studied Religion, but that the grace of the Holy Ghost is necessary. It were much to be desired that those who imagine that it is a mere question of science, and that the goodness of the Almighty does not enter into it, would become convinced of this truth. Do you know, my dear friend, the first thing a Catholic should do when he meets with an unbeliever for whose conversion he intends to labour? No doubt you will say he should look over the apologists of Religion, examine quotations on the more serious questions,

consult learned men of the first order; in a word, supply himself with arguments as a soldier with arms. It is right, indeed, not to neglect preparing for every phase of the discussion; but above all, before commencing to reason with the unbeliever, what he should do is to pray for him. Tell me, which class made more conversions, the learned or the holy? St. Francis of Sales composed no work which, under the polemical aspect, can vie with "Bossuet's History of the Variations;" and yet I doubt whether the conversions the latter work effected, though they were many, are to be compared with those which are due to the angelical unction of the holy Bishop of Geneva.

From this you may know, my dear friend, you have not to deal with what is generally called a disputant or egotist; and that though I appreciate science in its just value, and particularly ecclesiastical science, I have deeply engraved in the depths of my soul that salutary truth, that the ways of God are incomprehensible to man, that it is vain to confide in science alone, and that something more than it is required to preserve and restore faith.

You ask for tolerance, and tolerance I offer you, the most ample that was ever met with in any man; you were terrified at the difficulty we might meet with in understanding each other; and I trust such a fear has already vanished before my declarations; neither do I fear that you will for the future imagine I will meet you with what are called *subtleties of the schools, and arguments of weight with persons already convinced*. If, then, it pleased you to continue to propose to me the principal difficulties that impede your return to the religion, of which you already begin to feel the loss, though it is but a few years since you abandoned it, I will endeavour to answer you as best I can; but without looking for the palm if you should be satisfied, or considering myself crest-fallen if you should continue in your incredulity.

When one contends against the enemies of Religion, who only seek means of attacking it, availing themselves of whatever their craft or malice may suggest, then the dispute may assume the character of a regular combat; but when one has the fortune to reason with men who, though they have had the misfortune to lose the faith, desire nevertheless to return to it, and heartily seek for what may conduct them to it, to make a show of science then, to display a captious spirit, to strive for a conqueror's laurel, would be an insufferable abuse of the gifts of God, a complete forgetfulness of the paths which, as He himself has manifested, the Lord delights to follow, is to give reins to pride, that is, to the



declared enemy of all good, and the most serious obstacle in the way of availing oneself of the best dispositions.

If we make religious disputes a subject of self-love, how can we promise ourselves that the grace of the Lord shall fructify our words? The Apostles converted the world, and they were poor fishermen; but they did not confide in human wisdom, nor in eloquence learned in the schools, but in the Omnipotence of Him who said:—"Let there be light, and light was made." However, you will comprehend I do not for all that despise science; on the contrary, the best means of preserving and elevating it is to mark out its limits, never allowing it to put on the haughtiness of pride.

That *want of power* to believe which you complain of should not be confounded with the *impossibility* of believing; it is a weakness, it is a prostration of the mind, which will disappear the day the Lord is pleased to say to the *paralytic*: "Arise, and walk along the path of truth."

In the meantime I will pray for you; and though your mind be not very well disposed to it at present, I will yet presume to tell you to pray too, to invoke the God of your forefathers, whose holy name you learned to pronounce in your cradle, and to beseech Him to grant you to come to the knowledge of the truth. Perhaps, oh horrible thought! perhaps you will say to yourself, how can I call on God, if, in certain moments, prostrated by Scepticism, I feel even this, my one conviction growing weak, and I am not well sure of His existence—No matter: make an effort to invoke Him; He will come, I assure you: imitate the man who, having fallen into a deep pit, and not knowing that any human being can hear him, nevertheless strains his voice calling for aid.

Count on the warm affection and esteem of your ever fond friend,

J. B.

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## QUESTIONS REGARDING THE JUBILEE.

### X.—THE NECESSITY OF INTENDING TO GAIN THE INDULGENCE.

THE following question in reference to this subject has been received from a respected correspondent. The answer to it, as will be observed, is applicable to all other indulgences, as well as to the indulgence of the Jubilee:—

"Will the mere performance of the works enumerated in

“the Encyclical, suffice for gaining the Jubilee, or is it necessary moreover that they should be performed for this special purpose, and with the formal intention of gaining it?”

“An example will best illustrate my meaning. By virtue of the Decree published in the September Number of the RECORD, and of the Rescript published in the October Number, the observance of the Lenten fast (according to the regulations of almost every diocese in Ireland) on any Wednesday or Friday during Lent, and on Holy Saturday, would suffice for the Jubilee—abstinence from meat having been almost universally prescribed on those days. Does this hold true in the case of persons who observed the Lenten fast solely in compliance with the law of the Church, without being aware that it was available also for the Jubilee, and consequently without any intention of gaining the Jubilee by its observance?”

“Gury (*De Indulgentiis*, n. 1055) considers it more probable that, in addition to the performance of the prescribed works, a formal intention of gaining the indulgence by their performance is necessary. I should wish to know whether this is in accordance with the common teaching of theologians.”

There is hardly any reason to doubt that in the case proposed by our correspondent, the requirements of the Encyclical have been complied with, as far as the three days' fast is concerned. For, in order to gain an indulgence, as theologians almost unanimously teach, it is, practically speaking, sufficient simply to perform the works to which it is annexed: it is not necessary to perform them for the special purpose, or with the formal intention of gaining it.

It is, however, right to add, that a different statement of the teaching of theologians, in reference to this question, is put forward by some modern writers. Thus, for instance, Bouvier in his *Treatise on Indulgences*, says:—“Il faut de plus, *selon le sentiment commun des auteurs*, une intention *réelle* de gagner l'indulgence, parce que l'oeuvre prescrite doit être dirigée vers la fin que s'est proposée celui qui a concédé l'indulgence.”<sup>1</sup> But how far this assertion is in accordance with the facts of the case may be seen from the following detailed statement of the opinions of the principal writers who have examined this question.

In the first place, we may take the opinion of De Lugo, who distinctly lays down that beyond the mere performance of

<sup>1</sup> *Traité des Indulgences*, Part. i., chap. vii., art. 1, sec. 2.



the prescribed works nothing more is required—neither an intention of gaining the indulgence nor a knowledge of its being annexed to the works in question.<sup>1</sup> This view, adopted also by Gobat,<sup>2</sup> is supported by those writers as follows:—Neither a formal intention, they say, of gaining the indulgence, nor a knowledge of its being annexed to the works in question is necessary; since, in the first place, the Pope, in enumerating the conditions which are to be observed, does not expressly set forth the necessity of any such intention or knowledge; and secondly, the nature of an indulgence is not such as to render them necessary independently of their being enjoined by the Pope. The former of these points cannot be questioned. And the substance of De Lugo's argument in proof of the latter is fairly stated by Gury as follows:—“Per se nulla requiritur intentio, effectus enim indulgentiae seu remissio poenae pendet omnino a concessione Ecclesiae, non vero ab intentione agentis. Inde licet se passive habeat, nec attendat ad indulgentiam, imo nesciat se illam lucrari, ... nihilominus jus ad illam consequitur. Indulgentia enim conceditur per modum *solutionis*; sed ad solutionis validitatem non necessario requiritur ut ille, pro quo tribuitur, eam noverit.”<sup>3</sup>

Indeed these writers go so far as to say that even if a person were *positively unwilling* to obtain the benefit of an indulgence he would nevertheless receive it, if he performed the works to which it is annexed—“Concessio indulgentiae,” says Gobat, in reference to this case, “positis conditionibus quas praescribit Pontifex, *operatur necessario*.”<sup>4</sup> And De Lugo says:—“*Licet aliquis formaliter repugnaret, non video quomodo impediret effectum.*”<sup>5</sup>

With the exception of this latter point, the doctrine of those theologians is adopted by almost every writer of authority who has examined the question. Yet it is not difficult to understand how their teaching upon this subject has been so completely misconceived by Bouvier and some other modern

<sup>1</sup> *De Sacramento Pœnitentiae*. Disp. 27, sec. vi., n. 82.

<sup>2</sup> *Opera Moralia*. Tract. iv. *De Indulgentiis*, cap. xiv., n. 166.

<sup>3</sup> *Compendium Theologiae Moralis*, Part. ii., *Tractatus de Indulgentiis*, n. 1055. In illustration of this argument, Viva adds:—“Sicut enim, ut eximar ab aliquo debito, satis est quod alius pro me solvat, etiamsi id ignorem, nec ullatenus hujusmodi veluti donationem acceptem . . . adhuc immunis sum a debito, si creditor cessit juri suo, acceptando solutionem quam alius fecit pro me. Ita pariter ut eximar a debito paenarum, satis est quod Pontifex velit pro me satisfactiones Christi offerre, ut Deus eas acceptet, quamvis me inscio; *sicut accidit, quoties applicatur Sacrificium Missae pro me id ignorante.*”—*De Jubilaeo*. Quaest. iv., art. iv., n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Loc. sup. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> *Loc. sup. cit.*

writers; for with scarcely an exception, other standard theologians have expressed their opinion in a form which differs so widely from that employed by De Lugo and Gobat, that at least at first sight, it seems to imply the necessity of performing the prescribed works with the formal intention of gaining the indulgence.

For, almost unanimously, they distinctly assert that an intention of gaining the indulgence is necessary. However, practically speaking, this opinion, as it is usually explained by the writers who adopt it, does not differ from the view of De Lugo and Gobat. Thus, for instance, Laymann,<sup>1</sup> Viva,<sup>2</sup> Diana,<sup>3</sup> Sanctarelli,<sup>4</sup> Bellegambe,<sup>5</sup> Kazenberger,<sup>6</sup> Lacroix,<sup>7</sup> Busenbaum,<sup>8</sup> and, we may add, St. Alphonsus,<sup>9</sup> teach that nothing more is required than an *interpretative* intention, or in other words, that a person will gain an indulgence even though he has no real intention of gaining it, provided that when performing the works to which it is attached he is so disposed that *if he adverted to the fact of such an indulgence having been granted, he would have this intention*.<sup>10</sup>

Hence, according to the view which is commonly received, the indulgences annexed to the performance of any work of piety are gained by every Catholic who performs it, though he may have no formal intention of gaining them, and even though he may never have heard that any such indulgence had been granted. "Juxta hanc sententiam," says Viva, "indulgentia concessa recitantibus *Angelus Domini* ad solis occasum, *acquiritur etiam ab ignorantibus concessionem*:"

<sup>1</sup> *Theologia Moralis*. Lib. v., Tract. vii., *De Indulgentiis*, cap. vi., n. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Opusculum de Jubileo*. Quaest. vi., Art. iv., n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Resolutiones Morales*. Tom. iv., Tract. v., resol. viii., sect. ii. *Ibid.* resol. xix., sect. ii.

<sup>4</sup> *De Jubileo*. Cap. xv., dub. iv.

<sup>5</sup> *Enchiridion de Jubileo Ecclesiastico*. Part. i., sect. ii., quaest. i.

<sup>6</sup> *Supplementum Theologiae Sacramentalis* R. P. F. Sporer, cap. iii., sect. i., n. 30.

<sup>7</sup> *Theologia Moralis*. Lib. vi., part. ii., n. 1,325.

<sup>8</sup> *Medulla Theologiae Moralis*. *De Poenitentia*, dub. iv., art. ii., sect. i., resol. 14.

<sup>9</sup> *Theologia Moralis*. Lib. vi., Tract. iv., *De Poenitentia*, n. 534.

<sup>10</sup> "Interpretativa intentio est, quam homo nunquam habuit: est tamen ita [dispositus] ut eam haberet si de ea cogitaret . . . Nec est nec unquam fuit intentio reipsa existens, sed tantum quae existeret si occurreret cogitatio de illa elicienda." LACROIX. *Theologia Moralis*. Lib. iv., n. 1324, lib. vi., n. 57.

"Interpretativa intentio est negatio omnis actualis intentionis . . . ac simul dispositio animi ad illam eliciendam, si objectum intendendum illi repraesentaretur." ILLSUNG, *Theologia Practica*. Tract. vi. *De Sacramentis in Communi*. Disp. i., art. iii., n. 14.

"Intentio interpretativa; si quis . . . intentionem non habeat quamvis haberet, etc. . . Sequitur . . . non esse proprie intentionem; cum non sit actus voluntatis . . . quandoquidem [existit tantum] in hominum interpretatione." LAYMANN. *Theologia Moralis*. Lib. v., Tract. i. *De Sacramentis*, Cap. v., nn. 11—12.

See also *Notes on the Rubrics of the Roman Ritual*, by the Rev. JAMES O'KANE, Chap. ii., n. 137.



intentio interpretativa quae in unoquoque reperitur satis erit ad indulgentias lucrandas; quilibet enim censetur eo modo ponere actum quo sibi utilior est.”<sup>1</sup>

But it is hardly necessary to add that, since theologians, generally speaking, require at least the disposition which is regarded as constituting an interpretative intention, they do not endorse the doctrine of De Lugo and Gobat in reference to the extreme case of a person who expressly *excludes* the intention of gaining an indulgence. “Si tamen,” says Viva, “*invitus* essem, proculdubio indulgentias non lucrarer, quia beneficia ista conferri non debent invitis.”<sup>2</sup>

Considering, however, the extreme improbability of the occurrence of such a case, it may be laid down that, practically speaking, in order to gain an indulgence nothing more is required, according to the common teaching of theologians, than the performance of the works to which the indulgence is annexed.

Are we, then, to conclude that the doctrine which Bouvier represents as “le sentiment commun des auteurs,” is not, in fact, defended by any writer of standard authority? It would seem that this, in reality, is the case. For, although several of the theologians whom we have quoted as opposed to that opinion, cite in its favour the names of a few writers of high authority, an examination of the passages referred to, will show that these statements are, in their own degree, as inaccurate as the more general assertion of Bouvier. Thus Billuart, for instance, to whom this view is not unfrequently ascribed, states merely that he regards it as a *probable opinion*.<sup>3</sup> Again, Suarez is generally represented as the foremost authority in its favour: yet it is quite manifest that the passage in question refers to a question totally distinct from that which we are examining, upon which, in fact, Suarez pronounces no opinion whatever, and to which he does not make the slightest allusion.<sup>4</sup>

Finally, with reference to the authority of Gury, to which our correspondent refers, it will suffice to observe that in

<sup>1</sup> *Opusculum de Jubilaeo*. Quaest. iv., art. iv., n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Id. ibid.* n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Cursus Theologiae. Tractatus de Indulgentiis*. Art. v., Petes 8°

<sup>4</sup> In explanation of this statement, differing so widely from the account usually given of the doctrine of Suarez regarding this question, it may be satisfactory to add that in the passage which is referred to (*De Poenitentia*, Disp. 52, sect. vi., n. 5) Suarez deals with a very singular opinion which was put forward by an old Spanish theologian, Corduba. This writer held that it would not suffice to perform the prescribed works, with the formal intention of thereby gaining the indulgence; but that it was necessary moreover that the person performing them should propose this object to himself as his *principal* motive. So that, for instance, in his view a person would not gain the Plenary Indulgence on the feast of the Assumption, who received the sacraments and recited the prescribed prayers, principally from a motive of devotion to the Blessed Virgin, even though he performed these actions

the latest editions of his work, he has inserted an explanatory remark to the effect that what he has written in proof of the necessity of eliciting a formal intention, is to be understood in reference to those intentions which are sometimes expressly enjoined by the Pope:—"Hoc tamen," are his words, "intelligendum est duntaxat cum de fine *expresse ab ecclesia praescripto* agitur."<sup>1</sup> Now, as Father Ballerini most justly observes in his note upon this passage, *the intention of gaining the indulgence is never expressly prescribed*. So that the authority of Gury can no longer be quoted in favour of the view which undoubtedly, in the earlier editions of his work, he seemed inclined to adopt.

In fact it is plain that Gury has confounded two points which are obviously distinct, and between which, indeed, he professes to distinguish. The Pope, in granting a plenary indulgence, frequently specifies the intention with which some of the prescribed works should be performed: for instance—"qui Deum oraverint *pro exaltatione S. Ecclesiae, pro extirpatione haeresum, pro pace inter principes christianos*," or, as it is sometimes expressed in more general terms, "qui oraverint *juxta mentem Sanctitatis Suae*." Regarding the nature of the intention, thus specified, we have seen in a former number of the RECORD that considerable difference of opinion exists among theologians.<sup>2</sup> But as to the necessity of a real, formal intention in such cases—whether it should be actual and explicit, or whether a merely virtual or an implicit intention will suffice—there can be no question. For an intention, thus expressly enjoined must be regarded as an *opus injunctum*, the omission of which would of course interfere with the gaining of the indulgence.

But between intentions which are thus specified, and that to which the question of our correspondent refers—the intention of gaining an indulgence—the distinction is so plain that it would seem superfluous to call attention to it, if it had not been overlooked by a writer who is usually so accurate as Gury. In the first place, the object of the intention is

<sup>1</sup> *Compendium Theologiae Moralis*. Pars. ii., n. 1055. Ed. Romae, 1867.

<sup>2</sup> See *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Vol. vi., No. lxii., Nov. 1869, page 71.

with the secondary intention of thereby gaining the indulgence. In fact, Corduba went so far as to say that an indulgence would not be gained if the person who performs the prescribed works were not influenced to this extent by the intention of gaining it, *that he would not have performed the works in question if the indulgence were not annexed to them*.

In opposition to this view, Suarez contends that, in all cases, a formal intention whether principal or secondary, of gaining the indulgence is undoubtedly *sufficient*. There is not in the entire passage the slightest reference to the question of its *necessity*.



essentially different in both cases. A person may, it is obvious, without any intention of gaining an indulgence, pray for the triumph of the Church, for peace and concord among Christian princes; in a word, for any of the objects which are usually specified by his Holiness. And on the other hand, a person who has no intention of praying for any of these objects may, with the intention of gaining an indulgence, recite some prayers—for instance, the Litany of the Blessed Virgin,—to which an indulgence is annexed. Again, when the intention of praying for certain specific objects, as in the instances above referred to, is expressly enjoined by the Pope, there can be no second opinion as to its necessity, since, as we have seen, it must be regarded as one of the prescribed works. But this reason is manifestly inapplicable in the case which we are now considering, and in which the question at issue is really this:—whether, in addition to the performance of the *opera injuncta*, it is necessary moreover to perform them with a special intention of thereby gaining the indulgence—an intention, to the necessity of which the Pope, when granting the indulgence, does not make the slightest reference.

And since, as we have seen, the necessity of any such intention is denied almost unanimously by the writers who have any claim to be regarded as standard authorities upon this subject, there can be no difficulty in coming to the conclusion that this intention is not required. Hence, in reference to the case proposed by our correspondent, it would seem quite clear that as the persons of whom he writes, have fasted on three days within the time allowed for gaining the Jubilee, they have undoubtedly complied with the requirements of the Encyclical, as far as this condition is concerned; they can, therefore, now gain the Jubilee without any additional fasting, by performing the other works of piety which are enjoined.

In conclusion, it may not be superfluous to quote the words of Gury in reference to a practice, the adoption of which is recommended alike by theologians and by spiritual writers:—“*Laudabilis*,” he says, “*et utilissima est piarum praxis animarum, quae mane semper renovant propositum lucrandi omnes indulgentias adnexas bonis operibus, quae hac die sunt peraciturae.*”<sup>1</sup> For, although, as we have seen, no reasonable grounds exist for doubting the truth of the doctrine which has been explained in the preceding pages, it is obviously advisable, in the absence of an authoritative decision upon the subject, to adopt, when it can be done without inconvenience, such a course as will produce the greatest security of the indulgence being gained.

W. J. W.

<sup>1</sup> *Compendium Theologiae Moralis. Tractatus de Indulgentis*, pars ii., n. 1055.

ACTS OF THE VATICAN COUNCIL  
PROMULGATED AT THE THIRD PUBLIC SESSION,  
APRIL 24<sup>TH</sup>, 1870.

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CONSTITUTIO DOGMATICA DE FIDE CATHOLICA.

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PIUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DIE SACRO  
APPROBANTE CONCILIO AD PERPETUAM REI  
MEMORIAM.

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Dei Filius et generis humani Redemptor Dominus Noster Jesus Christus, ad Patrem coelestem rediturus, cum Ecclesia sua in terris militante, omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem saeculi futurum se esse promisit. Quare dilectae sponsae praesto esse, adsistere docenti, operanti benedicere, periclitanti opem ferre nullo unquam tempore destitit. Haec vero salutaris ejus providentia, cum ex aliis beneficiis innumeris continenter apparuit, tum iis manifestissime comperta est fructibus, qui orbi christiano e Conciliis oecumenicis ac nominatim e Tridentino, iniquis licet temporibus celebrato, amplissimi provenerunt. Hinc enim sanctissima religionis dogmata pressius definita uberiusque, exposita, errores damnati atque cohibiti; hinc ecclesiastica disciplina restituta firmissime sancita, promotum in Clero scientiae et pietatis studium, parata adolescentibus ad sacram militiam educandis collegia, christiani denique populi mores et accuratiore fidelium eruditione et frequentiore sacramentorum usu instaurati. Hinc praeterea arctior membrorum cum visibili Capite communio, universoque corpori Christi mystico additus vigor; hinc religiosae multiplicatae familiae, aliaeque christianae pietatis instituta; hinc ille etiam assiduus et usque ad sanguinis effusionem constans ardor in Christi regno late per orbem propagando.

Verumtamen haec aliaeque insignia emolumenta, quae per ultimam maxime oecumenicam Synodum divina clementia Ecclesiae largita est, dum grato, quo par est, animo recolimus, acerbum compescere haud possumus dolorem ob mala gravissima inde potissimum orta, quod ejusdem sacrosanctae



Synodi apud permultos vel auctoritas contempta, vel sapientissima neglecta fuere decreta.

Nemo enim ignorat, haereses, quas Tridentini patres proscripserunt, dum, rejecto divino Ecclesiae magisterio, res ad religionem spectantes privati cujusvis judicio permetterentur, in sectas paullatim dissolutas esse multiplices, quibus inter se dissentientibus et concertantibus, omnis tandem in Christum fides apud non paucos labefactata est. Itaque ipsa sacra Biblia, quae antea christianae doctrinae unicus fons et iudex asserebantur, jam non pro divinis haberi, imo mythicis commentis accenseri coeperunt.

Tum nata est et late nimis per orbem vagata illa rationalismi seu naturalismi doctrina, quae religioni christianae utpote supernaturali instituto per omnia adversans, summo studio molitur, ut Christo, qui solus Dominus et Salvator noster est, a mentibus humanis, a vita et moribus populorum excluso, merae quod vocant rationis vel naturae regnum stabiliatur. Relicta autem projectaque christiana religione, negato vero Deo et Christo ejus, prolapsa tandem est multorum mens in pantheismi, materialismi, atheismi barathrum, ut jam ipsam rationalem naturam, omnemque justi rectique normam negantes, ima humanae societatis fundamenta diruere conitantur.

Hac porro impietate circumquaque grassante, infelicitate contigit, ut plures etiam e catholicae Ecclesiae filiis a via verae pietatis aberrarent, in iisque, diminutis paullatim veritatibus, sensus catholicus attenuaretur. Variis enim ac peregrinis doctrinis abducti, naturam et gratiam, scientiam humanam et fidem divinam perperam commiscentes, genuinum sensum dogmatum, quem tenet ac docet Sancta Mater Ecclesia, depravare, integritatemque et sinceritatem fidei in periculum adducere comperiuntur.

Quibus omnibus perspectis, fieri quâ potest, ut non commoveantur intima Ecclesiae viscera? Quemadmodum enim Deus vult omnes homines salvos fieri, et ad agnitionem veritatis venire; quemadmodum Christus venit, ut salvum faceret quod perierat, et filios Dei, qui erant dispersi, congregaret in unum; ita Ecclesia, a Deo populorum mater et magistra constituta, omnibus debitricem se novit, ac lapsos erigere, labantes sustinere, revertentes amplecti, confirmare bonos et ad meliora provehere parata semper et intenta est. Quapropter nullo tempore a Dei veritate, quae sanat omnia, testanda et praedicanda quiescere protest, sibi dictum esse non ignorans: Spiritus meus, qui est in te, et verba mea, quae posui in ore tuo, non recedent de ore tuo amodo et usque in sempiternum.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Is. lix. 21.

Nos itaque, inherentes Praedecessorum Nostrorum vestigiis, pro supremo Nostro Apostolico munere veritatem catholicam docere ac tueri, perversasque doctrinas reprobare nunquam intermisimus. Nunc autem sedentibus Nobiscum et judicantibus universi orbis Episcopis, in hanc oecumenicam Synodum auctoritate Nostra in Spiritu Sancto congregatis, innixi Dei verbo scripto et tradito, prout ab Ecclesia catholica sancte custoditum et genuine expositum accepimus; ex hac Petri Cathedra in conspectu omnium salutarem Christi doctrinam profiteri et declarare constituimus, adversis erroribus potestate nobis a Deo tradita proscriptis atque damnatis.

## CAPUT I.

### DE DEO RERUM OMNIUM CREATORE.

Sancta Catholica Apostolica Romana Ecclesia credit et confitetur, unum esse Deum verum et vivum, Creatorem ac Dominum coeli et terrae, omnipotentem, aeternum, immensum, incomprehensibilem, intellectu ac voluntate omnique perfectione infinitum; qui cum sit una singularis, simplex omnino et incommutabilis substantia spiritualis, praedicandus est re et essentia a mundo distinctus, in se et ex se beatissimus, et super omnia, quae praeter ipsum sunt et concipi possunt, ineffabiliter excelsus.

Hic solus verus Deus bonitate sua et omnipotenti virtute non ad augendam suam beatitudinem, nec ad acquirendam, sed ad manifestandam perfectionem suam per bona, quae creaturis impertitur, liberrimo consilio simul ab initio temporis utramque de nihilo condidit creaturam, spiritualem et corporalem, angelicam videlicet et mundanam, ac deinde humanam quasi communem ex spiritu et corpore constitutam.<sup>1</sup>

Universa vero, quae condidit, Deus providentia sua tuetur atque gubernat, attingens a fine usque ad finem fortiter, et disponens omnia suaviter.<sup>2</sup> Omnia enim nuda et aperta sunt oculis ejus,<sup>3</sup> ea etiam, quae libera creaturarum actione futura sunt.

## CAPUT II.

### DE REVELATIONE.

Eadem sancta Mater Ecclesia tenet et docet, Deum, rerum omnium principium et finem, naturali humanae rationis lumine erebus creatis certo cognosci posse; invisibilia enim ipsius, a creatura mundi, per ea quae facta sunt, intellecta, conspiciuntur:<sup>4</sup> attamen placuisse ejus sapientiae et bonitati, alia, eaque supernaturali via se ipsum ac aeterna voluntatis suae

<sup>1</sup> Conc. Later iv., c. i. *Firmiter.*

<sup>2</sup> Sap. viii. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf Hebr. iv. 13.

<sup>4</sup> Rom. I. 20.



decreta humano generi revelare, dicente Apostolo: Multifariam, multisque modis olim Deus loquens patribus in Prophetis, novissime, diebus istis locutus est nobis in Filio.<sup>1</sup>

Huic divinae revelationitribuendum quidem est, ut ea, quae in rebus divinis humanae rationi per se impervia non sunt, in praesenti quoque generis humani conditione ab omnibus expedite, firma certitudine et nullo admixto errore cognosci possint. Non hac tamen de causa revelatio absolute necessaria dicenda est, sed quia Deus ex infinita bonitate sua ordinavit hominem ad finem supernaturalem, ad participanda scilicet bona divina, quae humanae mentis intelligentiam omnino superant; siquidem oculus non vidit, nec in cor hominis ascendit, quae praeparavit Deus iis, qui diligunt illum.<sup>2</sup>

Haec porro supernaturalis revelatio, secundum universalis Ecclesiae fidem, a sancta Tridentina Synodo declaratam, continetur in libris scriptis et sine scripto traditionibus, quae ipsius Christi ore ab Apostolis acceptae, aut ab ipsis Apostolis Spiritu Sancto dictante quasi per manus traditae, ad nos usque pervenerunt.<sup>3</sup> Qui quidem veteris et novi Testamenti libri integri cum omnibus suis partibus, prout in ejusdem Concilii decreto recensentur, et in veteri vulgata Latina editione habentur, pro sacris et canonicis suscipiendi sunt. Eos vero Ecclesia pro sacris et canonicis habet, non ideo quod sola humana industria concinnati, sua deinde auctoritate sint approbati; nec ideo dumtaxat, quod revelationem sine errore contineant; sed propterea quod Spiritu Sancto inspirante conscripti Deum habent auctorem, atque ut tales ipsi Ecclesiae traditi sunt.

Quoniam vero, quae sancta Tridentina Synodus de interpretatione divinae Scripturae ad coercenda petulantia ingenia salubriter decrevit, a quibusdam hominibus prave exponuntur. Nos, idem decretum renovantes, hanc illius mentem esse declaramus, ut in rebus fidei et morum, ad aedificationem doctrinae Christianae pertinentium, is pro vero sensu sacrae Scripturae habendus sit quem tenuit ac tenet Sancta Mater Ecclesia, cujus est judicare de vero sensu et interpretatione Scripturarum sanctarum; atque ideo nemini licere contra hunc sensum, aut etiam contra unanimum consensum Patrum ipsam Scripturam sacram interpretari.

### CAPUT III.

#### DE FIDE.

Quum homo a Deo tanquam Creatore et Domino suo totus dependent, et ratio creata increatae Veritati penitus

<sup>1</sup> Hebr. i. 1, 2.    <sup>2</sup> I Cor. ii. 9.    <sup>3</sup> Conc. Trid. sess. IV. Decr. de Can. Script.

subjecta sit, plenum revelanti Deo intellectus et voluntatis obsequium fide praestare tenemur. Hanc vero fidem, quae humanae salutis initium est, Ecclesia catholica profitetur virtutem esse supernaturalem, qua, Dei aspirante et adjuvante gratia, ab eo revelata vera esse credimus non propter intrinsecam rerum veritatem naturalis rationis lumine perspectam, sed propter auctoritatem ipsius Dei revelantis, qui nec falli nec fallere potest. Est enim fides, testante Apostolo, sperandarum substantia rerum, argumentum non apparentium.<sup>1</sup>

Ut nihilominus fidei nostrae obsequium rationi consentaneum esset, voluit Deus cum internis Spiritus Sancti auxiliis externa jungi revelationis suae argumenta, facta scilicet divina, atque imprimis miracula et prophetias, quae cum Dei omnipotentiam et infinitam scientiam luculenter commonstrent, divinae revelationis signa sunt certissima et omnium intelligentiae accommodata. Quare tum Moyses et Prophetiae, tum ipse maxime Christus Dominus multa et manifestissima miracula et prophetias ediderunt et de Apostolis legimus: Illi autem profecti praedicaverunt ubique, Domino cooperante, et sermonem confirmante, sequentibus signis.<sup>2</sup> Et rursum scriptum est: Habemus firmiorem propheticum sermonem, cui bene facitis attendentes quasi lucernae lucenti in caliginoso loco.<sup>3</sup>

Licet autem fidei assensus nequaquam sit motus animi caecus: nemo tamen evangelicae praedicationi consentire potest, sicut oportet ad salutem consequendam, absque illuminatione et inspiratione Spiritus Sancti, qui dat omnibus suavitatem in consentiendo et credendo veritati.<sup>4</sup> Quare fides ipsa in se, etiamsi per charitatem non operetur, donum Dei est, et actus ejus est opus ad salutem pertinens, quo homo liberam praestat ipsi Deo obedientiam, gratiae ejus, cui resistere posset, consentiendo et cooperando.

Porro fide divina et catholica ea omnia credenda sunt, quae in verbo Dei scripto vel tradito continentur, et ab Ecclesia sive solemni judicio sive ordinario et universali magisterio tamquam divinitus revelata credenda proponuntur.

Quoniam vero sine fide impossibile est placere Deo, et ad filiorum ejus consortium pervenire; ideo nemini unquam sine illa contigit justificatio, nec ullus, nisi in ea perseveraverit usque in finem, vitam aeternam assequetur. Ut autem officio veram fidem amplectendi, in eaque constanter perseverandi satisfacere possemus, Deus per Filium suum unigenitum

<sup>1</sup> Hebr. xi. 1.<sup>2</sup> Mar. xvi. 20.<sup>3</sup> 2 Petr. i. 19.<sup>4</sup> Syn. Araus. ii. can. 7.



Ecclesiam instituit, suaeque institutionis manifestis notis instruxit, ut ea tamquam custos et magistra verbi revelati ab omnibus posset agnosci. Ad solam enim catholicam Ecclesiam ea pertinent omnia, quae ad evidentem fidei christianae credibilitatem tam multa et tam mira divinitus sunt disposita. Quin etiam Ecclesia per se ipsa, ob suam nempe admirabilem propagationem, eximiam sanctitatem et inexhaustam in omnibus bonis foecunditatem, ob catholicam unitatem, invictamque stabilitatem, magnum quoddam et perpetuum est motivum credibilitatis et divinae suae legationis testimonium irrefragabile.

Quo fit, ut ipsa veluti signum levatum in nationes,<sup>1</sup> et ad se invitet qui nondum crediderunt, et filios suos certiores faciat, firmissimo niti fundamento fidem, quam profitentur. Cui quidem testimonio efficax subsidium accedit ex superna virtute. Etenim benignissimus Dominus et errantes gratia sua excitat atque adjuvat, ut ad agnitionem veritatis venire possint; et eos, quos de tenebris transtulit in admirabile lumen suum, in hoc eodem lumine ut perseverent, gratia sua confirmat, non deserens, nisi deseratur. Quocirca minime par est conditio eorum, qui per coeleste fidei donum catholicae veritati adhaeserunt, atque eorum, qui ducti opinionibus humanis, falsam religionem sectantur; illi enim, qui fidem sub Ecclesiae magisterio susceperunt, nullam unquam habere possunt justam causam mutandi, aut in dubium fidem eandem revocandi. Quae cum ita sint, gratias agentes Deo Patri, qui dignos nos fecit in partem sortis sanctorum in lumine, tantam ne negligamus salutem, sed aspicientes in auctorem fidei et consummatorem Jesum, teneamus spei nostrae confessionem indeclinabilem.

## CAPUT IV.

### DE FIDE ET RATIONE.

Hoc quoque perpetuus Ecclesiae catholicae consensus tenuit et tenet, duplicem esse ordinem cognitionis, non solum principio, sed objecto etiam distinctum: principio quidem, quia in altero naturali ratione, in altero fide divina cognoscimus; objecto autem, quia praeter ea, ad quae naturalis ratio pertingere potest, credenda nobis proponuntur mysteria in Deo abscondita, quae, nisi revelata divinitus, innotescere non possunt. Quocirca Apostolus, qui a gentibus Deum per ea, quae facta sunt, cognitum esse testatur, disserens tamen de gratia et veritate, quae per Jesum Christum facta est,<sup>2</sup> pronuntiat:

<sup>1</sup> Is. xi. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Joan. i. 17.

Loquimur Dei sapientiam in mysterio, quae abscondita est, quam praedestinavit Deus ante saecula in gloriam nostram, quam nemo principum hujus saeculi cognovit: nobis autem revelavit Deus per Spiritum suum: Spiritus enim omnia scrutatur, etiam profunda Dei.<sup>1</sup> Et ipse Unigenitus confitetur Patri, quia abscondit haec a sapientibus, et prudentibus, et revelavit ea parvulis.<sup>2</sup>

Ac ratio quidem, fide illustrata, cum sedulo, pie et sobrie quaerit, aliquam, Deo dante, mysteriorum intelligentiam eamque fructuosissimam assequitur, tum ex eorum, quae naturaliter cognoscit analogia tum e mysteriorum ipsorum nexu inter se et cum fine hominis ultimo; nunquam tamen idonea redditur ad ea perspicienda instar veritatum, quae proprium ipsius objectum constituunt. Divina enim mysteria suapte natura intellectum creatum sic excedunt, ut etiam revelatione tradita et fide suscepta, ipsius tamen fidei velamine contexta et quadam quasi caligine obvoluta maneant, quamdiu in hac mortali vita peregrinamur a Domino: per fidem enim ambulamus, et non per speciem.<sup>3</sup>

Verum etsi fides sit supra rationem, nulla tamen unquam inter fidem et rationem vera dissensio esse potest: cum idem Deus, qui mysteria revelat et fidem infundit, animo humano rationis lumen indiderit; Deus autem negare seipsum non possit, nec verum vero unquam contradicere. Inanis autem hujus contradictionis species inde potissimum oritur, quod vel fidei dogmata ad mentem Ecclesiae intellecta et exposita non fuerint, vel opinionum commenta pro rationis effatis habeantur. Omnem igitur assertionem veritati illuminatae fidei contrariam omnino falsam esse definimus.<sup>4</sup> Porro Ecclesia, quae una cum apostolico munere docendi, mandatum accepit fidei depositum custodiendi, jus etiam et officium divinitus habet falsi nominis scientiam proscribendi, ne quis decipiatur per philosophiam, et inanem fallaciam.<sup>5</sup> Quapropter omnes christiani fideles hujusmodi opiniones, quae fidei doctrinae contrariae esse cognoscuntur, maxime si ab Ecclesia reprobatae fuerint, non solum prohibentur tanquam legitimas scientiae conclusiones defendere, sed pro erroribus potius, qui fallacem veritatis speciem prae se ferant, habere tenentur omnino.

Neque solum fides et ratio inter se dissidere nunquam possunt, sed opem quoque sibi mutuam ferunt, cum recta ratio fidei fundamenta demonstret, ejusque lumine illustrata rerum divinarum scientiam excolat; fides vero rationem ab erroribus

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. ii. 7-9.<sup>2</sup> Matth. xi. 25.<sup>3</sup> 2 Cor. v. 7.<sup>4</sup> Conc. Lat. V. Bulla *Apostolici regiminis*.<sup>5</sup> Coloss. ii. 8.



liberet ac tueatur, eamque multiplici cognitione instruat. Quapropter tantem abest, ut Ecclesia humanarum artium et disciplinarum culturae obsistat, ut hanc multis modis juvet atque promoveat. Non enim commoda ab iis ad hominum vitam dimanantia aut ignorat aut despicit; fatetur imo, eas, quemadmodum a Deo, scientiarum Domino, profectae sunt, ita si rite pertractentur, ad Deum, juvante ejus gratia, perducere. Nec sane ipsa vetat, ne hujusmodi disciplinae in suo quaeque ambitu propriis utantur principiis et propria methodo; sed justam hanc libertatem agnoscens, id sedulo cavet ne divinae doctrinae repugnando errores in se suscipiant, aut fines proprios transgressae, ea, quae sunt fidei, occupent et perturbent.

Neque enim fidei doctrina, quam Deus revelavit, velut philosophicum inventum proposita est humanis ingeniis perficienda, sed tanquam divinum depositum Christi Sponsae tradita, fideliter custodienda et infallibiliter declaranda. Hinc sacrorum quoque dogmatum is sensus perpetuo est retinendus, quem semel declaravit Sancta Mater Ecclesia, nec unquam ab eo sensu, altioris intelligentiae specie et nomine, recedendum. Crescat igitur et multum vehementerque proficiat, tam singulorum, quam omnium, tam unius hominis, quam totius Ecclesiae, aetatum ac saeculorum gradibus, intelligentia, scientia, sapientia; sed in suo dumtaxat genere, in eodem scilicet dogmate, eodem sensu, eademque sententia.<sup>1</sup>

## CANONES.

### I.—DE DEO RERUM OMNIUM CREATORE.

1. Si quis unum verum Deum visibilium et invisibilium Creatorem et Dominum negaverit; anathema sit.

2. Si quis praeter materiam nihil esse affirmare non erubuerit; anathema sit.

3. Si quis dixerit, unam eandemque esse Dei et rerum omnium substantiam vel essentiam; anathema sit.

4. Si quis dixerit, res finitas, tum corporeas tum spirituales, aut saltem spirituales, e divina substantia emanasse;

Aut divinam essentiam sui manifestatione vel evolutione fieri omnia;

Aut denique Deum esse ens universale seu indefinitum, quod sese determinando constituat rerum universitatem in genera, species et individua distinctam; anathema sit.

5. Si quis non confiteatur, mundum, resque omnes, quae in

<sup>1</sup> Vinc. Lir. Common. n° 28.

eo continentur, et spirituales et materiales, secundum totam suam substantiam a Deo ex nihilo esse productas;

Aut Deum dixerit non voluntate ab omni necessitate libera, sed tam necessario creasse, quam necessario amat seipsum;

Aut mundum ad Dei gloriam conditum esse negaverit; anathema sit.

## II.—DE REVELATIONE.

1. Si quis dixerit, Deum unum et verum, Creatorem et Dominum nostrum, per ea, quae facta sunt, naturali rationis humanae lumine certo cognosci non posse; anathema sit.

2. Si quis dixerit, fieri non posse, aut non expedire, ut per revelationem divinam homo de Deo, cultuque ei exhibendo edoceatur; anathema sit.

3. Si quis dixerit, hominem ad cognitionem et perfectionem, quae naturalem superet, divinitus evehi non posse, sed ex seipso ad omnis tandem veri et boni possessionem jugi profectu pertingere posse et debere; anathema sit.

4. Si quis sacrae Scripturae libros integros cum omnibus suis partibus, prout illos sancta Tridentina Synodus recensuit, pro sacris et canonicis non susceperit, aut eos divinitus inspiratos esse negaverit; anathema sit.

## III.—DE FIDE.

1. Si quis dixerit, rationem humanam ita independentem esse, ut fides ei a Deo imperari non possit; anathema sit.

2. Si quis dixerit, fidem divinam a naturali de Deo et rebus moralibus scientia non distingui, ac propterea ad fidem divinam non requiri, ut revelata veritas propter auctoritatem Dei revelantis credatur; anathema sit.

3. Si quis dixerit, revelationem divinam externis signis credibilem fieri non posse, ideoque sola interna cujusque experientia aut inspiratione privata homines ad fidem moveri debere; anathema sit.

4. Si quis dixerit, miracula nulla fieri posse, proindeque omnes de iis narrationes, etiam in sacra Scriptura contentas, inter fabulas vel mythos ablegandas esse: aut miracula certo cognosci nunquam posse, nec iis divinam religionis christianae originem rite probari; anathema sit.

5. Si quis dixerit, assensum fidei christianae non esse liberum, sed argumentis humanae rationis necessario produci; aut ad solam fidem vivam, quae per charitatem operatur, gratiam Dei necessariam esse; anathema sit.

6. Si quis dixerit parem esse conditionem fidelium atque



eorum, qui ad fidem unice veram nondum pervenerunt, ita ut catholici justam causam habere possint, fidem, quam sub Ecclesiae magisterio jam susceperunt, assensu suspenso, in dubium vocandi donec demonstrationem scientificam credibilitatis et veritatis fidei suae absolverint; anathema sit.

#### IV.—DE FIDE ET RATIONE.

1. Si quis dixerit, revelatione divina nulla vera et proprie dicta mysteria contineri, sed universa fidei dogmata posse per rationem rite excultam e naturalibus principiis intelligi et demonstrari; anathema sit.

2. Si quis dixerit, disciplinas humanas ea cum libertate tractandas esse, ut earum assertiones, etsi doctrinae revelatae adversentur, tanquam verae retineri, neque ab Ecclesia proscribi possint; anathema sit.

3. Si quis dixerit, fieri posse, ut dogmatibus ab Ecclesia propositis, aliquando secundum progressum scientiae sensus tribuendus sit alius ab eo, quem intellexit et intelligit Ecclesia; anathema sit.

Itaque supremi pastoralis Nostri officii debitum exsequentes, omnes Christi fideles, maxime vero eos, qui praesunt vel docendi munere funguntur, per viscera Jesu Christi obtestamur, nec non ejusdem Dei et Salvatoris nostri auctoritate jubemus, ut ad hos errores a Sancta Ecclesia arcendos et eliminandos, atque purissimae fidei lucem pandendam studium et operam conferant.

Quoniam vero satis non est, haereticam pravitatem devitare, nisi ii quoque errores diligenter fugiantur, qui ad illam plus minusve accedunt; omnes officii monemus, servandi etiam Constitutiones et Decreta, quibus pravae ejusmodi opiniones, quae isthic diserte non enumerantur, ab hac Sancta Sede proscriptae et prohibitae sunt.

## DOCUMENTS.

### I.—IMPORTANT DECLARATION OF THE SACRED CONGREGATION REGARDING SPECIAL FACULTIES GRANTED BEFORE THE BULL *APOSTOLICAE SEDIS*.

LETTER OF MONSIGNOR NINA, ASSESSOR OF THE HOLY OFFICE, TO THE SECRETARY OF PROPAGANDA.

“Il sottoscritto Assessore del S. O. si é recato a premura di umiliare a S. Santità nell’ udienza di FERIA IV., 12 corr. (January, 1870), il dubbio promosso da alcuni Vescovi a codesta S. C. di Propaganda per senso della costit. Apostolica *Apostolicae Sedis moderationi* testè pubblicata; se cioè con essa s’intendano revocate ai medesimi le facoltà di assolvere dalle censure *latae sententiae* riservate specialmente al S. P., ed ora adempie al dovere di parteciparle il risultato.

“Sua Santità ha ordinato le si comunichi la stessa risposta data già sullo stesso argomento all’ Eminentissimo Bizzari per parteciparsi ai Reverendissimi Padri del concilio che la richiedessero, che cioè con la detta costituzione il S. Padre non ha punto inteso di recare la menoma alterazione alle facoltà di qualsiasi natura dalla S. Sede innanzi alla promulgazione della medesima accordate, siano esse quinquennali o straordinarie o relative al presente giubileo, e vuole che rimangano nel pieno loro vigore durante il termine nelle rispettive concessioni od indulti prefinito. Laonde potrà ella partecipare ai vescovi richiedenti questa stessa dichiarazione per loro quiete e governo.”

#### [TRANSLATION.]

The undersigned Assessor of the Holy Office has submitted to the Holy Father, in the audience of 12th January, 1870, the doubt proposed by several bishops concerning the meaning of the recent Apostolic Constitution, *Apostolicae Sedis Moderationi*, viz.:—*whether by virtue of that constitution, the power of absolving from censures, latae sententiae, specially reserved to the Holy Father, was withdrawn from the bishops?* It now becomes his duty to make known the answer.

In reply to the question proposed, His Holiness commanded that the same answer be given, as had been already given in the same matter to His Eminence Cardinal Bizzarri, for the information of any among the most reverend fathers of the Council who might inquire, viz.:—that the Holy Father did not intend by the said constitution to make the slightest



change with respect to faculties of what kind soever granted by the Holy See before the promulgation of the said constitution, and this whether the faculties had been granted for five years or were extraordinary, or relating to the present jubilee; and that it is the will of the Holy Father that these faculties shall continue in full force during the term fixed in the respective grants or indults. This declaration may be communicated to any inquiring bishops for their guidance, and to set their doubts at rest.

## II.—DECREE REGARDING THE HOLY OILS, 1870.

Nonnulli Sacrorum Antistites qui Oecumenico Concilio Vaticano intersunt praevidentes se a propriis Dioecesibus fore absentes Feria V in Coena Domini anni hujus ac proinde Sacra Olea in usum earundem Diocesium ea Feria consecrare non posse, a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Pio Papa IX obsequentissime exquisierunt ut huic necessitati providere dignaretur. Eorum autem precibus a subscripto Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis Secretario Eidem Sanctissimo Domino Nostro fideliter relatis, Sanctitas Sua perpendens etiam sententias tum alterius ex Apostolicarum Caeremoniarum Magistris, tum Rmi Domini ejusdem Sacrae Congregationis Assessoris, qui prae oculis habuerunt concessionem in peculiaribus et similibus casibus factas; suprema Auctoritate Sua derogando ab Ecclesiasticis hac de re praescriptionibus indulgit ut in Dioecesibus in quibus non adsunt Rmi Ordinarii, si Titularis aliquis Episcopus non inveniatur, vel a vicinis Dioecesibus Olea Sancta hoc anno consecrata haberi facile nequeant, vetera Olea superioris anni adhiberi valeant in Benedictione Fontis Baptismalis tum in Sabbato Sancto tum in Sabbato Pentecostes, nec non in solemni collatione Baptismatis ac in unguentis Infirmis. Rmi autem ipsi Ordinarii monere curabunt quamprimum illos ad quos spectat de praedicta Apostolica Dispensatione ut Olea sacra non deficiant: infundendo etiam urgente necessitate, partem modicam et minoris quantitatis Olei non benedicti in Oleis benedictis. Sanctionibus quibuscumque ac Decretis in contrarium disponentibus minime obstantibus.

Die 17 Februarii 1870.

C. EPISCOPUS PORTUEN ET S. RUFINAE CARD. PATRIZI  
S. R. C. PRAEF.

Loco ✠ Signi

*D. Bartolini S. R. C. Secretarius.*

## NOTICE OF BOOK.

The *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* (Philp, 7, Orchard-street, Portman-square, London,) is a monthly miscellany devoted exclusively to subjects of piety, and especially to the propagation of the devotion from which it derives its name. Its name, indeed, is borrowed from a well-known French periodical of a similar nature; but very little else seems to be taken from Father Ramiere's journal except the papers which relate to the practical working of the Apostleship of Prayer, or Holy League of the Sacred Heart. This is particularly true of the parts which have appeared of the current volume, in opening which the conductors promise to render their little magazine as interesting and agreeable as possible while preserving its exclusively religious character. Certainly it would not be fair to grumble at any deficiency of variety or quantity in the contents, seeing that each number consists of a score of articles in prose and verse, occupying from seventy to eighty pages. When it is added that the type and paper and general finish of the publication are almost too neat for practical purposes, and that the half-yearly subscription (including postage and the Monthly Calendar of Intentions and Recommendations for Prayer on separate billets) is only three shillings, it will be pretty evident that this is not a commercial speculation but a labour of love, in which many are combined who do not measure cost or pains if they may but render their little *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* (to use their own words) "less unworthy of its beautiful and glorious name." We have noted that Irish saints and Irish thoughts crop up spontaneously in many places. S. Patrick, indeed, in the March number, is lost in the light of the hidden saint whose own light is lost so long in the new brightness of the Sun of Justice; but our beloved Apostle will be glad to be almost overlooked in the honour paid to S. Joseph during S. Joseph's month. The saints, however, have not a monopoly of these pages. Many of the contributions are in the spirit of Père Gazet's *Pia Hilaria*, and, though not unsuited for the atmosphere of convent cells, would feel more at home in the convent recreation-room. Not a few of the poems refute Dr. Johnson's theory regarding the impossibility of good and true religious poetry. But Dr. Johnson, good-hearted as he was, knew little about the infinite love and sweetness of the Heart of Jesus.



[NEW SERIES.]

## THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

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JUNE, 1870.

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### THE INFALLIBILITY OF THE POPE AND THE IRISH CLERGY IN 1666.

ALTHOUGH we must deny the honours of a Canonical Synod to the assembly of the Irish clergy, held in Dublin in June, 1666, and although the chief matter proposed therein for debate, viz., Peter Walsh's Remonstrance, seems to belong to politics rather than to dogmatic teaching, nevertheless, we find interwoven with the changing phases of its discussions, an authentic and touching expression of the faith of the Irish church in the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff.

At any time it would be dear to us to gather and set in array the evidences of Irish loyalty to St. Peter ; but at the present moment, it is a double joy to show that the Irish bishops, who in the General Council speak in defence of the Papal infallibility, do but repeat the teaching of their predecessors in the far-off past. As the Jews loved to call the inspiration of their later sacred writers by the beautiful title *filia vocis*, because these spoke in the very tones of the mighty prophets of old ; so our heart is glad as we catch in the words of our bishops to-day, ringing clear and true beneath the gilded roof of the Vatican Basilica, the echoes of the glorious episcopal voices, which, centuries ago, taught in Ireland, that St. Peter's successor was heir to St. Peter's infallibility.

We propose, then, in these pages, to trace how in the meeting of 1666 the debate came to drift from the Remonstrance to the Sorbonne propositions; how a splendid viceroy and a mendicant friar strangely became joint champions of Gallicanism against the Catholic clergy of Ireland; and how, in spite of threats, cajolery, and intrigue, the Irish church, although trembling in the cruel grasp of enemies, never more powerful than then to work evil, nobly refused to purchase security by accepting the Gallican doctrine against the infallibility of the Pope.

The Duke of Ormond has left it written that one of his objects in conniving at the meeting of Irish ecclesiastics in 1666, was that he might "sow divisions among the clergy." Already Peter Walsh's Remonstrance had proved to be, for a moment, an apple of discord. Some unwary Catholics, even among the higher clergy, had been led to subscribe that document in the hope that by such a profession of loyalty they might be able to conjure the dangers that rose darkly on every side to threaten the Catholic body. But to the bulk of thoughtful men it was clear that the Remonstrance contained what could not be reconciled with the respect due from Catholics to the Apostolic See; and as between Rome and the Remonstrance the choice of Irish Catholics was soon made. The meeting of 1666 was a fresh attempt on the part of Walsh to impose the Remonstrance on the clergy, and as he perceived that the cause of the miscarriage of his plans lay in the universal feeling of devotion to Rome, he resolved to employ as buttresses of his Remonstrance the Gallican doctrines, then newly issued from the Sorbonne. Hence it was that the six Gallican articles of 1663 were formally proposed to the assembled Irish clergy for their adoption; and no more insidious proposal could well have been made. Should the clergy accept the Gallican propositions as expressing their own sentiments, then their opposition to the Remonstrance was proved to be factious and irrational; on the other hand, in case of dispute, it was hoped that the authority of the French University would give fresh courage to the friends of the Remonstrance, and thereby inflame still more the unhappy divisions of which it already had been the cause. It is not our present purpose to chronicle the fortune in debate of the Remonstrance, nor of the first five of the Gallican propositions which had thus been unexpectedly forced upon the attention of the Irish clergy; we intend to limit our remarks to the formal judgment which the Irish Church then passed upon the sixth proposition, wherein the Sorbonne attacked the doctrine of the Pope's infallibility. That judgment was a formal, deliberate rejection of the Gallican doctrine on this



point. And thus Ormond's attempt in 1666 to sow divisions among the Clergy, did but serve to unite them more closely than before, and to furnish us with a fresh proof that the Irish Church was thoroughly at one with the rest of the world in professing the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff in questions of faith and morals.

It may not be out of place to give here a brief outline of the history of the Gallican propositions as they stood in 1663, the more so because we shall find that even in France, on their first appearance, they were vehemently opposed by Irish ecclesiastics. In one word, we may describe them as the outcome of the then ruling French policy, that aimed, before all, at humbling Rome. This at least is the opinion of Bossuet, who, when reviewing in 1700 the causes that led to the declaration of 1682, maintained that too much favour had been shown to Rome under Cardinal de Richelieu and Cardinal Mazarin, "but that from the day on which the King had himself undertaken the government of his kingdom, and especially from the time of Colbert, the policy of humbling and of opposing Rome had gained ground, and had swayed the entire Council. Hence the decision of the Faculty of Theology, in 1663, and all that has been done till this day."<sup>1</sup> Mazarin died in 1661, and the immediate source whence sprang the design of humbling Rome was the well-known affair of the Corsicans in 1662. In that year, in the reign of Alexander VII., the people of the Duke de Crequi, then French Ambassador at Rome, attacked and beat in the neighbourhood of the embassy some soldiers of the Corsican guard in service of his Holiness, who were acting in discharge of their ordinary duties. The soldiers, driven from the streets, retreated to their barracks, and having rallied their comrades, made a precipitate attack on the palace of the Ambassador, which resulted in the death of seven men, two French and five Italians. The Pope, who was not to blame in the matter, sent a courier to France to explain all that had occurred, and to remove the King's displeasure. Louis in his anger banished the Nuncio from his presence, and expelled him from France. He then gave orders for the invasion of Avignon. As the preliminaries to a solution of the difficulty, he demanded from the Pope the following humiliating concessions:—that Cardinal Imperiale, the Governor of Rome, should be deprived of his cardinalate; that the Pope's brother (Don Mario) should be delivered into the hands of the King, to be used at the King's discretion; that the Corsican captain, lieutenant, and ensign, with fifty of the soldiers, should be hanged in the Piazza

<sup>1</sup> *Ledieu Journal*, t. i., p. 8.

Farnese, and the remainder of the corps disbanded ; that the bargello of Rome, with fifty of his men, should be hanged in the Piazza Navona, and that the Pope should send to France a Legate, chosen by the King, to apologise for what had happened. The Pope refused to accede to those extravagantly cruel demands. But he had to deal with the proudest of kings. Louis XIV. immediately ordered his troops to invade the Roman States, and forbade the Swiss to supply aid to the Pope. It was at this moment that the French Court resolved to make the present differences with Rome the occasion of extorting from the Holy See favours long refused. The Pope, after making every effort to escape, was forced to yield to brute force, and by the treaty of Pisa consented, under protest, to send an ambassador to Paris to make excuses for what had happened.

While the French troops were marching on the Roman States to combat the temporal Sovereign, the French courtiers were set to work in Paris to attack the spiritual authority of the Pontiff.<sup>1</sup> A bachelor of theology, by name Drouet de Villeneuve, defended at the Sorbonne a thesis favourable to the Holy See.

This thesis was denounced to the parliament by Talon, the Advocate-General, and on his motion the parliament, on the 22nd January, 1663, issued an order to the Faculty, forbidding them to sanction in the future theses propounding doctrines so favourable to Rome. It was ordered that this decree should be read at a general assembly of the Faculty, and entered on the registers of the Faculty, in presence of some officers of the parliament.

The decree was carried to the Sorbonne by the parliamentary officials, but, in spite of threats, the Faculty refused to obey, and the utmost that could be gained was their reluctant consent to take the matter into consideration. In the manuscript department of the Imperial Library at Paris, among the Colbert papers, there is a curious report of the proceedings at this meeting, written by a spy for the instruction of the minister. From this document we learn that out of 178 doctors, 89 were decidedly for Rome, 55 for the court, and 34 doubtful.

The discussion extended over the entire ground of the controversy between the Gallicans and the Holy See, and when P. Hermand of the Sorbonne undertook to prove the infallibility of the Pope, he was supported by almost all the religious who were present ; but in spite of all exertions, the decree was enrolled on the 4th April. On that very day, however, another thesis, conceived in the same spirit

<sup>1</sup> Gerin, *Recherches Historiques*, p. 10.



as the one of Drouet that had been condemned, was sustained with the approbation of the head of the Faculty, M. Grandin, at the College of the Bernardines by Father Desplantes. The indignation of the court lawyers was now boundless. They summoned M. Grandin before them, and finding him firm they passed a decree suspending him from all his functions. This act of rigour terrified the timid, and in a short time the court was enabled to extort from the Faculty the following six propositions:—

1. Non esse doctrinam Facultatis, quod Summus Pontifex aliquam in temporalia Regis Christianissimi auctoritatem habeat; imo Facultatem semper obstitisse etiam iis qui indirectam tantummodo esse illam auctoritatem voluerint.

2. Esse doctrinam Facultatis ejusdem, quod Rex Christianissimus nullum omnino agnoscit nec habet in temporalibus superiore, praeter Deum, eamque suam esse antiquam doctrinam, e qua nunquam recessura est,

3. Doctrinam Facultatis esse quod subditi fidem et obedientiam Regi Christianissimo ita debent, ut ab iis nullo praetextu dispensari possint.

4. Doctrinam Facultatis esse, non probare nec unquam probasse propositiones ullas Regis Christianissimi auctoritati, aut germanis Ecclesiae Gallicanae libertatibus et receptis in regno canonibus contrarias; verbi gratia, quod Summus Pontifex possit deponere episcopos adversus eosdem canones.

5. Doctrinam Facultatis non esse, quod Summus Pontifex sit supra concilium oecumenicum.

6. Non esse doctrinam vel dogma Facultatis, quod Summus Pontifex, nullo accedente Ecclesiae consensu, sit infallibilis.

These six propositions, the halting and captious wording of which betrays the embarrassment and contentions of the framers, constitute the charter of Gallicanism. They were wrung by the violence of the civil power from a timid theological faculty, of which the head had been arbitrarily and illegally punished, and are, simply, a monument of the tyranny of the state. Father Peter Walsh informs us that they were at once despatched from Paris to London, where they were known in 1663, and whence they passed over to Ireland to engage the attention of the clergy in 1666. But before we speak of their reception in Ireland, it will be interesting to examine with what feelings the events we have described were regarded by the Irish ecclesiastics who were connected with the Sorbonne.

In the report presented to Colbert by the secret agent, to whom we have alluded above, we find some Irish doctors described with their French brethren; and with hardly a single exception, they are described as hostile to the Gallican

doctrines and favourable to Rome.<sup>1</sup> The first we meet is Dr. Tyrrel, of whom the spy writes thus :—

(1.) "Tyrrel, an Irishman—He is the agent of the missions which are carried on in his country, and consequently exceedingly attached to all the devotees and religious communities. He is just the man to propose and defend with obstinacy (*propre à proposer et opiniâtrer*) whatever that kind of people would wish in favour of Rome."

(2.) "Egan, an Irishman—Curé of Nanges, in the country.—A would-be important man, closely attached to Tyrrel, and consequently to his Roman opinions. He has few followers, but knows his theology."

(3.) "Nugent—Peculiar character; a good scholastic, devoted to Rome, like those of his nation (Irishmen). (*Comme un homme de sa nation porté pour Rome*). He has no followers, but he is very obstinate, and is earnest in what he wishes."

(4.) "O'Molony—Irishman. For Rome."

(5.) "Guill. Offelan (O'Phelan)—Irish in everything."

This brief catalogue is very glorious for Ireland. It shows that the men chosen as agents abroad by the Irish clergy in that troubled period of our history were men devoted to Rome and hostile to all attacks directed against the prerogatives of the Holy See, even when kings and parliaments were the assailants; and so unequivocal and thorough was this devotion to Rome that Colbert's agent considered that to say of a man that he was *Irish in everything*, was equivalent to saying that he was opposed to the Gallican usurpations. Let us now proceed to see how the same spirit was displayed by Irishmen on Irish soil under circumstances that might well chill the zeal of less ardent and courageous soldiers of the Church.

In September, 1665, Ormond made a brief sojourn at Kilkenny. Father Patrick Maginn, one of the Queen's Chaplains, who had come to Ireland on private business, visited the Duke at Kilkenny, and on his return stayed in Dublin for a few weeks. While there he had some interviews with Walsh, who tells us that he promised to use his best efforts in the North of Ireland (whither he was going to visit his relations) to have the Remonstrance signed "to make the Irish Catholics more capable of His Majesty's favour." Especially he promised to induce his brother, Dr. Ronan Maginn, Dean of Dromore, and Dr. Patrick Daly, Vicar-General and Judge-Delegate of Armagh, in the absence of the Primate Dr. Edmund O'Reilly, then in banishment abroad, to return with himself to Dublin to arrange for a general and uniform signing of the Remonstrance. He did so. Dr. Maginn was not

<sup>1</sup> Gerin, *Recherches*, p. 506.



altogether opposed to Walsh's views, but Dr. Daly could not be induced to take any steps without a general assembly of the clergy, of which he expressed himself most desirous. Walsh with his usual self-sufficiency, tells us that he hesitated long before he consented to the assembling of this national congregation. But he finally yielded to Dr. Daly's repeated prayer, and is candid enough to state at full length the reasons that influenced him in his decision. The Primate and Dr. Nicholas French, Bishop of Ferns, as well as Dr. Lynch, Bishop of Kilfenora, seemed by their frequent letters from abroad anxious to find some reasonable cause which might enable them to return to their flocks. Besides, it was thought that the return of the exiled Bishops would serve to discountenance any attempts on the part of the Irish to tamper with France, a result which the war with Holland rendered peculiarly desirable. The cause of the Remonstrance could not but gain, Walsh thought, if the clergy were to assemble in a national meeting. He flattered himself that the Remonstrance and its author were growing in popularity, and he shrewdly calculated that the troubled state of public affairs, and the gloomy prospects of the country, would overcome any scruples the bishops might entertain as to the signing of the document. The step was finally resolved on, and with the licence of Ormond, a congregation of the Catholic Clergy was convened. Dr. Dempsey, the Vicar-Apostolic of Dublin, was anxious that some other city should have the perilous honour of being chosen as the place of meeting, and, to avoid trouble, withdrew from his residence for some time. It was finally arranged, however, that the meeting should be held in Dublin, and in the month of June, in order that the clergy, when journeying to the metropolis, might be able to find food for their horses. On Monday, the 11th of June, 1666, the congregation held its first session, and, in the absence of the Primate, elected Dr. Lynch, Bishop of Kilfenora, for their president, and Nicholas Redmond, Vicar-General of Ferns, for their secretary. The second session for the verification of powers was held on the following day, the 12th of June. In the evening of this day, Dr. O'Reilly, Archbishop of Armagh, arrived, raising the number of ecclesiastics present to fifty-three. The episcopal body was represented by the Primate, Dr. Edward O'Reilly, Dr. Patrick Plunket, Bishop of Ardagh, and Dr. Andrew Lynch, Bishop of Kilfenora, who held the proxies of Dr. John De Burgo, the aged Archbishop of Tuam, and of the Vicars of Achonry and Killala. The Vicars-General Apostolic were James Dempsey of Dublin, who was also Vicar-Capitular of Kildare; John Burk of Cashel, Denis Harty of Killaloe. The Vicars-General were Patrick

Daly of Armagh, Procurator of Raphoe, Oliver Dease of Meath, Terence Fitzpatrick of Ossory, Robert Power, Waterford and Lismore, Dominic Roche of Cork, Connor Fogarty, Ardfert and Aghado, Nicholas Redmond of Ferns, Teig O'Brien, Dean of Lismore, John Deoran of Leighlin, Thomas Higgins of Elphin, Ronan Maginn of Dromore, J. Phelan, Dean of Ossory. In addition to these were the superiors of the following religious orders:—Dominicans, Augustinians, Franciscans, Jesuits, Calced and Discalced Carmelites, and a Master of the Order of Malta. The divines or consulting theologians brought by the bishop or superior of orders completed the number.

On Wednesday, 13th of June, the Congregation held its third sitting, at which Sir Nicholas Plunkett, Sir Robert Talbot, and John Walsh, Esq., delivered to the fathers a message from the Lord Lieutenant to the effect, that the assembly was expected to proceed at once to sign the Remonstrance. Father Walsh then made a speech in defence of the Remonstrance, urging on his hearers the expediency of adopting it, and the fatal consequences of rejecting it; but the fathers declined to discuss the question, nor did they the Viceroy's message with consideration. On Thursday, 14th June, the fourth session was held, and it was resolved not to sign the Remonstrance, nor even discuss it, but to sign another protest of allegiance. In the evening the Primate and Walsh waited on Ormond, who received them with courtesy, but intimated to the Primate his displeasure, and strongly recommended to him that the clergy should avail themselves of the present opportunity of redeeming their past offences to the state. The fifth session, on the 15th June was marked by another message from the Lord Lieutenant, which ended with these menacing words:—"And I think fit further to put them (the clergy) in mind that such an opportunity as this hath not been given to them or to their predecessors, and if now lost, may not, perhaps, be easily or quickly recovered."

The fathers were not moved by these threats any more than they had been by entreaties. In vain Walsh proposed resolution after resolution on behalf of the Remonstrance. He could not move the fathers to his views.

At the sixth sitting, on 16th June, they agreed upon a document by which to protest their loyalty to the King, and which they intended as a substitute for the rejected Remonstrance. It was on this day that the Sorbonne proposition was first brought under their notice. Peter Walsh asserts that the first mention of these articles came from the fathers, and with clumsy inconsistency, he fastens the authorship of the



proposal to sign them on Father Nicholas Netterville, who, of all others, was their most determined foe. Early in the day Walsh had stated<sup>1</sup> to Ormond, who was dissatisfied with the terms of the Protestation, "that the Sorbonne declarations signed by them freely and unanimously, might, in a great part, supply the defects of the formulary." He made a speech to the same effect in the Council, but soon discovered that the fathers would consent to sign only the three first of the Sorbonne propositions, which having adapted them to their own country by substituting the King of England for the King of France, they appended to their protestation, and forwarded to the Lord Lieutenant. It is not hard to understand that the fathers were anxious to yield on points which they supposed to be indifferent, and not bound up with principle. This would explain why they accepted the three first propositions, which they judged to be of tolerable orthodoxy, and capable of a sound interpretation. We shall see, in the sequel, that even these three first propositions were not acceptable to all. Besides, the very circumstance of choosing three as tolerable to the exclusion of the other three, shows that, in the estimation of the assembly, a denial of Papal infallibility was not to be thought of on any account. In vain did Walsh remonstrate against this determination of the fathers. He told them "that besides the vote of inconstancy and uncertainty in their offers and promises they would be under by declining the other three, it would appear manifestly on debate, that no kind of instrument or profession of them, although backed with their signing these three first, could signify anything at all, because that on the contradictory question they declined signing the other three." The seventh session was not marked by any event of importance. During the eighth session, held on Monday, 18th June, a third message was received from the Lord Lieutenant, in which he complained that they had not adopted the three last of the Sorbonne propositions. He observed that, "together with the propositions sent and signed by them, there were three material propositions omitted, which might as well be appropriated to His Majesty and the kingdom of Ireland as the others were." These remarks changed at once the current of the debate. The discussion was now fairly turned aside from the Remonstrance to the Gallican articles, of which the most important was that which impugned the infallibility of the Pope. The ninth session was devoted to this discussion, and the tenor of the debate forcibly reveals how thoroughly opposed these French doctrines were to the teaching of the Irish Church. The Bishop of Kilfenora and the Jesuit Father

<sup>1</sup> See "Walsh's History of the Remonstrance," Part 3, for the passages cited in text

Nicholas Netterville appear to have provoked Peter Walsh's special indignation by reason of their fervent advocacy of the Roman doctrines. Of Dr. Lynch<sup>1</sup> he writes, that he, "though having so lately come from France, after being there so long, and thoroughly acquainted with the positions and maxims of the Gallican Church, discovered himself but too manifestly to be not a little, if not extremely, disaffected to the then English government of Ireland by his earnest opposition to my own face there of all or any of these three last Sorbonne declarations to be applied to the Monarch of Great Britain and Ireland, Charles II., and to that congregation or Romish clergy of Ireland, and so to be signed by them."

Father Netterville,<sup>2</sup> he declares, "as confidently and vehemently now, and even to my own face, opposed the signing of any one of these three last. Neither he nor the chairman were contented with bare dissent, but made speeches, and gave reasons too, all they could do, to dissuade the rest of the Fathers from signing."

The debate was warm. Father Netterville was the chief author of the reasons which the fathers assigned for not signing the three last propositions. He accused Walsh of being a Jansenist, and this charge throws considerable light on the pertinacity with which the latter assailed the doctrine of Papal infallibility. It is certain that Walsh had made the acquaintance of Jansenius at Louvain, that to him he dedicated his public thesis in philosophy, and he boasts of having been the first to read the proof sheets of the *Augustinus* as they came from the press. Walsh was worsted in the debate. "Why did not Walsh," asks Dr. Talbot, "answer the reasons of the Prolocutor and of Father Nicholas Netterville in the Congregation of 1666, when he had the Lord Lieutenant's countenance? Why did he not answer others as learned as those who confounded him and his errors in that Congregation?"

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Andrew Lynch was appointed to Kilfenora in January, 1647. During the persecution consequent on the invasion of Cromwell, he fled to France, and acted for many years as assistant Bishop to the Archbishop of Rouen. In 1617, the Internunzio writes of him as being robust and strong, although then in his sixty-fifth year. He adds: "the accounts I have received of the Bishop, represent him as a man very learned and virtuous."—See Dr. Moran's "Life of Oliver Plunket," p. 171.

<sup>2</sup> The Synod of 1670 recommends Father Netterville for the See of Kildare. He is styled by the Fathers "vir doctrina et verbi Dei predicatione celebris." Dr. Talbot, Archbishop of Dublin, thus writes of him:—"Haec vero viri censura tanto apud me ponderis est, ut una sit ad instar omnium. Fuit enim is vir ob ingenii insigne acumen ac doctrinam, qua in Galliae collegiis toto regno celeberrimis per annos plurimos lectorem egit, gentis suae ingens decus. Dublini eo in honore est ob conciones ad populum et in controversiis enodandis perspicaciam perspicuitatemque pari modestia conjunctam. . . . Omni invidia major, nullo non gradu dignitatis dignus, minimo contentus."



The result of the debate was a petition to Ormond, with an appendix of reasons why the Fathers did not sign the last three propositions. We must be satisfied to quote here the motives which regard the article regarding the Pontifical infallibility.

"The sixth regards the Pope's infallibility in matters of faith. Whether the Pope, not as a private doctor, but with an especial congregation of doctors, prelates, and divines deputed, can censure and condemn certain propositions of heresie? or whether it be necessary to have a general council from all parts of the world to decide, define, censure, and condemn certain propositions of heresie? The Jansenists already condemned of heresie by three Popes, and all the Bishops of France, to vindicate themselves from the censure, contest the first way; they write in their own defence, and many more against them.

"On which subject is debated the quaestio facti whether the propositions condemned as heresie by the Pope, be in the true sense and meaning of the Jansenists or no? as may appear by such as we can produce, if necessary. 'The Universities of France say, that it is not their doctrine, that the Pope, &c. Whether this touched our scope or no, we leave it to all prudent men to judge. If they think it doth, let them know, that we should not hould the Pope's infallibility if he did define anything against the obedience we owe our prince. If they speak of any other infallibility as matter of religion and faith: as it regardeth us not nor our obedience unto our sovereign, so we are loath forraign Catholic nations should think we treat of so odious and unprofitable a question, in a country where we have neither universitie or Jansenist amongst us, if not perhaps some few particulars whom we conceive under our hand to further this dispute to the disturbance of both king and country.'"

The tone of these remarks is studiously moderate. It was necessary, under the difficult circumstances of the case, to make the truth as little unpalatable as possible to the proud Protestant statesman to whom it was addressed, and who was incapable of appreciating the higher grounds of the refusal.

The petition, with the appendix, were carried in the evening by Dr. Burke and Dr. Fogarty, and presented to Ormond, whom they found amusing himself, with other gentlemen, in the Bowling Green. The Viceroy received the deputation with marked displeasure, and threatened to dissolve the meeting. On the following day the Primate reported to the Congregation assembled in their eleventh

session, that the petition and paper of reasons had been unfavourably received. Father Walsh was deputed to wait on Ormond and request his leave for their continuing to hold their sittings for three days more. The Lord Lieutenant gave the permission, and the discussion was consequently renewed.

A select committee was next proposed "to consider of both the pertinency and necessity, specially as the case stood, for assuring their allegiance to the king, to sign even the three last of these six Sorbonne declarations." This proposition aimed at reopening the entire question in the sense most favourable to Peter Walsh's views. To hinder this, the Bishop of Ardagh, with great warmth, proposed as an amendment, "that a vote of the whole house should be taken at once whether they would in anywise or upon any condition subscribe or no those three last." This amendment was rejected, and a select committee nominated, of which, however, the Bishop of Ardagh himself was appointed chairman.

In a letter addressed by him to the Secretary of Propaganda, Dr. Plunket makes an allusion to his proceedings in the Congregation of 1666. "Promptly and faithfully I carried into effect in the very city of Dublin (though not without imminent danger) the decrees of the Sacred Congregation against the false and schismatical brethren, and on every occasion will I intrepidly continue to execute them, even though now in my old age all my blood be shed; nay, it would be a glorious thing for me to exchange for martyrdom, through reverence for the Apostolic See, the few years of life which yet remain." These are words worthy of the venerable man from whom his youthful relative Oliver Plunket had learned the lessons of faith and love that were afterwards to lead him to a glorious martyrdom.

The committee retired to another room to consider their report; after a short time, the door of their room was opened, and Peter Walsh, who was not a member of the committee, entered the room to take part in the deliberations which he felt were likely to be unfavourable to him. The vigorous and resolute chairman of the committee, Dr. Plunket, compelled him to retire at once. On the 22nd June, in the twelfth session, the select committee reported against the signing of the three propositions. We shall allow the modest and humble friar to tell the tale of his discomfiture, and of the rejection by the assembly of his beloved Gallican propositions. When the committee gave in their report, "the chairman of the house, who had



a chief hand in getting such men fixed on for this committee, and by all arts both encouraging and edging them on to a negative resolve against signing the other three, of which resolve by the committee, Ardagh now made report: I say, that hereupon, the said chairman of the house applauding them . . . and both consequently and earnestly persuading the whole house to acquiesce in what the committee had resolved upon—that is, for not signing by any means, any of these three last declarations of Sorbonne as applied, &c.; the congregation at last—*i.e.* the major part amongst them—unfortunately is persuaded. As soon as they had finally so determined, the procurator (Peter Walsh) enters, and upon some occasion given him, sharply expostulates with the chairman Kilfenora even publicly, before all the house, for his carriage in the whole procedure, telling him in plain terms it savoured so little either of a loyal subject or good Catholic, much less of a bishop, that he showed himself very unworth, if that chair wherein he sate, but wherein he should never have sat, had I once suspected him to be so strangely disaffected to all duty, justice, truth, or so trained for foreign princes and interest.”

The sum of what the fathers urged against the sixth proposition is thus stated by Walsh<sup>1</sup>:—“They would say that this sixth proposition is impertinent, odious, unprofitable, unfit to be disputed in this country, relates to Jansenism, is suspected to be underhand furthered by some of that way, and finally tends to the disturbance of both king and country.” This surely amounts to a full and complete rejection of the Gallican doctrine. And as if to make it fuller and more complete, Walsh is careful to inform us that the doctrine of Papal infallibility was universally taught by the Irish clergy, and universally received by the Irish laity. He tells us<sup>2</sup> “that both clergy and people of the Roman communion in Ireland have been this long time and are yet as to the generality or far greater part of them so principled by the chief leaders and superiors of that clergy, that out of ignorance or mistaken interest, or a wilful inclination, they are content to be hurried away into any persuasion that hath the approbation of his Holiness, *at least for as much as belongs to the regulating of their conscience, and instructing them in point of faith. For they are taught to believe him infallible.*”

But the cup of the good Father's mortification was not yet filled. It had been remarked by the astute Ormond that the draft of the Protestation to which were joined the

<sup>1</sup> Fourth treatise, page 52.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* page 57.

first three of the Sorbonne propositions, bore but three names, viz., the name of the Primate, of the Chairman, and of the Secretary. It was now proposed to collect the signatures of the rest of the fathers, and to present to the Viceroy a second copy, duly signed by all. From what we have already seen of Walsh's language and conduct, our readers may easily conceive what was his rage, when he found that many of the best and most learned amongst the fathers refused to sign even the first three of the Sorbonne propositions. The Bishop of Kilfenora stoutly refused to adopt any one of the six propositions, and his example was followed by Father O'Hart, Provincial of the Dominicans, Father Andrew Sall,<sup>1</sup> Provincial of the Jesuits, Father Nicholas Netterville, S.J., Father Bernardinus Barry, O.S.F., Father John Brady, O.S.F., Father Christopher Dillon, O.S.A., Father John Weldon, Capuchin, and Father James Dowdal, Capuchin. Again, the chief merit of this act of courage on the part of so many members, appears to be due in great measure to the ability and energy of Father Nicholas Netterville. Again, Walsh complains of him that "he both opposed stiffly the signing of the three last, and not concurred at all with those who signed the three former. And again: "Father Netterville can change his form like Proteus . . . . no end comes amiss to him to frame his arrows. He can blow hot and cold with the same breath."

The Act of Recognition, as the new protestation of allegiance was called, having been solemnly signed by all, and the three first Sorbonne propositions by most of the members, the Bishop of Ardagh and Father Burke were sent as a deputation to present the documents to the Lord Lieutenant, with a request that he would forward them to the King. His Excellency received them coolly. Nowise abashed by this ungracious behaviour on the part of the Viceroy, Father Burke "as confidently and briskly," writes Walsh, "as if he had himself in a high measure deserved to be singularly looked upon, added that now all was done, and being to return to the good Lady Thurles (Ormond's mother), to whom he had the honour of being chaplain, he was ready to receive his Grace's commands to her, and prayed that he might have that additional honour too. His Grace answered in a few words, first as to their joint desire on behalf of the Congregation, that he would represent to his Majesty both themselves and their instruments as they deserved; and then to Father Burke in particular, that, says he, if you be my mother's

<sup>1</sup> This Father Andrew Sall must not be confounded with the apostate of that name; the latter never held any office in the Irish Province.



chaplain, I must provide for her a fitting one, and a better chaplain than you."

Two other sessions were held on the 24th and 25th June respectively, but as the question of the infallibility was not again opened, there is no need to dwell here on the result. The fifteenth session held on 25th June brought the proceedings to a close.

The more closely we consider the circumstances under which was rendered this remarkable testimony of the Irish church against Gallicanism, the more valuable and striking will it appear. The meeting was held in troublous times, so troublous indeed that men of peace, the pastors of a persecuted flock, would stop at no sacrifice which could lawfully be made to avert the threatening dangers. The leading members of the body had tasted for years the bitterness of the bread of exile; and some of them had been allowed to Ireland on the express promise that they would do all they could to appease the dislike felt for them by their rulers. They knew well that the result of their refusal would be instant persecution, and we find that Dr. O'Reilly and Dr. Lynch, of whom the former was arrested immediately after the meeting had been ended, both found a grave in a foreign land. They had to deal with a man like Walsh, insincere and worldly, tainted with heresy, whose self-love was enormous, and whose capacity for mischief, if that self-love were wounded, was immense. They were exposed to the blandishments of an insidious statesman, whose lips ran with the honey of seductive promises. And what was yet harder for priestly hearts to bear, they saw their people under the lash and the knife of the persecutor, who only waited their refusal to comply with his wishes, to let loose on the wretched Catholics the worst fury of their deadly foes. No wonder that they yielded, as far as conscience would permit. No wonder that, although they detested the spirit in which the Gallican articles were conceived, many of the fathers did not refuse to sign the three first. But in spite of danger, of fear, and of hope, there were some doctrines which they could not endure to accept. Conscience, and duty, and love for Rome, were stronger than the fear of ruin, of exile, and of death; and these Irish priests, worthy alike of those who went before, and of those who have come after them, chose to suffer all rather than deny the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff.

## QUESTIONS REGARDING THE JUBILEE.

### XI.—THE PASCHAL COMMUNION.

“WILL the Paschal Communion suffice for the Jubilee? I find that opposite views of this question are taken by Gury and Bouvier, both relying on decisions of the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences.

“Bouvier<sup>1</sup> holds that a distinct communion is required. However, the authenticity of the Decrees which he quotes seems to rest on very unsatisfactory evidence. One (dated 1826) is taken from a French journal, *L'Ami de la Religion et du Roi*; the other (dated May 1st, 1844) from the *Mélanges Théologiques*, a Belgium periodical, formerly published at Liège, but now extinct.

“Gury, on the other hand, making no reference to either of these Decrees, adopts the opposite opinion—namely, that the same communion will suffice for complying with the Paschal precept and for gaining the Jubilee.<sup>2</sup> His authority is a Decree of the Sacred Congregation, dated December 15th, 1841.

“The decision of the point will, of course, depend upon the question, whether the Decree of 1844 is genuine?

“Now, it seems to me very unlikely, that the Decree, if genuine, could have been overlooked by Gury; still more, that it would not have been noticed by Father Ballerini, his Roman editor, who certainly avails himself of every opportunity to call attention to the shortcomings both of the author of the *Compendium* and of the writers whose opinions are quoted in it.<sup>3</sup> Yet, in the latest Roman edition, the same doctrine is laid down regarding the sufficiency of the Paschal

<sup>1</sup> *Traité des Indulgences*, Part iv., chap. iv., sec. iii., quaest. ii.

<sup>2</sup> *Compendium Theologiae Moralis. De Indulgentiis*, n. 1068.

<sup>3</sup> We cannot wonder that Father Ballerini's omission of all reference to this Decree, should have led our correspondent to suspect its authenticity. For, undoubtedly, the language employed by Gury's Roman editor in reference to the works of many of our most eminent theologians, and especially the tone of his criticism when he calls attention to the slightest trace of inaccuracy regarding quotations, would naturally convey to his readers the impression that his own work has been compiled with such care as would render it impossible that he should have overlooked a Decree so important as that which we are now considering.

And here it may not be out of place to transcribe a few passages which will fully illustrate the remark made by our correspondent regarding the severity of F. Ballerini's criticisms upon the works of other theologians.

The authors of the Salamanca Course are thus referred to:—“Haec discrepantia tota . . . prorsus Salmanticensium *oscitantiae et negligentiae* in sentiis describendis debetur” (*Gury*, Ed. Ballerini, pars. ii., n. 720). Elsewhere:—“Totum debetur confusio*n*i a Salmanticensibus inductae” (i. 293-5).



"Communion,—and the Decree of 1841, without any reference "to one of later date, is quoted in proof of it:—"Sufficit Communio Paschalis . . . nisi Communio specialis pro "acquirenda Jubilaei Indulgentia in Bulla Pontificis requiratur. Constat ex Declaratione S. Cong. Indulg., die 14 "Decemb, 1841."<sup>1</sup>

And:—"Salmanticenses dissensionem inter theologos confingunt" (i. 273). Again: "Perperam igitur Salmanticenses fingunt Doctorum pugnas" (i. 309). In fine:—"Salmanticenses eam inducunt confusionem ut nihil reipsa extundere ex iis liceat" (ii. 3).

For Antoine, he expresses supreme contempt:—"Nihil mirum, quod Antoine non adverterit. Quid enim boni ex hujusmodi quaeras aut expectes?" (i. 661).

An opinion which is held by Roncaglia and other modern writers, he describes as, "illa quorundam sententiam quam melius *abnormem dixeris aberrationem*," (i. 729). Of Soto, he says:—"Abjecta anomala illa Soti opinione" (ii. 320). Of Sylvius:—"Haec et aliae absonae hujus scriptoris opiniones" (ii. 454). And a statement made by Collet is thus referred to:—"Hoc mirum ferreaque fronte dignum. Dignum sane hujusce causae patrocinium, dignumque patronum" (i. 760). And elsewhere:—"Est mera Colleti hallucinatio" (ii. 573).

And the members of the illustrious Society to which Father Ballerini himself belongs, are spoken of in language precisely similar:—"Est mera Croixii hallucinatio" (ii. 943). "Haec opinio [quam docuerunt Illung et Lacroix] tota debetur hallucinationi" (ii. 619). "Vivae animadversio, aliaeque id genus leviores videntur quam ut vel theologus iis serio immoretur . . . judaicam potiusquam Ecclesiae spiritum redolent" (i. 500). "Per invidia et devia pro indisciplinato ingenio suo Comitulus discurrit miram pro genio suo rationem portentosam reddit . . . Omnia haec suo auctori congrua. . . . In his videat facinus Comitolo dignum" (i. 760). Some inaccurate quotations of the eminent Portuguese Jesuit, Henriquez, are thus described:—"Henriquez non alia sane suppellectile quam fallacium allegationum congerie fretus" (ii. 573.)

Even Benedict XIV. is not spared:—"Quod in opere suo de Synodo Diocesana Gregorii literas . . . *detorquere conetur*, tantum non ad ineptias, utpote plane verbis Gregorii repugnans amandandum videtur" (ii. 759). Again:—"Pontius et positeum Lambertinius (Benedictus XIV.) distorquent hanc Constitutionem et sic ridiculam inducunt scaenam Pontificis," &c. . . (ii. 759). Pontius, indeed, whose Treatise on Matrimony is so frequently quoted by Benedict XIV., is, perhaps, the writer for whom Father Ballerini has reserved his severest censures. Thus:—"Pontius . . . sententiam utut *inanibus rationibus* defendit" (i. 332). "Ait quae omnino sunt *perridicula*: caeca abrepta libidine contradicendi Sanchezio . . . saepe saepius ac *passim* per operis sui discursum ad *paradoxa absurdasque opiniones* divertisse . . . Alias advertimus *caecum furorem* contradicendi Sanchezio in *ineptias* et contradictiones *passim hominem* abrepisse" (ii. 760). Again:—"Ad ingenii sui ostentationem contra attulerit ratiunculam, quam nemo non *sprevit*" (ii. 761).

In the following passage Benedict XIV. is again referred to in connection with Pontius:—"Dolendum quod hoc Pontii paradoxum in opus quoque irreperit (de Synodo Diocesana) unde factum est ut haec quaestio alioquin satis simplex . . . *densioribus obvolvatur tenebris et inextricabilibus difficultatibus implicetur*" (ii. 759).

Our last example shall be a passage in which Father Ballerini, commenting upon Van Espen's having been quoted by Benedict XIV., as an authority for some statement regarding the Canon Law, makes use of language which we should scarcely have imagined that any Catholic theologian would have employed in referring to the works of that illustrious Pontiff:—"Falsa," he says, "est haec responsio . . . E quibus utique edocetur *inanem esse eorum spem qui in damnatis operibus latitare thesamos sapientiae existimantes, potius e putridis hisce fontibus expiscari peregrina quam a sinceris Catholicae scholae promptuariis doctrinam hauriri satagant*" (ii. 778).

<sup>1</sup> Gury:—"Editio altera ab auctore Recognitum et Ant. Ballerini in Collegio Romano Professoris Annotationibus Locupletatum. Romae, 1869.

“Would it not seem, then, that Bouvier, in supposing that “the contrary doctrine was subsequently approved by the “Sacred Congregation (in 1844), was misled by the inaccurate statements of the French and Belgian periodicals, “from which he derived his information ?”

Notwithstanding the reasons suggested by our correspondent, we think that no doubt can be entertained of the truth of Bouvier's opinion—namely, that in order to gain the Jubilee another Communion is required in addition to that by which the Paschal precept is fulfilled. That the Paschal Communion will suffice in the case of the Jubilee as well as in the case of any other plenary indulgence is indeed affirmed by the Decree of 1841, which Gury quotes, and which Father Ballerini evidently regards as the latest authentic decision upon the question. But the Decree of 1844, as our correspondent observes, affirms with equal distinctness that the Paschal Communion will suffice only in the case of ordinary plenary indulgences, and that in order to gain the Jubilee an additional Communion is required:—“*Possunt per hanc Communionem indulgentiam plenariam lucrari, ad quam lucrandam inter caetera praescribitur sacra communio: dummodo indulgentia lucrificiendi non sit in forma Jubilaei, pro qua tantum requiritur peculiaris Confessio et Communio.*”<sup>1</sup>

And, abstracting altogether from the question raised by our correspondent as to the trustworthiness of the Belgian periodical, to which he refers, and the authority of which he seems inclined unduly to depreciate, the authenticity of this Decree is undoubted. For it is published by Mgr. Prinzivalli in his Collection of Decrees<sup>2</sup>—a work which has received the fullest and most explicit approbation from the Sacred Congregation itself:—“*Sacra Congregatio . . . omnia et singula Decreta . . . quae in hoc Volumine recensentur, collata cum suis Originalibus in tabulario ejusdem Sac. Congregationis adservatis, uti authentica recognoscit.*”<sup>3</sup>

It is therefore plain that the Decree of 1841 has been superseded, and that consequently *the Paschal Communion is not available for the Jubilee*. And this conclusion is in accordance with the principle explained by Benedict XIV. in his instructions regarding the Jubilee of 1750:—“*Verior opinio esse videtur, quod acquiri nequeat indulgentia per opus, ad quod praestandum ex alio titulo quis obligatur, nisi qui*

<sup>1</sup> *Decret. S. Cong. Indulg. 1 Maii, 1844.*

<sup>2</sup> *Decreta Authentica Sac. Cong. Indulgentiis Praepositae*, ab Aloisio Prinzivalli. Bruxellis, 1862.

<sup>3</sup> *Decret. S. Cong. Indulg. 24 Decemb., 1861.*



indulgentiam concedit nominatim dicat, quod per praedictum opus acquiri possit.”<sup>1</sup>

Very frequently, indeed, during the Jubilees which have been published by his present Holiness, the Holy See has, in the manner indicated by Benedict XIV., declared certain works of obligation to be available for gaining the indulgence. Thus, for instance, during the Jubilee of 1865, privileges of this nature were granted in reference to the Lenten fast, and the Paschal Communion.<sup>2</sup> And during the present Jubilee, the former of these privileges has again been granted by a Decree of the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences, to which frequent references have been made in these pages.<sup>3</sup>

Such privileges, it is hardly necessary to add, have reference only to the particular Jubilee for which they are granted. But, as is well observed by the authors of the Notes in the last Ratisbon edition of Gury's *Compendium* :—Per ejusmodi indulta saepius concessa, via sternitur ut lapsu temporis forte etiam per decreta generalia, regulis a Benedicto XIV. statutis, saltem quoad jubilia extra ordinaria, derogetur.<sup>4</sup>

W. J. W.

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## THE FIRST IRISH MISSION OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

(Continued.)

WE very much fear we have disedified our readers by harping, perhaps too heavily, on the universal pusillanimous conduct of the Irish Chiefs, and by dragging them a little under the spray of that cataract of censure which must for ever fall on the heads of their English contemporaries. We shall now endeavour to atone for our indiscretion by giving a flattering, yet faithful, picture of the people, done by English artists of distinction.

It is only too true that the Irish nation has been vilified by the erudition of Camden and by the rhetoric of Cambrensis and Macaulay. It is to be regretted that English

<sup>1</sup> *Bullarium Benedicti XIV.* Constit. *Inter praeteritos* (3 December, 1749), n. 53.

<sup>2</sup> *Decret. S. Poenitentiariae* (20 Jan., 1865). See *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, vol. i., No. vii., April 1865, page 347-8.

<sup>3</sup> *Decret. S., Cong. Indulg.* (10 July, 1869). See *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, vol. v., No. lx., Sept. 1869, page 586.

<sup>4</sup> Gury, *Compendium Theologiae Moralis*. Pars ii., n. 1087. Ratisbonae, 1868.

calumnies are echoed on the Continent by "Anglomaniacs" who place implicit faith in the veracity of English writers. In Brussels, a Monsieur Spring stated some weeks ago that the ancient Irish considered it creditable to eat their parents, although he might easily have found out that White, Lynch, Lombard, and Keating, have proved that such a statement is a vile calumny.<sup>1</sup> Again, in Paris, a distinguished writer, in a physiological battle with Professor Huxley, says:—"That in four counties of Ireland the poor people are five feet two inches high, pot-bellied, bow-legged, abortively featured, apparitions of Irish ugliness; with open projecting mouths, prominent teeth, exposed gums, high cheek-bones, depressed noses, and all the characteristics of degradation."

This is, of course, utterly false, but the Frenchman who wrote it on British authority does not think so; and we have overwhelming evidence to prove that the poorest people in the localities alluded to are half a foot taller than they are said to be in the French scientific work from which we have given an elegant extract. Promising to say something about this matter in another time and place, we proceed to give the descriptions of the Irish three centuries ago, which have been written by Englishmen full of English and Protestant prejudices.

"The Irish people were clear of skin and hue, religious, frank, . . . of pains infinite, very glorious, excellent horsemen, great alms-givers, passing in hospitality. Being virtuously bred up or reformed, they are such mirrors of holiness and austerity that other nations retain but a show or shadow of devotion in comparison of them. As for abstinence and fasting, which these days make so dangerous, this is to them a familiar kind of chastisement. Greedy of praise they be, and fearful of dishonour, sharp-witted, lovers of learning, capable of any study whereunto they bend themselves, constant in travail, adventurous, intractable, and kind-hearted."<sup>2</sup> "You cannot find one instance of perfidy, deceit, or treachery among them; nay, they are ready to expose themselves to all manner of dangers for the safety of those who sucked their mother's milk. You may beat them to mummy; you may put them on the rack; you may burn them on a grid-iron; you may expose them to the most exquisite torture that the cruellest tyrant can invent; yet you will never remove them from that innate fidelity which is grafted in them; you will never induce them to betray their duty."<sup>3</sup> "They were

<sup>1</sup> See "Irish Times" about 10th April, and "Evening Mail," 11th April, 1870.

<sup>2</sup> Campion's *Historie*, p. 19, written about 1571; after his conversion, however.

<sup>3</sup> Ware.



peaceable, harmless, and affable to strangers, and to all pious and good."<sup>1</sup> "They observed and kept the Irish laws firm and stable, without breaking them for any favour or reward."<sup>2</sup> "There is no nation of the Christian world that are greater lovers of justice than the Irish are; which virtue must, of course, be accompanied by many others."<sup>3</sup> "No nation under the sun doth love equal justice better, or will rest better satisfied with the execution thereof, although it be against themselves."<sup>4</sup> "Such," exclaims the great O'Connell, "is the testimony of strangers, aliens, enemies. I challenge the world to produce an instance of such praise bestowed upon any nation by persons not themselves interested in or connected with such praise."<sup>5</sup>

Mr. Froude says:—"The Irish spirit subdued the minds and hearts of the Norman settlers in virtue of representing certain perennial tendencies of humanity, which are latent in all mankind. The Irish faults and graces were so interwoven that the offensiveness of the evil was disguised by the charm of the good. The intercourse between the sexes was rarely other than pure, and the fidelity of the clansmen to their leaders was faultlessly beautiful. Over all was thrown a peculiar imaginative grace, a careless atmosphere of humour, sometimes gay, sometimes melancholy, always attractive. . . add to this, that the Irish were a civilized and Christian race, who honoured religion and learning, whose fathers had carried the Gospel light and polite literature over half Europe, and earned for their country the proud title of the Isle of Saints and Doctors."<sup>6</sup>

Such, according to English writers, were the people whom Henry attempted to reform. As all was not *couleur de rose*, the reader can shade the picture with the darkest defects that are compatible with the virtues enumerated above, and he shall find even then, that the character given to the Irish people by prejudiced English writers is a thing of which an Irishman ought to feel proud.

But the brightest jewel of the Irish character is inviolable attachment to the Vicar of Christ. To this also Protestants give ample testimony. Let us listen to them. "The Irish were eminently Catholic. Their country was more covered with churches and monasteries than any other land in Europe. The love of fighting was inherent in their character, and being invited to indulge their humour in the cause of the church, the whole people was a ready-made army of the Popes. . . .

<sup>1</sup> Borlase.<sup>2</sup> Finglas.<sup>3</sup> Lord Coke.<sup>4</sup> Davies.<sup>5</sup> O'Connell's "Memoir of Ireland."<sup>6</sup> Mr. Froude's "History of England." Reign of Henry the Eighth.

and wilder task was never imposed on any human being than the introduction of Protestantism with a high hand among them."<sup>1</sup>

So speaks Mr. Froude ; but Henry's own agents and correspondents are more eloquent on this subject. Browne, an apostate "poll-shorne English friar," was made Archbishop of Dublin by Henry, and was instructed that "as his Highness *had fallen absolutely from Rome*, it was his Royal pleasure to have his subjects there in Ireland obey his commands as in England." But his Irish subjects declined to fall with his Majesty, as Browne informs him in the following terms:—"May the earth swallow me up if I ever cease to oppose Popery, and to advance your Grace's affairs, which I have endeavoured to advance at the risk of my bodily life, but the Primate of Armagh has cursed all who would admit your Majesty's supremacy, and the people are more zealous than the early saints and martyrs, and their hearts are sturdy and flinty against our Prince's power. . . . Neither by gentle exhortation, nor by threat of sharp correction, can I induce or persuade any, either religious or secular, since my coming over, once to preach the word of God or the just title of our Prince, or to cancel out of the books the name of the Bishop of Rome ; and the prebendary of St. Patrick's thought scorn to read the new form of prayers ; and there is never an archbishop nor bishop but myself, made by the King, but is repelled even now by provision. Now both English race and Irish begin to oppose the King's orders, and to lay aside their old quarrels.<sup>2</sup> They consider the King a heretic ; and the detestable traitors, young Gerald, O'Neil, O'Donnell, the pretended Earl of Desmond, O'Brien, O'Connor, and O'Mulmoy, have well-nigh subdued the whole country to the supremacy of the Pope.<sup>3</sup> Except Lord Butler and one or two more, which are of small reputation, there is none from the highest to the lowest, who may abide the hearing of God's word, spiritual, as they call them, nor temporal, and especially they that here rule all, that is, the temporal lawyers who have the King's fee.<sup>4</sup> The papistical sect springs up, and spreads abroad, infecting the land pestiferously.<sup>5</sup> "The sixty or seventy proctors of the clergy in parliament opposed the King's headship." "The frowardness and obstinacy of the proctors of the clergy from the beginning of this parliament and of the bishops and abbots hath been such, that we think we can do no less than advertise your lordship thereof. *Except they may be put from voice in parliament*, there shall be but few things passed for the King's profit, for hitherto they have showed themselves

<sup>1</sup> Froude's "England."<sup>2</sup> Browne.<sup>3</sup> Gray.<sup>4</sup> Agard.<sup>5</sup> Cowley.



in nothing conformable.”<sup>1</sup> “A bishop and a friar, put in the Castle of Dublin for their high and notorious offences against the King’s Majesty, were to be tried and hanged at Trim; yet our masters of the law, and all other (in good faith except my Lord Treasurer and very few besides), be such Papists and worshippers of idols, that they were not indicted.”<sup>2</sup> “In the parliaments of 1536 and 1537, the act of supremacy was opposed by the proctors, the bishops, the abbots, and by the King’s Serjeant, Patrick Barnwall;<sup>3</sup> and when the partisans of Rome were deprived of the votes of the two spiritual proctors from each diocese, the *Lords and Commons* still joined in expressing their *abhorrence* of the supremacy assumed by the King.<sup>4</sup> The clergy of the Pale were open enemies, and old bottles unfit for the new wine of Protestantism; the ungodly lawyers of Meath were sworn enemies of the ‘truth,’ the clergy were stubborn, with little hope of amendment, and the people hardly to be won.<sup>5</sup> So much was Popery inveterated and leavened in their hearts.”<sup>6</sup>

“M<sup>c</sup>William, a naughty, traitorous person, who is chief of the country in which is the diocese of Clonfert, expelled Browne’s suffragan, and threw away and vilipended the King’s broad seal, which Nangle showed him for justifying of his authority.<sup>7</sup> The inhabitants of Kilkenny and Tipperary followed their chieftain, Butler, and sustained the temporal supremacy of Henry, but abhorred his ‘spiritual headship.’ When O’Neill had led his troops into Leinster, taken Ardee and Navan, and had reviewed his troops at Tara, he was surprised and defeated, not by the ‘English men-at-arms,’ (as Mr Froude says, with a pardonable national vanity) but, as Campion tells us, by ‘the Deputy, with the help of the Mayor of Dublin, James Fitzsimonds, and the Mayor of Drogheda, and the English Pale.’ Fitzsimonds, who was, perhaps, the grandfather of the famous Jesuit, Father Fitzsimon, was knighted on the field; the Baron of Slane, a mere Irish Papist poltroon, led the vanguard, and the first man who crossed the river to attack O’Neill’s army was the cowardly Irish captain, Betagh of Moynalty, who was probably the ancestor of the celebrated Dr. Betagh, the last of the Irish Jesuits of the old Society.<sup>8</sup> Yet those brave Meath men heard Mass in thanksgiving for their victory, kneeling devoutly before ‘Our Blessed Lady of Trim;’ and “they would not have their children bear the Christian name

<sup>1</sup> Gray and Brabazon.

<sup>2</sup> Allen.

<sup>3</sup> Letters quoted in “Moore’s History,” ch. xlv., pp. 295-6-7-8.

<sup>4</sup> Leland’s “History.”

<sup>5</sup> Deputy and Council to Eliz., 1566.

<sup>6</sup> Bale. ap. Mgr. Moran’s “Archbishops,” p. 82.

<sup>7</sup> Browne.

<sup>8</sup> See Campion, p. 181, and Mr. Mitchell’s “Hugh O’Neill.”

of the English Bishop of Meath, who had apostatised, and would not have their children confirmed by him, and would not go to hear him preach, and said it was a pity he was not burned; and though they loved him before his apostasy, they hated him after it, gave him more curses than he had hairs on his head, and would eat him if they wiste how."<sup>1</sup>

Thus also the citizens of Limerick were ever ready to fight for the English Sovereigns against "the Irish enemy." They sent "one hundred tall men" to fight against O'Neill, under the command of Captain David Woulfe, who was, no doubt, of the same family as "Sir David Woulfe," the Jesuit Nuncio, and as General Woulfe, the hero of Quebec. According to Henry and his Deputy, these Limerick citizens were "trustie and well-beloved, worthy of all praise for their obedience to the laws; they got the King's heartie and condign thanks for showing their faithful, loyal souls; their hearts and hands were always ready for any enterprise against the King's enemies, and they kept the citie always in that wise that it was the only key and relief to the King's Deputy and army against all men." "They even abhorred their mayor, Edmond Sexten, the favourite of Henry, because of his Irish bloode, and consequent corrupt affection to traitors."<sup>2</sup> "They obeyed the laws which were levelled at the 'crommeal' or moustache, and at the 'glibbes' or long locks of hair, because being trustie and loyal, they obeyed faithfully these very wise laws made against 'ye Irishe fashions,' and because they would be fined from six shillings to six pounds, and would, moreover, according to the dreadful words of the law, *forfeit the thing worn which was to be seized by any of the King's true subjects*!"<sup>3</sup> The Limerick men obeyed this absurd law, which was passed by the parliament that declared Henry head of the church of Ireland. We shall realize their loyalty and obedience, if we fancy for a moment that a bill has passed both houses disestablishing the moustaches, and disendowing the upper-lips of freeborn Britons!—of the peasant and the peer, of the lower, middle, and upper classes—of the workman, the shopman, the policeman, of the cavalry and infantry, and of those peaceful warriors styled volunteers! Would not such an unconstitutional suspension of the habeas-moustache provoke "moustache-movements," monster meetings,

<sup>1</sup> Letter of Staples, Bishop of Meath, 1548: See Mgr. Moran's "Archbishops," and Dr. Mant's "History."

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Lenihan's "History of Limerick," pp. 81, 82, and 87, gives the letters of King and Deputy.

<sup>3</sup> Lenihan's, "Limerick," p. 74.



and bring Great Britain within a hair's breadth of revolution? Yet the comely law-abiding citizens of Limerick cut off their glibbes and crommeal with obedience, though as reluctantly as the Old Guard dropped the queues which had followed them to victory all over Europe. But, as Marshal Bessières declared to Napoleon that he would not part with his queue save with his life, since it had its roots in his heart, so the inhabitants of the great city of the South gave the English Deputy to understand that they would not reject the Pope's supremacy, because it had its roots deep down in their souls. They did not regard the faith as an "Iryshe faschion;" they did not look on it as an "opinion," as it is sometimes called by ignorant "educated Catholics," who breathe a Protestant atmosphere; they did not wear it as loose as an Irishman wore his mantle, and they refused to imitate the universal wheelabout and turnabout of the English cities.

However, the English Deputy, Henry's "own correspondent," to please his royal master, reported that in June, 1537, "he got the Mayor, the Corporation, the Bushopp and his clergy to renounce the usurped power of the Busshop of Rome, and they without stop or grudge confirmed themselves, and in like order he took with the Mayor of Galway and his 'brothren,' and the Busshop touching the usurped power of the Busshop of Rome." Now, these assertions of Lord Leonard Grey were just as true as the reports sent from the Continent by "Our own Correspondent." For, the evidence of the orthodoxy of Dr. Quin, Bishop of Limerick, is overwhelming, and of all the canonically appointed Bishops from 1536 to 1600, not one can be proved to have apostatized, besides the Englishmen, Staples of Meath and Curwen of Dublin.<sup>1</sup> Then the priests and people could neither be coaxed nor forced into admitting the supremacy, and though Moore says no one was put to death for religion, numbers of them died in defence of the Faith. About one hundred Trinitarians were murdered, and of that order alone forty-five members were butchered in Limerick for refusing to take the oath, and with them died Dr. Quin's coadjutor, Bishop O'Neill, who had preached in the Cathedral against it.<sup>2</sup>

But as partial murders of monks did not promote the reform, and only confirmed the people in their Popery, it was proposed and considered whether it would not be easier to reform the priests and people off the face of the earth, than to

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Kelly's "Dissertations," p. 448. Mgr. Moran's "Archbishops." "Record," vol. ii., pp. 18, 405.

<sup>2</sup> Mgr. Moran's "Archbishops."

force them to take the oath of supremacy. Thus Henry's deputy wrote to his master in 1540: "Young Gerald, O'Neill, the Earl of Desmond, have well-nigh subdued the whole country to the supremacy of the Pope . . . but to enterprise *the whole extirpation* and total *destruction of all the Irishmen of the lande* would be a marvailous sumptuous charge and great difficultie."<sup>1</sup> This total extinction of the Irish people has been often planned; but the diabolical designs have been always found of "too marvailous difficultie."<sup>2</sup> Even Surrey, many years before, declared it to be the only way "to go through with the conquest."<sup>3</sup> However the deputy, about the year 1539, while the city bands were besieging Carrigounnell, had his plans matured to murder at midnight all the citizens of Limerick, when he was prevented by the sudden appearance of the Mayor. Dr. Arthur, who has handed down this fiendish plot, was puzzled to know why Gray bore such mortal hatred to the inhabitants of Limerick, and he could conceive no reason except their attachment to the Pope.<sup>4</sup>

Let us pause here for a moment to ask ourselves why the loyal Limerick people did not do as the English did. Macaulay tells us that it was because they hated the English, and other rationalistic "philosophers of history" account for the phenomenon in the same way. Now the people of the Pale, and even of Kilkenny and Limerick, hated the English less than they hated their Irish neighbours. In the year 1540 "the whole power of the Pale, the lords spiritual and temporal, the judges, officers, priests, commons and ploughmen, went with the deputy on a main hosting, and 'rode' against O'Connor, and destroyed his corn, and ravaged his country for fourteen days, then spoiled MacMorrrough's country for ten days, and were proceeding to the *extirpation* of the savage O'Tooles."<sup>5</sup> And yet they clung to the religion of the O'Connors, MacMorrroughs, and O'Tooles, their Irish enemies, and spurned the spiritual headship of Henry, and abhorred the heresy of their English allies, because they were confirmed in the Faith by a singular grace of God, by the protection of the Blessed Virgin, by the prophetic blessing of St. Patrick, and by the prayers of thousands of Irish saints.

Having thrown as much light as we could on what Orlandini, the historian of the Society, says of the attitude of the Irish Princes and people in 1542, we shall now proceed

<sup>1</sup> S.P., 1540.

<sup>2</sup> Mgr. Moran's "Archbishops," p. 10. S.P. Mr. Froude.

<sup>3</sup> Moore.

<sup>4</sup> "Lenehan's Limerick," p. 81.

<sup>5</sup> Deputy to Henry, 22d September, 1540.



to expand his account of the Mission by weaving into one narrative what we find in various other authors, and especially in Crétineau Joly, who wrote his history from original and unpublished documents.

The Legates found on all sides in Ireland the spectacle of desolation and consternation. At every step they witnessed calamities greater than anything that they had ever seen or imagined. The Tudor tyrant, not content with crushing the Faith, sacrificed to his sanguinary caprice the very future of the country. He deprived the people of teachers and of guides; of teachers, in order to drag them through ignorance into apostasy; of guides, because it pleased him and his agents to persecute and murder the people. He had calculated everything. He knew that the Holy Father would not, and could not, abandon these people to his tender mercies, and that he would console and strengthen them by letters or by Legates. He consequently ordered, under the severest penalties, that all letters coming from the centre of Catholicity should be burned, and that all envoys of the Holy See should be given up to him or to his deputy.

The result of these measures was that the Fathers found disorder and terror everywhere. All the lords, except one, had bound themselves by oath to obey the King's commands; people feared to ask or answer a question even with a look; hospitality was a crime in the very home of hospitality, the act of an informer was an act of patriotism, and silence itself was an anticipated condemnation. The Nuncios must have had courage of no common order to penetrate into an island, the shores of which were swarming with soldiers and spies, to traverse it day and night while their steps were dogged by the priest-hunter, and to sleep, as it were, under the shadow of the gibbet. They were without an asylum in an unknown land, they were avoided as strangers and feared, in a certain sense, as priests; yet their reliance in God never failed them. By degrees they won the esteem and confidence of the most faithful, held many interviews with them, informed them of their mission, and infused courage into their hearts. As a prolonged delay under the same roof was not possible, and would have compromised the safety of their hospitable hosts, they shifted their quarters every night, and even in this perpetual movement found a relief in their labours, and an encouragement to brave fresh dangers. Everywhere, as they went along, they rekindled the fervour and quickened the prudence of the people: they taught them the duties which they should fulfil, and the practices of piety,

which they should keep up, in order to preserve the Faith of their fathers. They heard confessions, restored peace to consciences, stirred up the strong, and propped up the weak, and in this ministry of conciliation, used the full powers which they held for the Holy See. They seized every opportunity of secretly securing the faithful against the snares of heresy; they taught them the pure worship of the Faith; they told them what to reject and what to receive. They administered the most holy mysteries to many, and settled many cases reserved to the Sovereign Pontiff, although they used their extraordinary faculties cautiously and sparingly.

They had to deal with a people, whose patrimony had become the prey of the Saxon; yet that people did not consent to deprive the Church, their mother, of the revenues of which she stood in need. They wanted dispensations and favours. Salmeron and Brouet granted them; but faithful to the directions of St. Ignatius, they refused even what the charity of the Irish tried to make them accept; or if they levied a light fine or tax on the wealthy, they got the money applied through those who paid it, or through the bishops, to restore churches, to assist the widow and the orphan, to protect and portion unmarried females whose honour was in danger, and to carry out other works of charity. They were themselves often in the greatest straits, and in want of the necessities of life; yet they would not touch a farthing, or ask or receive any money for themselves,<sup>1</sup> content, as a quaint old French writer says, to exercise their ministry "Apostolically," more loaded with crosses than with groats.<sup>2</sup>

This extreme poverty in so exalted a dignity was, writes the elegant Bartoli, their most effectual disguise in the midst of heretic soldiers and sailors; and their spirit of mortification which prompted them to breast the labours of long journeys over hills and unfrequented paths, and to sleep often in the open air, contributed to save their lives in spite of all the efforts made by the English to secure their persons.<sup>3</sup> In this manner, while by their incredible industry and extraordinary labours they rendered great service to the Faith and to the Church, their moderation, abnegation, integrity, spirit of poverty and other Christian and apostolic virtues, excited the unbounded admiration, joy, and gratitude of a

<sup>1</sup> Crétineau, vol. i., p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> D'Oultreman's *Personnages*—"Cheminant à beaux pieds, plus chargés de croix que de deniers."

<sup>3</sup> Bartoli, "Memorie Istoriche'd. c. d. g." in Father Boero's "Menologio," p. 225.



sharp-sighted and warm-hearted people, who contrasted the austere virtues of the Legates with the avarice, the immorality, and other vices of the patrons and the propagators of the Reform.<sup>1</sup>

The chief apostles of reform were the English bishops, Browne, Staples, and Bale. Browne was of "light behaviour, lacked all virtue and honesty;<sup>2</sup> was a drunkard, a glutton, an epicureous archbishop, a brockish swine of lewd example;<sup>3</sup> whom pride and arrogance had ravished from the right remembrance of himself.<sup>4</sup> Staples was of the same stuff, and Bale was a beast." The reforming bishops in those days, it must be confessed, were not in all cases very high-minded or exemplary characters, or such as a candid historical writer can describe with satisfaction. The worldliness and servility of their spirit is in many instances a matter established by only too plain evidence—too many of them were a discredit to the cause of the Reformation.<sup>5</sup> The bishops and their officials exacted undue fees; their clergy were guilty of great rapacity; they received the fruits of benefices without performing the functions for which such benefices were founded, and they took to themselves wives and concubines.<sup>6</sup> Even as early as the year of the arrival of our Nuncios, the impure Tudor found it necessary to have a law made for the continence of his clergy in Ireland. And Mr. Maitland, in his *Essays on the Reformation*, while proclaiming his own Protestantism, is forced to judge the Reformers in the following manner:—

"I hope I have no partiality for Romish writers and heresies and superstitions, but I must say—it is the simple truth—that whether from good or bad motives, the Papists abstained from the loathsome ribaldry which characterised the style of the Puritans (Protestants). For obvious reasons, I do not quote passages which would but too broadly confirm what I have stated. I am not going *even to mention some of Bale's* filthiest productions, or to extract the worst parts of that one work from which I now take specimens of his style. . . . Bale was a Carmelite friar, became reformed, got married, and was made Bishop of Ossory. I have no great faith in his honesty; and Henry Wharton, who was a bitter enemy of Popery, says:—'I know Bale to have been so great a *liar* that I am not willing to take anything on his credit.' The plain fact is, that Bale's pen was

<sup>1</sup> Crétineau; Tanner P. I. "*Societas Europea*."

<sup>2</sup> Henry VIII.'s Letter to him. <sup>3</sup> Bale, Protestant Bishop of Ossory.

<sup>4</sup> Staples to St. Leger. <sup>5</sup> King's Protestant "*History*," p. 1223.

<sup>6</sup> See Mgr. Moran's "*Archbishops*," p. 34. See Dean Cogan's "*Meath*" about Staples.

foul, because he was foul himself, and he had foul subjects to deal with, because they were the subjects with which he delighted to deal, as is shown in a very marked manner by his bringing into a simple subject a profusion of foul matter, such as I have not ventured to quote. He was in favour of toleration—that is, he did not like to be persecuted himself, but he gave a hint to Henry VIII., and afterwards to Edward VI., to slaughter all the Popish priests in the country.<sup>1</sup>

Cromwell, Henry's Vicegerent in spiritual matters, and the patron of Browne, Staples, and Bale, was an Englishman of low birth, vicious habits, and infidel principles; he took part in the sacking of Rome in 1527, and soon after became a servant of Wolsey. He was the great patron of ribaldry, the protector of the ribalds, of the low jester, the filthy ballad-monger, the ale-house singers, "the hypocritical mockers in feasts;" in short, of all the blasphemous mocking which disgraced the Protestant party at the time of the Reformation. It is his own hearty admirer who tells us that . . . it would be hard to conceive anything too profane for the patronage of one to whom we are indebted for the ballad, "Fantasie of Idolatrie;" but quotations from it to bear out our arguments would be too bad for repetition.<sup>2</sup>

Such is the character which earnest Protestants give of the reformers. Who could compare Henry, the English ogre, Cromwell his vicar, and their agents, with the Pope, Primate Wauchop, St. Ignatius, and the Nuncios, and not exclaim with the poet Moore—

"On our side is virtue and Erin,  
On theirs is the Saxon and guilt."

This word Saxon reminds us that the Irish people, even at the present day, call a Protestant bishop an "English bishop," even when he is of pure Celtic blood. The reason of this is, no doubt, that the people know Protestantism to be an English heresy, and they think that nearly all the Protestant bishops have been and are Englishmen. On this latter point they are not far astray, for of the one hundred and ninety Protestant prelates in Ireland from 1542 to 1690, about two-thirds were born in England or Scotland, and the rest were chiefly sons of British fathers.<sup>3</sup> Thus, in a century and a half one hundred and twenty-five English bishops lived on the fat of our land, laid the foundation of noble families, "rooted their sons

<sup>1</sup> Maitland's "Essays on the Reformation," p. 48, et alibi.

<sup>2</sup> Maitland's "Essays on the Reformation," p. 228, et alibi.

<sup>3</sup> See List in Dr. Mant's "History."



in the soil," and bequeathed several hundred children to Ireland, as we may guess from the fact that some of them were blest with a numerous progeny, even with as many as twenty children. A representative man of that class was Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin, who was a great match-maker, as Dr. Brady's "State Papers" prove, and who, according to his contemporary, Fitzsimon, was "an apostate priest that raised his plentiful brood to *lofty* estates and to high alliances in Ireland."<sup>1</sup> Among these prelates, too, were some who exercised their calling without having taken the oath of supremacy, without letters patent or holy orders, without any fitness for their office; and some who made sale of the livings in their gift, and who publicly confessed they did so.<sup>2</sup> Oh, what reformers! and how just are the words which Father Ignatius Browne wrote about them two centuries ago: "Observe, reader, who be those they call reformers, and you will confess no name was ever more abused. They are defended on the ground that there was a Judas in the Apostolic College. But if all the Apostles were a pack of Judases, could any one in his wits be persuaded to believe their doctrine was from God. We defy you to name one reformer who was as much as an honest man. . . . If parliament did enact that there should be a house in some country town wherein all friars who became Protestants should live together under obedience to some superior, as they did in the Catholic Church; that they should fast and abstain as before, should have no preferments, should live on alms, and wear mean attire, should not marry, should say the office and take the discipline, it would enact nothing against scripture, and we might know that the monks were moved by tenderness of conscience. But that friars should run from their convents to the court and the houses of the great, from poverty and beggary to benefices and rents, from fasting and other austerities to eat, drink, and cherish their flesh, casting aside their breviaries and meditations—what man will call such people reformers and not rather men prostituted to licentiousness and bankrupts in honesty?"<sup>3</sup>

Such were the reformers according to the testimony of their own followers. Let us turn away from the impure figures of Browne, Staples, and Bale, and continue to gaze on the virtues and good works of our Apostolic Nuncios.

In the space of thirty days, says M. Crétineau, they

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Brady's "S. P." p. 55; H. Fitzsimon, S.J., "On the Masse," printed in 1611.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Brady's "S. P."—See Index at word Bishops.

<sup>3</sup> "Truth against the Sectaries by J. S. (Ignatius Browne, S.J., of Waterford).

traversed the whole island, and Patrignani, copying Tanner, says the same thing. But really this was not possible in those days. There were no railways, there were few roads, the people were hospitable and were anxious to keep the fathers as long as they could in order to gain spiritual advantage. Any one who knows the open-hearted and open-handed generosity and hospitality of the Ulster Catholics of our day would find it hard to believe that their ancestors did not give the Legates “céad míle fáilte,” and press them to remain with themselves, thus rendering it impossible to go “far into the bowels of the land.” But let us follow the spirited French historian.

The Legates showed the people that their sufferings found in Rome, on the Pontifical Throne, a father who compassionated their sufferings and applauded their perseverance, who blessed them from afar and sent his envoys to bless them in their homes. But the joy of the Catholics was greater than their prudence. By their brows which bowed no more beneath the gaze of subaltern tyrants, by the energy revealed in their looks, by the hope of which each word betrayed the secret, the English understood that something unusual was going on in the country, and that “a soul had come into Ireland”—“ἐλπίς ἦν αὐτῶν ὅτι ἔρχεται.”

*(To be continued.)*

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## LETTERS OF BALMEZ.

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### VIII.—GERMAN PHILOSOPHY—KANT—SCHELLING.

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I AM very glad, my esteemed friend, that it is not necessary to bring forward for you the arguments which the apologists of religion are accustomed to adduce against the defenders of materialism and blind casualty, and I cannot do less than congratulate you on “finding yourself now,” as you tell me in your welcome letter, “radically cured of your partiality for the books in which the doctrines of Volney and La Mettrie are taught.” To say the truth, I did not expect less from your clear mind and noble heart; since I cannot conceive how a man possessing those qualities could possibly conclude a work of this class. I, for my part, can say that I find them as deficient in soundness as abounding in malice; and that far from drawing me from my religion, they confirm me



in it. The convulsive efforts of impotent error produce a grander idea of the truth. Nevertheless, you will allow me to call your attention to the error which you fall into when you bestow pompous eulogies on the new German and French spiritualists; for you regard them as nothing less than the restorers of sound doctrines, by recovering for humanity the titles of which the Voltarian philosophy had despoiled it. Every epoch has its fashionable opinions and phraseology. At present one could not belong to the school of the eighteenth century even though he wished it: it is necessary to talk of the spiritualism of Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, Cousin; and to reject the sensualism of Destutt-Tracy, Cabanis, Condillac, and Locke; if you wish to avoid passing as a slow-coach in philosophical knowledge. A man may profess no religion, very good; but it is indispensable to have ever in his mouth *religious sentiment, destinies of humanity*, and even not to scruple sometimes to pronounce the words God and Providence. Speaking frankly, when I read in your letter the names I have just mentioned, I could not convince myself that you troubled your head much with the study of deep and abstruse metaphysical questions. I should rather be inclined to believe your ideas on the subject were picked up by chance in the newspapers, without your having taken great pains in clearing them up or analysing them. I do not blame you for this, because in fine your opinions, as those of a simple individual, will not exercise any influence on the public; if we were treating of a writer who should always know what he recommends or censures, then I would take the liberty to warn him to be more cautious in his desire of introducing innovations which might be injurious to us.

Do you know what the German philosophy is? Have you a knowledge of its tendencies, and even of its express doctrines about God and man? Do you believe the abyss to which it leads is much less profound than that of the school of Voltaire? Do you, in fact, believe that Schelling and Hegel are the legitimate successors of their countryman, Leibnitz, of that great man who, according to the expression of Fontanelle, was the vanguard of all sciences, and who, in spite of what may be objected to some of his theories, entertained, notwithstanding, such elevated ideas about religion, and so many sympathies for the Catholic Church?

The philosophy of Leibnitz has exercised great influence in Germany, and it was partly owing to him that the materialistic doctrines of the French school of the last century were not introduced into that country. Let the conception that is formed of his systems be what it may, it cannot be denied

that at the same time that they revealed eminent genius, they contribute to elevate the mind, to give it a lively consciousness of its grandeur, and that it could be by no means confounded with matter. If he be upbraided with his extreme idealism, we shall answer that this has been the failing of the greatest thinkers, from Plato to De Bonald.

Leibnitz did not look on God as the soul of Nature, or nature itself, as some modern philosophers maintain, but as a Being infinitely wise, powerful, and perfect in every sense ; Pantheism, which so sadly led astray in these latter times some German thinkers, was, in Leibnitz's opinion, an absurd system. Neither did the illustrious philosopher consider the human soul as a species of modification of the great Being that identifies itself with, and absorbs everything, according to the opinion of Pantheists ; but he regarded it as a spiritual substance, essentially distinct from matter, as also infinitely distant from the Creator who gave it existence.

It is well known that he victoriously refuted the system of Spinoza, and that when treating of God and the immortality of the soul, the principles of morality, and the rewards and punishments of the other life, he could not suffer the spirit of error to spread its darkness over objects so sacred. "It cannot be doubted," he wrote to Molanus, "that the wise and powerful Ruler of the universe has rewards destined for the good and punishments for the wicked, and that this is brought about in the next life, since in the present many bad actions remain unpunished, and many good ones unrewarded." This certainly is not the language of the modern Pantheists, and it can be seen from it that the German philosophers in resuscitating the system of Spinoza, have strayed from the footsteps of their illustrious ancestor. I am not ignorant that the German writers to whom I allude, still preserve the abstraction and sentimentalism peculiar to their nation, and that they do not participate of the lightness and triviality which characterise the unbelievers of the French school ; but it is right to recollect that sentiment is not enough when it is not joined to conviction, and that the heart exercises her functions very badly, when they are opposed to the impulses of the head.

Besides, if Germany continue in her impious ideas, in the end her character will feel the effects of them ; and the religious sentiment, already very much debilitated by Protestantism, will become extinguished by the systems of impiety. Explain the doctrine of Pantheism as you will, it involves the negation of God ; it is pure Atheism, only it takes another name. If all things are God, and God is all things, God is nothing ; the only thing that will exist is nature with its



matter, and its laws, and its ages of diverse orders ; all which Atheists admit, and do not think they have thereby abjured their system. If the creature thinks he is a part of God, or God himself, by the very fact he denies the existence of a God superior to himself, and who can demand of him an account of his actions ; the Divinity will be to his ears an empty name, and he can adopt the saying of the German, who, on rising from a banquet, exclaimed :—"We are all gods who have eaten very well."

The religiousness of Leibnitz was certainly more solid and profound. See how he unfolds his ideas in the place quoted above. "To forget in this life the care of the future, which is inseparably united with the divine providence, and to content oneself with a certain inferior grade of natural law, which an Atheist may also have, *is to mutilate science in its most beautiful parts*, and to destroy many good actions. Who will run the risk of his fortune, dignity, and life for his friends, for his country, for the state, or for justice and virtue ; if, when others are ruined, he can continue to live with honours and opulence ? For would it not be a virtue of a false brilliancy to prefer the immortality of man, posthumous fame, which is a rumour nothing of which will reach us, to true and substantial goods ?

I do not purpose examining all the opinions of the German philosophers, nor marking how far they may be admissible ; I will limit myself to pointing out some of their principal errors, giving the name of the author who may have invented or adopted them, and without endeavouring to make the responsibility fall on the thinkers of that nation, who do not follow the same path.

Kant did not carry his errors with respect to God, man, and the universe, so far as some of his successors have done ; but it is incumbent on me to confess, that intending to promote a species of reaction against the materialists, he left the principal truths so exposed, that true philosophy has nothing to thank him for with respect to their preservation. In fact, a person who says the metaphysical proofs in defence of the immortality of the soul, the liberty of man, and the duration of the world, appear to him of equal weight with those which militate against them, is not very likely to leave those truths well established, without which all religion would be but an empty name. It is all very well to give great importance to feeling and the inspirations of conscience, to recognise the weakness of our powers of reasoning, and not to exaggerate its capabilities ; but it is right also to take care not to destroy it, not to murder reason by sheer want of confidence in it,

extinguishing that lamp which the Creator has given us, and which is a beautiful emanation of the Divinity.

It sometimes happens, my dear friend, that the negation of reason does not come from humility, but from an excessive pride from an exaggerated feeling of superiority which disdains to examine, and believes that to see it is enough to look without any need of reasoning. You will not find me among the number of those who appeal to reason in everything, and who grant nothing to sentiment, nothing to those sudden inspirations which spring up in the depths of our soul without our knowing whence they have come to us. I know, and I have often told you, that our reason is weak in the extreme, that it is excessively captious, that it proves everything, that it refutes everything, but between this and denying its right to vote on the deep questions of metaphysics, and rejecting it as incompetent to effect anything in them; between truth and error there is an immense distance. *Est modus in rebus.*

If Kant carried the sobriety of reason to a reprehensible extent, assigning it very narrow limits indeed, there were not wanting others who exaggerated its powers, pretending to explain the entire universe with its sole aid. It is well known that Fichte launched into an idealism so extravagant that, giving all to the soul, he annihilates, if I may so speak, all exterior objects; his system leads to the negative of the existence of everything that is not the *ego* that thinks. Notwithstanding all the hurtful consequences to which such a doctrine can lead, they are not more dangerous, or more immediately destructive of all religion and morals, than those of Schelling, who, notwithstanding all the veils with which he covers his system, comes in the end to the panthesim of Spinoza. It matters little that in the schools of Schelling I am told of intimate qualities that do not perish when I die, but which shall enter into the vast bosom of nature; when at the same time it is added that the individual, that is, the particular being, the soul is annihilated. It matters little that I am told of spiritualism, and that materialism is condemned, if in the end I be not consoled with the thought of immortality; if I be told that this immortality is a chimera, and that if anything of me remain after the dissolution of the body, it will not be I myself who think and wish, but certain qualities I know not of, and which will be of little use to me when I cease to exist.

Some one has said that Aristotle left certain passages of his works somewhat obscure, with the view that being open to different interpretations, they might give his disciples an



opportunity of defending him against his adversaries. Be this conjecture as it may, we must agree that the German philosophers have left him of Stagira far behind in this ; for they have succeeded in involving their ideas in so dense a cloud that not even the initiated in the secret can flatter themselves with penetrating their productions. In his "Metaphysical Treatises," says Madame Stael, speaking of Kant, "he takes words as ciphers, and gives them the value he pleases, without considering what they have from use." The same may be said of the most famous philosophers of the same nation ; no one is ignorant of the mysterious language of Fichte and of Schelling, and, as regards Hegel, he himself has said :—"There is only one man who has comprehended me ;" and fearing without doubt that this was too much, he added, "and not even he has comprehended me."

It may happen that you will become fatigued, if I present you with a few samples of this boasted philosophy ; but I think it right to run a slight risk, for in this way I shall prevent you from being easily deceived by eulogists who praise what they do not comprehend. I doubt not you are already convinced that the German philosophers march about through an imaginary world, and that it is necessary for whoever determines to follow them to divest himself of whatever resembles common thoughts ; but I think I can demonstrate more for you—I think I can demonstrate that it is not enough to divest oneself of common thoughts, but that it is also requisite to forget even common sense. If you consider the word too hard, do not blame me as rash till you have heard me ; in the meantime, do not forget we are treating of men who have manifested a sovereign contempt for everything that was not themselves, who have presumed to teach humanity as infallible oracles, and who, under mysterious and emphatic appearances, have carried their pride much further than all ancient and modern philosophers.

Hegel, he whom, as he says, no one comprehended, assures us he has fixed the principles, regulated the system, and determined the limits of all philosophy. He has discovered all : after him there is nothing to be discovered ; humanity should do nothing more than uphold the theories of the sublime philosopher, and apply them to all the branches of knowledge. This would not be so intolerable if he were treating of objects of little importance, if Hegel did not call to his tribunal humanity, all religions, God himself, and did not issue his decrees on all with indescribable pride. "Hegel," Lermier has said, "glories in himself ; he sits as supreme arbiter between Socrates and Jesus Christ ; he takes Christianity

under his protection, and it seems he thinks that if God has created the world, Hegel has comprehended it."<sup>1</sup>

You will meet with these proud pretensions in other philosophers, and the French who have drunk from the same springs, and whose names are sometimes quoted with mysterious emphasis, are not free from them. So I believe the time will not be lost that is employed in giving an idea of those ravings, for they deserve no other name, no matter how much they be puffed up with the adornments of science. As this letter is becoming too long, it is not possible for me to give you the proofs of my assertions in it; but I will do so without doubt in those that shall follow. I doubt not you will become profoundly convinced that that new philosophy so much spoken of, is nothing more than the repetition of the dreams into which the human mind has sunk at all times, whenever, in the inebriation of its pride, it has strayed from the principles of external truth.

Fortunately there is in Spain an amount of good sense that does not suffer the introduction, and much less the establishment of those monstrous opinions, which meet with so easy and gracious a reception in other countries; and for this reason it is not so much to be feared that the errors of which I am speaking will cause among us the evils they have produced in other parts. But, on the other hand, we must remember, that as philosophical studies have been neglected in Spain, there being very few who are at the level of the actual state of the science, it would be easy (without men of sound doctrine and right intention perceiving it) for deluded innovators, who would lead incautious youth astray, to seize upon the instruction of the country. I say this, because I fear others might be led to believe, like you, that the modern German and French schools tended to no less than the restoration of a pure spiritualism, such as our ancestors had, and such as true Christians and judicious philosophers profess even yet.

You will derive another advantage from the other letters I intend to write to you on this subject, and it is that you will be able to form somewhat clearer ideas than you have at present about an important question that agitates France at present, and attracts the attention of Europe; I speak of the disagreements that have arisen between the French clergy and the University. Let the judgment you may form about the greater or the less moderation with which the question has been discussed by this or that paper, and about the measures which some bishops have thought proper to adopt, be what it may, at least you will be convinced that the Catholics of the

<sup>1</sup> Audela du Rhin, t. ii.



neighbouring kingdom are not alarmed without reason, that there is something more in it than certain parties would wish to let us know; that at bottom the question is about something more than the ambition of the clergy, since most serious points of doctrine are involved in it.

In this, I have an excellent opportunity of manifesting to you what little regard should be paid to those magisterial decrees which are frequently read on subjects of the greatest importance, and with how much injustice some people accuse the intolerance of the clergy, when it is they themselves that are truly intolerant. There are men who, in treating of matters of religion, either drink at certain fountains, or do not consult more than their own deeply rooted prejudices. As I cannot expect from you much religious zeal, at least I promise myself impartiality.

In the meantime, be sure of the undying friendship of yours, &c.,

J. B.

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## DOCUMENTS.

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### I.—DECREE ON THE METHOD OF PROCEEDING IN THE GENERAL COUNCIL.

Apostolicis Litteris, die 27 Novembris anno superiore editis, quarum initium *Multiplies inter* Summus Pontifex ordinem generalem constituit in prædicti Concilii celebratione servandum, in iisque, præter alia, certas quasdam regulas tradidit quibus rationi disceptationum a Patribus habendarum consu-  
leretur.

Jam vero ipse Sanctissimus Dominus propositum sibi finem facilius assequi cupiens, nec non rationem habens expostulationum quæ a plerisque Concilii Patribus haud semel exhibitæ sunt ex eo quod disceptationum Conciliarium series in longum plus æquo protrahatur; ex apostolica sua sollicitudine quasdam peculiare pro Congregationum Generalium discussionibus tradere normas constituit, quæ præstitutum

Generalem ordinem evolvendo, atque integram servando discussionum libertatem quae Catholicae Episcopos deceat, pleniori expeditiorique ratione ad rerum tractandarum examen, disceptationem et deliberationem conferrent.

Quamobrem Cardinalibus Congregationum Generalium Praesidibus in consilium adhibitis, et quaesita etiam sententia Patrum peculiaris Congregationis recipiendis expendendisque Episcoporum propositionibus, idem Sanctissimus Dominus Noster sequentes ordinationes edendas servandasque mandavit :

1. Distributo schemate Concilii Patribus, Cardinales Praesides Congregationum Generalium congruum tempus praefigunt intra quod Patres ipsi, qui aliqua in schemate animadvertenda censuerint ea scripto tradere debeant.

2. Animadversiones hoc ordine exarandae erunt ; ut primum illae scripto adnotentur quae schema generatim consideratum respiciunt ; deinde illae quae ad singulas schematis partes a Praesidibus designatas referuntur, schematis ipsius ordine servato.

3. Qui ex Patribus animadversiones vel in verba vel in paragraphos propositi schematis afferendas putaverint, novam verborum vel paragraphorum formulam subjicient in locum prioris in schemate substituendam.

4. Animadversiones a Patribus Concilii hac ratione exaratae et propria subscriptione munitae, Secretario Concilii tradentur ejusque opera ad respectivas Episcoporum Deputationes transmittentur.

5. Postquam hujusmodi animadversiones expensae fuerint in conventu ejus Deputationis, ad quam pertinent, singulis Patribus distribuetur schema reformatum, una cum summaria relatione, in qua de propositis animadversionibus mentio fiet.

6. Schemate una simul cum supradicta relatione Patribus Concilii communicato, Cardinales Praesides diem statuent Congregationis Generalis in qua discussio inchoabitur.

7. Discussio fiet primum de Schemate generatim considerato ; eaque absoluta, de unaquaque singillatim ejus parte a praesidibus designanda disceptabitur ; proposita semper in hac singularum partium discussione ab Oratoribus formula expensi schematis periodo vel paragrapho substituenda, ac Praesidibus post habitum sermonem scripto exhibenda.

8. Qui de reformato schemate loqui voluerint dum suum disserendi propositum Praesidibus significandum curabunt, innuere pariter debebunt utrum de toto schemate in genere, vel de ejus partibus in specie acturi sint ; et, quatenus in specie, de qua schematis parte sibi agendum esse statuerint.



9. Liberum erit cuique ex respectivae Deputationis Episcopis, impetrata a Praesidibus venia, Oratorum difficultatibus et animadversionibus respondere: ita tamen ut facultas ipsis sit vel statim post Oratoris sermonem eloqui, vel pluribus insimul Oratoribus eadem super re disceptantibus reponere, idque vel eodem vel alio die perficere.

10. Oratorum sermones intra fines propositi argumenti cohibeantur. Si quem vero Patrum extra metas vagari contingat, Praesidium erit ad propositam quaestionem ipsum revocare.

11. Si discussionum series, re proposita jam satis excussa, plus aequo protrahatur, Cardinales Praesides, postulatione scripto exhibita a decem minimum Patribus, Congregationem Generalem percontari poterunt an velit disceptationem diutius continuari; et exquisitis per actum assurgendi vel sedendi suffragiis, finem discussioni imponent, si id majori Patrum praesentium numero visum fuerit.

12. Absoluta super una schematis parte discussione, antequam transitus fiat ad aliam, Cardinales Praesides suffragia Congregationis Generalis exquirent, primum quidem super propositis in ea ipsa discussione emendationibus, deinde super integro partis examinatae textu.

13. Suffragia tum super emendationibus, tum super singularum partium textu ita a Patribus Concilii ferentur, ut praesides distinctis vicibus ad surgendum invitent primum eos qui emendationi vel textui assentiuntur, deinde eos qui contradicunt: recensitis autem suffragiis, id decernetur quod majori Patrum numero placuerit.

14. Cum de omnibus schematis partibus hac ratione suffragia lata fuerint, de universo Schemate Patrum sententias Cardinales Praesides rogabunt. Haec autem suffragia ore tenus edentur per verba *placet aut non placet*; ita tamen ut qui conditionem aliquam adjiciendam existiment, suffragium suum scripto tradere debeant.

Datum Romae die 20 Februarii, anno 1870.

Philippus, Card. De Angelis, praeses.

Antoninus, Card. De Luca, praeses.

Andreas, Card. Bizzarri, praeses.

Aloysius, Card. Bilio, praeses.

Hannibal, Card. Capalti, praeses.

*Josephus, Episcopus Sancti Hippolyti,  
Secretarius.*

## II.—LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS IX. TO MOST REV. DR. M'CABE, BISHOP OF ARDAGH.

### PIUS PAPA IX.

VENERABILIS FRATER,—Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Acceptissimum habuimus, Venerabilis Frater, munus tuum tuaeque Dioecesis, non modo uti suppetias allatas provehendo sacri concilii operi, sed praesertim uti perspicuum studii amorisque vestri in Nos et hanc sanctam sedem argumentum. Equidem novo hoc testimonio non indigebat devotio vestra Nobis exploratissima. Verum dum non leves moeroris causae ab ipsis filiis Nostris in Nos passim commoventur ; suavi plane solatio fuit Nobis significatio ista filialis pietatis, amantissimis exornata litterarum vestrarum officiis. Pergratum itaque vobis significamus animum ; et cum dubitare nequeamus, quin Deus, qui sibi facta ducit quae fiunt minimis ejus, digno liberalitate sua praemio remuneraturus sit, quae fiunt ejus Vicario ; cumulata de rore coeli et pinguedine terrae dona vobis toto corde adprecamur. Superni vero favoris auspicem et praecipuae Nostrae benevolentiae pignus Apostolicam Benedictionem tibi, Venerabilis Frater, totique clero et populo tuo peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die 30 Martii, 1870.  
Pontificatus Nostri, anno XXV.

PIUS PAPA IX.

Venerabili Fratri,  
Niallo Episcopo Ardacadensi.



# MONASTICON HIBERNICUM;

OR,

## A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE ANCIENT MONASTERIES OF IRELAND.

[N.B.—The text of the “Monasticon” is taken *verbatim* from Archdall: the notes marked with numbers are added by the Editors.]

### COUNTY OF CLARE.

he placed St. Senan<sup>p</sup> here: he had eleven churches for his monks, and no women were permitted to land on the island before the coming of the Danes into this country.<sup>q</sup> The prelates of this noble and ancient church are sometimes called by our ecclesiastical historians bishops, and at other times abbots; in process of time it became a priory of regular canons.<sup>r</sup>

A.D. 538. St. Kieran, who was called the son of the Carpenter, having left the island of Arran, came hither, and was made providore for the strangers by St. Senan.<sup>s</sup>

544. St. Senan died on the 1st of March, and was buried in this abbey;<sup>t</sup> his festival is observed on the 8th of that month,<sup>u</sup> and a superb monument was erected to his memory.<sup>w</sup>

This Saint's bell is still religiously preserved in the west part of this country, and many of the common people believe

<sup>p</sup>Usher, p. 454. <sup>q</sup>O'Halloran, vol. 2, p. 236. <sup>r</sup>Act. SS. p. 542. <sup>s</sup>Usher. <sup>t</sup>Act. SS. p. 502, 542. <sup>u</sup>Vard. p. 159. <sup>w</sup>O'Halloran sup.

Continuation of Note 14, from page 448.

St. Senan's time (say about the year 540). As this passage has never been published, and that it seems to bear so directly on the “Origin and use of the Round Towers,” it may not be out of place to give it here :

“Ro tógais pe Seanán a n-innir catáig reáct o-teampóll no tígéib iugálta. Do biot ag Seanán an-aon nóio reargaro bráctair acar tpoctao ragart anoro eile maille pe moireirriur earbog a n-innir catáig. Ro innuom fór pe Seanán a n-innir catáig clogar ionna nais ceao acar cuig tpoigte veag ar doirve, ionnur ar m-beit oo élog ab-pogur oa bárr go g-clomtig ar fead Corcabaisgin uile fuaim an éloig ionnur go m-biód- iobuirt aga veannao an gac ceall oa b-puil a g-Corcabaisgin an tan tra oo beao Seanán gona loct leanbuna oa veannao a n-innir Catáig.”

St. Senan built seven churches or religious houses in *Innis Cathaigh*. Senan used to have sixty friars in one church, and thirty priests, together with seven Bishops, in another church in *Innis Cathaigh*. Senan, too, built a *Clogas* (belfry) in *Innis Cathaigh*, which was one hundred and fifteen feet in height, so that when a bell was placed in it near to its top, the sound of the bell used to be heard all over *Corcabaisgin*, so that sacrifice used to be made in every church in *Corcabaisgin* at the same time that Senan and his followers were engaged in offering it in *Innis Cathaigh*. Vita Senani, chap. vi.

at this day, that to swear by it falsely would be immediately followed by convulsions and death.<sup>x</sup>

St. Odian was the immediate successor to St. Senan.<sup>y</sup>

792. Died Olchabhar, the son of Flann, he was airchen-nach, or ethnarch, of this abbey;<sup>z</sup> his feast is held on the 27th of October.<sup>a</sup>

816. The Danes plundered the island this year, put the monks to the sword, and defaced the monument of the saint.<sup>b</sup>

835. About this time the same barbarians again sailed up the Shannon and destroyed this monastery.<sup>c</sup>

861. Died the abbot Aidan.<sup>d</sup>

908. Cormac M'Cuillenan, the learned and pious archbishop of Cashel, and King of Munster, was slain in battle at Moyvalbe, not far from Leighlin. Flaithbeartach, the son of Ionmuinein, was then abbot of this monastery, and was the great fomentor of this war in which the good monarch lost his life;<sup>e</sup> in his will Comac bequeathed to this abbey three ounces of gold, and to the abbot his choicest sacred vestments.<sup>f</sup>

The abbot, for his concern in Cormac's melancholy fate, was closely imprisoned for two years, and then ordered to a severe penance in this monastery;<sup>g</sup> afterwards he so far recovered his power and influence, that, on the death of Dubhlachtna, who had succeeded King Cormac, he was elected to fill the throne of Munster.<sup>h</sup>

914. Some Danes landed at Waterford, but they were defeated by Flaithbeartach, who in the annals is called Prince of Idrona.<sup>i</sup>

944. Flaithbeartach died this year.<sup>k</sup>

950. The Danes were become so powerful about this time, that they made this island a place of arms.<sup>l</sup>

958. Died Noyman of Inifcahy.<sup>m</sup>

972. A Danish chieftain, Mark, the son of Harold, sailed round Ireland, and committed great devastations on this island, taking much treasure and many captives.<sup>n</sup>

975. Brien, King of Munster, with Domhnall, King of Iomhuinein, recovered this island from the Danes, by defeating Iomhar, the Norman, and his two sons, Amhlaibh and Duibheheann; 800 of the Danes, with Mark and his two sons, who fled thither for safety some time before, were slain in this battle.<sup>o</sup>

994. Died Colla, the abbot and doctor of Inis Scatty.<sup>p</sup>

<sup>x</sup>O'Halloran *sup.*, p. 188. <sup>y</sup>Act. SS. p. 542. <sup>z</sup>Id. <sup>a</sup>Calendar. <sup>b</sup>O'Halloran, vol. 2, p. 156. <sup>c</sup>Id. p. 159. <sup>d</sup>Act. SS. p. 542. <sup>e</sup>Keating, *War. Bishops*, p. 502. <sup>f</sup>Id. <sup>g</sup>O'Halloran, vol. 2, p. 189. <sup>h</sup>Keating. *Act. SS.* p. 542. *Collectan.* vol. 1, p. 471. <sup>i</sup>Annal. Inisfal. <sup>k</sup>Collectan, vol. 1, p. 471. <sup>l</sup>O'Halloran, vol. 2, p. 227. <sup>m</sup>M'Geogh. <sup>n</sup>Annal. Munst. *Act. SS.* p. 542. <sup>o</sup>Id. <sup>p</sup>Act. SS. p. 542.



1050. Died Hua Schula, the ethnarch of this abbey.<sup>q</sup>

1057. Diarmoid M'Maoilnambo, with the Danes of Dublin, plundered this island, but they were overtaken and defeated by Donogh, the son of Brien.<sup>r</sup>

1081. Died the abbot O'Burgus.<sup>s</sup>

1176. This abbey was again plundered by the Danes of Limerick.<sup>t</sup>

1179. William Hoel, an English Knight, wasted the whole island, not even sparing the churches.<sup>u</sup>

1188. Died Aid O'Beachain, bishop of Inis Scatty.<sup>w</sup>

Richard de London was guardian of this abbey, but the date is not recorded.<sup>x</sup>

1290. Thomas le Chapelin was guardian after Richard. He was guardian also in the year 1295.<sup>y</sup>

April 24, and 20 Queen Elizabeth, this abbey, with the church-yard, 24 acres of land, an house, a castle built of stone, and three cottages in the island; and the several customs following; from every boat of oysters coming to the city of Limerick, once a year, 1000 oysters, and from every herring boat, 500 herrings, once a year. Also ten cottages, one church in ruins, 20 acres of wood and stony ground in the said island, called Beachwood, with all the tithes, &c., were granted to the mayor and citizens of Limerick, and their successors for ever, in free soccage, not in capite; at the annual rent of 3*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.*<sup>yy</sup>

The monument of St. Senan is still to be seen here, with the remains of eleven small churches and several cells; in the stone that closes the top of the altar window of the great church is the head of the Saint, with his mitre, boldly executed, and but little defaced; an ancient round tower of 120 feet in height, and in complete repair, graces the scene.<sup>z</sup> This island is remarkable for the resort of pilgrims on certain festivals.

<sup>15</sup> *Inistimon*, in the barony of Corcumroe. St. Luchtighern was abbot of Inistimentis, or Inistornesis.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>q</sup>*Act. SS.* p. 542. <sup>r</sup>*Annal. Munst.* <sup>s</sup>*Act. SS.* p. 542. <sup>t</sup>*Annal. Munst.* <sup>u</sup>*Act. SS.* p. 542. <sup>v</sup>*Id.* <sup>w</sup>*King,* p. 244. <sup>x</sup>*Id.* <sup>y</sup>*Aud. Gen.* <sup>yy</sup>*Smith's Kerry,* p. 227. <sup>z</sup>*Halloran, intr.* p. 81, 85, 136. <sup>a</sup>*Act. SS.* p. 72.

<sup>15</sup> This is the picturesque little town celebrated as the "City of the Cascades," situated in the parish of Kilmanaheen, in the barony of Corcomroe about sixteen miles West by North from the town of Ennis, and within two miles of the village of Lahinch.

No trace now remains of the ancient abbey of Ennistymon over which St. Luchtighern presided, but it is probably represented by the ruin of the old church still to be seen in the burial ground of Ennistymon, the architecture and style of which belong to a more recent period.

No recollection of Saint Luchtighern survives in this place, nor can we find even a traditional remembrance of himself or his church, though the names of his contemporary saints, namely, St. Manchin of Killmanaheen, St. Lonan of Kill-es-pug-annan, St. Muchan of Kill-Muchanna, and St. MacCrehy of Kilmi-crehy, are

<sup>16</sup> *Kilcarragh*; there was an hospital or monastery here, of which we have no further account, than that it was endowed

still remembered with veneration in and around Ennistymon. There are, however, substantial proofs to show that St. Luchtigern was (as abbot or otherwise) connected not only with Ennistymon and Corcomroe, but in an especial manner with all Thomond or North Munster, and to justify us in assuming that as his principal church was at *Tuam Fionnlocha* (now Tomfinnlough church in the present barony of Upper Bunnally in the county of Clare), he resigned the apostleship of Ennistymon to his contemporary St. Mainchin, the disciple and bosom friend of St. MacCreiche of Corcomroe, who is still venerated as patron saint of the parish of *Cill Mainchinne* or Kilmanaheen, in and near to which the town of Ennistymon is situated.

The feast of St. Luchtigern is commemorated in the martyrology of Donegal at 29th April, where, on the authority of the twelfth chapter of the Life of St. MacCreiche of Corcomroe, he is made abbot of *Tuam-Fionnlocha* in Tradraige.

From this ancient life we learn that St. MacCreiche belonged, by birth and family, to the territory of Corcomroe, that he was the contemporary and bosom friend of St. Ailbhe of *Imluich Fubhair* (now Emly in the county of Tipperary), whose death is recorded in the "Annals of the Four Masters," at the year 541, and that St. Luchtigern was at this time connected with Ennistymon and Corcomroe.

The twelfth chapter of this life, where St. Luchtigern is mentioned gives a curious and interesting account of a predatory excursion made into Corcomroe by the high king of Connaught, namely, Aedh son of Eochaidh (probably Aedh, son of Eochaidh *Tirmcharna*, whose death is recorded by the "Four Masters," at the year A.D. 574), in which he is said to have plundered the people of Corcomroe of all their cattle and other moveable property. The people of Corcomroe thus oppressed, sent messengers to request their kinsman St. MacCreiche, who was then staying with his master, St. Ailbhe at *Imluich Fubhair* (Emly in Tipperary), to come to their relief. The messengers having reached *Imluich Fubhair* related their unhappy tale to St. MacCreiche, and beseeched St. Ailbhe to advise him to go with them to a place called *Carn Mic Tail* (in Corcomroe) to meet the men of Corcomroe who were to assemble there. St. Ailbhe consented, and MacCreiche came with them, accompanied by his faithful disciple St. Mainchin, and made his way direct from *Imluich Fubhair* (in Tipperary) to St. Luchtigern, to *Innis Toma Fionnlocha* (i.e. the Island of the Tumulus of the bright lake, now Tomfinnlough, in the barony of Upper Bunnally in the county of Clare, about two miles north-west of the village of Six-mile-Bridge, where the ruin of St. Luchtigern's old church may be still seen near the bright lake, *Finnlough*, which gives name to the townland of *Finnlough*, and to the parish of *Tomfinnlough*, in which it is situated), and here, we are told, he remained from Saturday evening till the following Tuesday with St. Luchtigern. MacCreiche related the object of his mission to St. Luchtigern, saying to him: "You (Luchtigern) ought to come with me to the relief of the men of Corcomroe, for it is not more incumbent on me to do good to them than it is upon you." "True indeed (said St. Luchtigern), and I shall go." After awhile they set out from *Tuamfionnlocha*, namely, St. MacCreiche and his disciple St. Mainchin, accompanied by St. Luchtigern and one disciple (whose name is not given) and came direct to *Carn Mic Tail*, in Corcomroe, where they found the states and tribes of Corcomroe assembled to receive them.

After some deliberation, and having made all due preparation for the expedition, the men of Corcomroe, led by St. MacCreiche and St. Mainchin, and accompanied by St. Luchtigern and his disciple, went forth to demand the surrender of the spoils of Corcomroe, and coming to where the plunder was all collected, we are told that

<sup>16</sup> The church or cell of Cill Carthach gives name to the townland of Kilcarragh, west of the ancient episcopal town of Kilfenora, in which it was situated. It stood a few yards west of the old Cathedral Church of Kilfenora, to which it is supposed to have been a cell or hospital. No trace now remains of the church but a few stones to indicate the site, which is pointed out on the Ordnance Map of Clare, sheet 16. See Kilfenora.



with a quarter of land adjoining thereto ; which at the dissolution was granted to John King.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>b</sup>*Auditor Gen. Office.*

*St. Mainchin* went around the cattle outside having *St. Luchtigern's* staff (crozier) in his hand, and carrying with him the *Cuiteach Fuait* (or bell) of *St. MacCreiche*, which he is stated to have brought off the altar of *St. Peter* in *Rome*, thus taking a formal possession of the spoils (in the name of the ecclesiastical heads of the then kingdom of *Corcomroe*) and keeping the cattle, &c., in regular charge till they reached *Magh Aoi*, in *Crauchan* in *Connaught*, where the king resided.

Having reached *Magh Aoi*, we are told that the druids of the king of *Connaught* came out against the clerics to prove the superior power of their druidic arts, and were defeated and subdued by *St. MacCreiche*.

After this *St. MacCreiche* and the men of *Corcomroe* went up to the palace (*Dun*) of the king to request the surrender of their spoils, but the haughty king, spurning the intercession of the miserable old cleric *St. MacCreiche* (now eight score and seven years old), refused to admit him into his presence, nor was the answer he sent out favourable or complimentary, adds the tale.

*St. MacCreiche*, now feeble and weary, insulted and disheartened, returns into the broad plains of *Magh Aoi* to spend the night amongst the plundered spoils of *Corcomroe* on the open field, and soon he was seized with a violent fit of thirst. "If it pleaseth God," said he, "great as my thirst is now, may the king's thirst be greater before morning, though abundant drinks are now in his house." This was verified, for soon the king became so afflicted with a fit of unnatural thirst that all the drinks of his palace could give him no relief, and thus in the dead of night he asked to be brought out to *St. MacCreiche*, where, for sake of one drink of water, he bowed in obedience to him, and bound himself and all his race, and every king who should succeed him in the sovereignty of *Connaught*, in perpetual allegiance to *St. MacCreiche* and to his *Comarbs* to the end of time, and promising that neither himself nor any future king of *Connaught* would ever again ask or demand the tributes of *Corcomroe*, and with these conditions he surrendered the spoils of *Corcomroe* to *St. MacCreiche* to be restored to their proper owners.

After this *St. MacCreiche* struck the ground with his staff (crozier) in presence of the king, a beautiful spring of pure clear water burst forth on the spot, and the king drank of it and was cured of his thirst, and this well is still known as *St. MacCreiche's* holy well on the plain of *Magh Aoi*, at *Cruachan*, in *Connaught*.

The states and people of *Corcomroe* now assembled to vote their thanks to *St. MacCreiche*, and unanimously agreed to acclaim him spiritual head and chief of the territory of *Corcomroe*, and bound themselves to pay a tribute to maintain himself and his *Comarbs* to the end of time, and requested him to found a church with them in order that they may remain under his protection and the protection of his *Comarb* and of his bell to the end of time. *St. MacCreiche* consented and established his church in his native territory of *Corcomroe*.

The ruins of *St. MacCreiche's* church, to which this legend refers, may be seen to the present day in the churchyard of *Kilmacrehy*, in the parish of *Kilmacrehy*, in the barony of *Corcomroe*, to which it gives name. This old ruin is situated about four miles west from the town of *Ennistymon*, on the north side of *Liscannor* bay, on the western coast of *Clare*. The style and architectural features of this old ruin indicate its high antiquity, and several portions of arches and mouldings are yet to be seen, some imbedded in the walls and others scattered through the burial grounds and used as headstones over many of the graves. Here, too, was a holy well dedicated to *St. MacCreiche*, much frequented of old, but now very rarely visited, owing probably to the greater celebrity of *St. Bridget's* well, which is quite near and much resorted to by the peasantry.

*St. MacCreiche* founded several churches in the county of *Clare*, but the only one named after himself was the *Cill MacCrieche*, or *Cillmacrehy* above mentioned.

He was founder of the church of *Cill-Mainchinne*, i.e., *St. Mainchin's* church, now *Kilmanaheen*, which gives name to the parish of *Kilmanaheen*. It was situated in the burial ground of *Kilmanaheen*, in the present townland of *Newtown*, now

<sup>17</sup> *Kilfarboy*; in the barony of Ibrichan; is now a parish church.

The monastery of Kilfobrick was founded A.D. 741.<sup>c</sup> We find that Cormac, bishop and scribe of Kilfobrick, died A.D. 837.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>c</sup>*Conry's MSS.* <sup>d</sup>*Act. SS. p. 360.*

occupied by Matthew Slattery, Esq., of Newtown House, a small distance west of the castle of Ennistymon on the same spot where once stood the *Dun* or palace of *Baoth Bronach*, king of Corcomroe, who made an offering of himself and his family and of his own palace, together with all his lands, &c., to *St. MacCreiche*, for the glory of God and the good of his own soul. *St. MacCreiche* here placed *St. Mainchin* his disciple, who, it will be remembered, was chief actor in recovering the spoils of Corcomroe, and who is said in this old life to have carried *MacCreiche's* bell, the *Cuitech Fuait*, and the staff of *St. Luchtigern*, on that occasion. In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, it is not (I believe) too much to assume that on handing over his staff (crozier) to *St. Mainchin* on this occasion, *St. Luchtigern* resigned to him the abbotship of his church and town of Ennistymon, over which *St. Mainchin* afterwards presided, and where he is still venerated as patron Saint of that parish. *St. MacCreiche* at an earlier period founded two old churches near the present village of Inagh, on the new road from Ennis to Ennistymon, and about seven miles from the latter place, these were called *Cill sean botha* and *Teampull na-n-glas aighne*, hence it is called *Tempull na-h-aighne*, or church of Inagh. The ruined walls of this last-mentioned church may be still traced in the churchyard of Inagh. The former was a little west of it.

<sup>17</sup> The monastery or church of Kilfarboy was situated in the parish of Kilfarboy (to which it gives name), in the barony of Ibrikane, five miles south, south-west from Ennistymon, near Miltown Malbay. No trace now remains of the original abbey, but the site is marked by the ruin of a more modern structure in the churchyard or burial ground of Kilfarboy, which is pointed out on the Ordnance Map of Clare, sheets 23 and 31, and described in the Ordnance Survey Papers, in the Royal Irish Academy, vol. 1, page 334.

According to Archdall and other writers, the monastery of Kilfarboy or "Kilfobric was founded A.D. 741, but there is good reason to suppose it was at least a century older. *St. Lachtain*, patron of the parish of Kilfarboy, is commemorated in the *Felire Aengus*, at 19th March, and at the same day the following notice of him is given in O'Clery's Calendar: "Lactain mac torbén abb achao uir 1 n-oppaigib acap ó bealach feabrath anno domini 622. Lachtain, son of Torben, abbot of Achad uir in Ossory, and of Beahach Feabrath, A.D. 622."

Colgan gives a short life of this Saint at 19th Martii, but neither Colgan nor O'Clery have attempted to identify Bealach Feabrath, where *St. Lachtain* is said to have founded his church. O'Donovan, in his edition of the "Annals of the Four Masters," at the year 622, n. g. appears to think that Bealach Fobrath is the place now called Ballagharay or Ballaghawry, a townland situated in the west of the parish of Kilbolane, barony of Orbraighe, or Orrery, and county of Cork, but this conjecture is highly improbable. Bealach Feabrath was the name of the mountain pass (or road) which led from the place now called Miltown Malbay to the territory of Corcomroe through that part of Hy-Breacain or Ibrikane, anciently known as Bealach Feabrath where *St. Lachtain* built his church, *Cill-Feabrath* or Kilfobric, anglicised Kilfarboy, which gave name to the townland and parish of Kilfarboy, where his name is still venerated as patron of the parish. As *St. Lachtain* died in the year A.D. 622, there can be no doubt that his church of Kilfarboy must have been founded before that date, which makes it at least a century older than the period assigned to it by Archdall.

The name of *St. Lachtain* is still vividly remembered in Kilfarboy, and all over the west of Clare, and the peasantry still invoke his aid and protection in strife and danger, and among them we find such phrases as the following:

When a strong or powerful person oppresses or afflicts a weak or helpless person, the injured will say: "Luisim fo ghráa dé aet fagbaim lactain naomha

(To be continued.)



# THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

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JULY, 1870.

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## LITURGICAL FRAGMENTS FROM THE EARLY CELTIC CHURCH.

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### I.—THE BOOK OF DEER.

THE "Book of Deer," which has just been published by Mr. Stuart for the Spalding Club<sup>1</sup> is an invaluable memorial of the Scottish monasteries founded by St. Columbkille. It contains the Gospel of St. John complete, and portions of the other three Evangelists, together with some liturgical fragments and a collection of Memoranda of gifts and grants made to the monastery of Deer<sup>2</sup> by the Celtic chiefs of the territory of Buchan in which it was situated. The text of the Gospels and of the liturgical fragments belongs to the ninth century : the Memoranda were written at different periods at a later age.

Mr. Stuart thus begins his prefatory remarks :—" Amid the darkness which enshrouds those missionaries who imparted to the heathen tribes of Alba the blessings of the Christian faith, the form of St. Columba stands out with exceptional clearness of outline ; and the popular instinct has not erred which ascribes to him the largest share in the great work, and traces to his mission the most enduring results. The

<sup>1</sup> "The Book of Deer," edited for the Spalding Club by John Stuart, LL.D. Secretary, Edinburgh. Printed for the Club by Robert Clark. 1869.

<sup>2</sup> As regards the name of the monastery, Mr. Stuart tells us that its first form was Dear, and that subsequently it was known as Der, Deir, Dere, and Deer, which last form has been retained throughout the present "Book of Deer."

almost contemporary pages of his biographer, St. Adamnan, enable us to realize to ourselves the system adopted by the great missionary in his enterprise. When he first took possession for Christ of the little island of Hy, which, under the name of Jona, was to become illustrious for all time from its association with him, he founded upon it a monastery in conformity with the system which then prevailed, not only in the country of the Scots (*i.e.*, Ireland), from which he came, but throughout Europe. Every fresh settlement which the Saint effected as he pushed his Christian conquests, whether in the islands of the Hebrides or in the mainland country of the northern Picts, consisted of a monastery for a body of clerics, from which they might disperse themselves in circuits among the surrounding tribes returning to their home for shelter and mutual support. One of these monastic settlements was that of Deer, in Buchan, a district of Aberdeenshire, which, projecting into the German Ocean, forms the most easterly point of Scotland; and the legend of the Book of the Gospels of this house preserves in traditional detail the circumstances which marked the infancy of the establishment."

One of the Celtic memoranda, giving an account of the foundation of the monastery, has been thus translated by Mr. Stokes:—

"Columbcille and Drostan, son of Cosgrach, his pupil came from Hy, as God had shown to them, unto *Abbordsdoir*, and Bede, the Pict, was mormaer of Buchan before them, and it was he that gave them that town in freedom for ever from mormaer and tosech. They came after that to the other town, and it was pleasing to Columbcille, because it was full of God's grace, and he asked of the mormaer Bede that he should give it to him, and he did not give it; and a son of his took an illness after refusing the clerics, and was nearly dead. Then the mormaer went to entreat the clerics that they should make prayer for the son that health should come to him, and he gave an offering to them from *Cloch-in-tiprat* to *Cloch-pette-mic-Garnait*. They made the prayer and health came to him. After that Columbcille gave to Drostan that town, and blessed it, and left as his word, 'whosoever should come against it let him not be many-yeared victorious.' Drostan's tears (*i.e. deara*) came on parting with Columbcille. Said Columbcille, 'Let *Dear* be its name henceforward.'"<sup>1</sup>

The town of Aberdour gives name to a sheltered bay on the rocky shores of Buchan: and St. Columba, with his disciple St.

<sup>1</sup> "Book of Deer," page 91.



Drostan, probably sailed thither from Iona in one of those frail coracles, which were so much in use with our early saints. Even at the present day numerous hut-foundations of early times are traceable along the coast of Aberdour, and prove that a dense population must formerly have inhabited this district. The word *town*, however, used in the above legend, may perhaps, like the Latin *civitas* of our early records, mean nothing more than the site of the monastery and its enclosure granted to St. Columba. The memory of St. Drostan,<sup>1</sup> whom the great Apostle of the Picts left to evangelize the district of Buchan, still lives at Aberdour. The Parish Church placed on the brink of a gorge, on a ledge or table-land overlooking the burn of the Dour, at a spot about 150 yards distant from the shore of the Moray Firth,<sup>2</sup> was dedicated to God under his invocation, and till the beginning of the 16th century his relics were religiously preserved there in a stone chest, and many miraculous cures were performed through his intercession. In the face of the rock, not far from the spot where the stream falls into the sea, is also a clear spring of water, still called St. Drostan's well.<sup>3</sup>

From the monastery of Aberdour, St. Columba and his companions proceeded twelve miles inland to the banks of the river Ugie, where another town or "*civitas*," sheltered by wooded heights, on one of which circular foundations, perhaps of some druidical temple, are still traceable, seemed to the saint to be well suited for a religious abode. It was pleasing to Columba, says the legend, because it was full of God's grace. The Pictish ruler of Buchan at first refused to grant this spot to St. Columba, but finding that his son was struck with sudden sickness, and was all but dead, he changed his resolution and complied with the saint's request. It was there that the monastery of Deer was founded, and its name

<sup>1</sup> There are proper lessons for St. Drostan in the old *Breviarium Aberdonense*. He is there said to be descended from the royal family of the *Scoti*. His parents, finding him desirous of embracing a religious life, sent him to his uncle St. Columbkille, to be instructed in sacred science and in the paths of perfection. Subsequently he became a monk of Holywood, where he, in the course of time, was raised to the rank of Abbot. Being anxious, however, to enter on a life of closer solitude, he retired to Glenesk, in Angus, in Scotland, where he lived as a hermit. A church and monastery soon grew up by the side of lonely Lochlee, where the memory of St. Drostan still survives, in such names as *Drousties Well* and *Drousties Meadow*. Several parishes in Scotland had St. Drostan for their patron; as the parish of Edzell, in Glenesk, the parish of Skir-Durstan on the banks of the Spey, and the parish of Alvie situated higher up the same river. Besides Deer and Aberdour, churches were dedicated to him at Dunaughton, at Cannisbay, at Halkirk, at Inch in the Garioch, and at Rothiemay on the Deveron.

<sup>2</sup> "Book of Deer," pref. iv.

<sup>3</sup> Breviar. Aberdonen. Part. Hyemal, fol. 20.

was derived either from the tears (in Celtic *deara*) shed by St. Drostan on the departure of St. Columba, which is the derivation cherished in the traditions of the monastery itself, or from the surrounding oak woods, even as the great monastic foundations of the same saint at Durrow and Derry derived their Celtic names of *Dair-mag* and *Daire-calgaich*, which may be translated the "plain of oaks" and "the oak wood of Calgach." The latter derivation is that which Mr. Stuart considers the more probable, and he adds, "the parish is believed to have been at one time covered with wood, and the names of such places as *Aikiehill* and *Aikiebrae* still preserve the recollection of the oaks which once grew there." The site of Deer would have much to attract the susceptible nature of St. Columba; with rich pasture on the banks of the river, and the surrounding hills crowned with oaks, he would often be reminded of his own dearly-loved monastery of Durrow and its woods.<sup>1</sup>

As late as the middle of the twelfth century, as appears from the memoranda inserted in the Book of Deer, this monastery was still flourishing, and its inmates continued to receive from the bounty of the Gaelic chiefs of the district additions to their monastic inheritance. A little later it yielded its place to a noble Cistercian Abbey, founded by the Earl of Buchan, which, with the title of *Abbey of Deer*, inherited most of the lands of the old Columbian monastery. At the sad era of the Reformation, the Abbey of Deer, with its property, passed into the hands of George, Earl Marischal; but, as the wife of that nobleman foresaw, such sacrilegious plunder was destined to be like "a consuming moth in his house." Before a century had passed it was remarked that "the Earles of that house, who before wer the richest in the kingdom, having treasure in store besyd them; ever since the addition of this so great revenue have losed their stock by heavie burdeines of debt and ingagment."<sup>2</sup> The next century witnessed the total overthrow of this princely house, so true were the words pronounced by St. Columba when imparting his blessing to the infant monastery, "whosoever shall come against it shall not be many years victorious."

As regards the MS. of which we treat, it is written and ornamented in the best style of the early Irish school. Mr. Stuart gives twenty-two plates of facsimiles from its pages, and these alone would suffice to convince any student of Celtic antiquities that it owes its birth to some religious of

<sup>1</sup> "Book of Deer," xlviii.

<sup>2</sup> "A short abridgment of Britain's Distemper," 1649, page 113, published by the Spalding Club.



our island,<sup>1</sup> and that its date cannot be later than the ninth century. One of the Rubrics in the liturgical fragment which the Book of Deer has preserved to us is written in the purest ancient Celtic. After the Gospel of St. John, at the end of the volume, an Irish Colophon is also added by the original scribe, and Mr. Stokes remarks "that in point of language it is identical with the oldest Irish glosses in Zeuss's *Grammatica Celtica*."<sup>2</sup> The fact that this MS. was used as far back as the eleventh and twelfth centuries to receive the charter-memoranda of royal grants made to the monastery, would be of itself a sufficient proof that it was even then regarded with special reverence, and held in the highest honour by the religious of that Celtic monastery, probably as being the work of some distinguished member of St. Columba's community in earlier ages.

We are not told how this precious volume escaped the vandal fury of the Reformation era. It is certain that many of the most venerable relics of early Celtic piety in Scotland were then consigned to the flames. Mr. Wyatt, in his "Art of Illuminating," assures us that during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, "cupidity and intolerance destroyed recklessly and ignorantly. . . . Persons were appointed to search out all missals, books of legends, and such *superstitious books*, and to destroy or sell them for waste paper, reserving only their bindings, when, as was frequently the case, they were ornamented with massive gold and silver, curiously chased, and often further enriched with precious stones; and so industriously had these men done their work, destroying all books in which they considered Popish tendencies to be shown by the illumination, the use of red letters or of the cross, or even by the—to them—mysterious diagrams of mathematical works, that when, some years later, Leland was appointed to examine the monastic libraries with a view to the preservation of what was valuable in them, he found that those who had preceded him, had left little to reward his search."<sup>3</sup> Even Bale, who so fully shared the sentiments of the Scottish Puritans, does not hesitate to write that many of those who got possession of the religious houses "reserved the library books, some for worse than profane purposes,

<sup>1</sup> This, however, does not lessen its importance for the Scottish Church. The Bishop of Brechin in his *Missale de Arbuthnott*, page 5, thus writes: "The intimate connection between the Scoti in Ireland and in Scotland, and the fact that St. Columba came to us as a missionary from the church of Ireland, make it important to our present purpose to determine what Liturgy was used in that church, as it can hardly be doubted that it must have been the same in both islands."

<sup>2</sup> "Saturday Review," Dec. 8, 1860, and Westwood *Facsimiles*, &c., page 91.

<sup>3</sup> "The Art of Illuminating," page 43.

some to scour their candlesticks, and some to rub their boots: some they sold to the grocers and soap-sellers, and some they sent over sea to the bookbinders, not in small numbers, but at times whole ships-full." And he adds the following instance: "I know a merchant that bought the contents of two noble libraries for forty shillings price—a shame it is to be spoken: this stuff hath he occupied in the stead of grey paper for the space of more than these ten years, and yet hath store enough for as many years to come. A prodigious example is this, and to be abhorred by all men who love their nation as they should do." From a contemporary record preserved in the Registrar House, and cited in the Preface to the "*Book of Arbuthnot*," we further learn that these deeds of vandalism were not confined to the humbler and less tutored fanatics. One of its entries expressly declares that six precious Missals belonging to Queen Mary were taken by the Lord Murray, Regent of the Kingdom, and consigned to the flames: "*Item: tanyne be my Lordis Grace and brint VI. Mess Buikis.*" The Bishop of Brechin adds that, the Regent burned them with his own hands.<sup>1</sup>

The "*Book of Deer*" was probably carried away and concealed by some devoted inmate of the suppressed monastery, and no traces of it have been met with till more than a century after the outburst of this storm of Puritan superstition. In 1697 it formed part of the collection of MSS. of John Moore, then Bishop of Norwich, and with his library passed in the beginning of the next century into the possession of the University of Cambridge, where it is now numbered (I. i., b. 32).

Its Scriptural text is of course the most important feature of this ancient MS.<sup>2</sup> It presents the Vulgate,<sup>3</sup> but written in a very careless and corrupt manner, and with very many old

<sup>1</sup> "*Missale de Arbuthnot*," pref. page iii.

<sup>2</sup> One of the illuminated pages of the "*Book of Deer*" represents the Evangelist St. Mark, and Westwood writes that the most noticeable feature in the figure "is the object held to the breast like a casket, which may represent a book in an ornamental binding, suspended from the neck, with the cumhdach or case in which it is preserved (of which the Missal of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, is an example). I need scarcely add that the book is a very constant adjunct to the figure of the Evangelist in those early drawings." *Facsimiles*, page 89. Mr. Stuart adds, that "Books, and what appear to be cumhdachs or book-covers, appear on the sculptured stones of Scotland. I cannot doubt that the figures on the breasts of the Evangelists in the "*Book of Deer*" are meant either for cumhdachs or boxes for relics, like the early Celtic example at Monymusk, which is shaped like the present figures, and has an arrangement for suspension." *Book of Deer*, page 20, and *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, Vol. ii., page 23, and plate xi.

<sup>3</sup> Westcott, in his article on the Vulgate in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, Vol. iii., page 1695, says its text is nearer the Vulgate than the Gospels in Cambridge University (K. k. l. 24), but without the Ammonian sections or capitula. Mr. Stuart corrects this latter statement, as in the first chapter of St. John the Ammonian section is once indicated. Pref. xxvii., note.



and peculiar readings.<sup>1</sup> The first seventeen verses of St. Matthew's Gospel are treated as a prologue, and are followed by the Rubric: "*Finit Prologus. Item, incipit nunc Evangelium secundum Matheum.*" The following are a few instances of the peculiar readings of its text in the Gospel of St. John:

BOOK OF DEER.

VI.—34. Dixerunt ergo ad eum Domine semper nobis da panem hunc panem semper hunc.

IX.—I, 2. Et preteriens vidit Johannem cecum a nativitate et interrogaverunt eum discipuli ejus rabbi quis peccavit neque parentes ejus ut cecus nasceretur.

XIII.—10. Dicit ei Jesus, qui locutus est non indiget ut lavet sed est mundus totus.

XIX.—30. . . . tradidit spiritum: cum autem exspirasset velum templi scisum est medium a sommo usque ad deorsum. Judei ergo, &c.

VULGATE.

VI.—34. Dixerunt ergo ad eum: Domine semper da nobis panem hunc.

IX.—I, 2. Et praeteriens Jesus vidit hominem caecum a nativitate. Et interrogaverunt eum discipuli ejus: Rabbi quis peccavit hic aut parentes ejus ut caecus nasceretur.

XIII.—10. Dicit ei Jesus: qui lotus est non indiget nisi ut pedes lavet sed est mundus totus.

XIX.—30. . . . tradidit spiritum. Judaei ergo, &c.

The Celtic memoranda inserted in the "Book of Deer" are described by Mr. Stuart as of the greatest importance for the illustration of local Scottish history. They prove, moreover, that some, at least, of the Celtic monasteries, as well as the Celtic population, continued to exist in Scotland till a much later period than is generally supposed. The last document engrossed in the book is a Latin charter of King David I. of Scotland, exempting the religious of the monastery from all lay interference and undue exaction. Among the witnesses to this grant is "Samson, bishop of Brechin," which entry sets at rest an important controversy as to the foundation of the see of Brechin, and proves that it dates back to the reign of King David.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For some details regarding the Biblical MSS. of our early Church, see Article 3rd in the *Atlantis*, No. ix., 1870.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Grub, in his "Ecclesiastical History of Scotland," found it difficult to trace back the see to King David's time, none of this King's charters hitherto known being "attested by a bishop of Brechin." Vol. i., p. 268.

It is principally, however, to the short liturgical fragment contained in this ancient MS. that I now wish to refer. It occupies a portion of two leaves in the middle of the volume which seems to have been intentionally left blank for its insertion. Mr. Stuart, indeed, does not deny that it must be referred to the ninth century, still he considers it as written in a different hand from the biblical portion of the MS. Westwood and the bishop of Brechin, however, do not share this opinion, and indeed it will suffice to compare the facsimiles printed by Mr. Stuart himself to recognize the same hand in the liturgical fragment and in a portion at least of the biblical text; for, as frequently happens in Irish MSS.—for instance, in the “Antiphonary of Bangor,” the “Liber Hymnorum,” the “Leabhar Breac,” &c., even the original portion of the volume presents traces of different scribes, or, at least, of more than one style of writing of the same scribe.

The fragment of the liturgy which is thus preserved is the ceremonial for administering the Holy Communion to the sick; and it happens that a corresponding portion of our ancient ritual has been preserved to us in more than one other ancient copy of the Gospels. “In the middle of the book,” writes Dr. Forbes, “there are two leaves which contain, in an Irish handwriting, the following service. It will be observed as a curious coincidence that the three services (*i.e.* of the books of Moling, Dimma, and Deer) all occur on a spare leaf in an Evangelistarium, and that they all relate to the communion of the sick . . . The Book of the Gospels was no doubt carried to the sick person’s house, and it would be to meet the convenience of the priest that this service, together with the prayers for the sick, was written in the same volume.”<sup>1</sup>

The following is the interesting fragment of the sacred liturgy of our ancient Church which has been preserved to us in the “Book of Deer”:—

*“Item: oratio ante dominicam orationem.*

Creator naturarum omnium  
Deus et parens universarum  
in coelo et in terra originum,  
has tremantis populi tui re-  
ligiosas preces ex illo inacces-  
sibilis lucis trono suscipe

#### TRANSLATION.

*Again: a prayer before the  
“Our Father.”*

O God, the creator of all  
things, and the Father of all  
creatures in heaven and on  
earth, receive at thy throne of  
unapproachable light the  
pious prayers of thy trem-

<sup>1</sup> “Missale de Arbuthnott,” p. 14.



et inter hiruphin et zarephin  
indefessas circumstantium  
laudes exaudi spei non ambi-  
guae preces. Pater nos-  
ter qui es *usque in finem*.

Libera nos Domine a malo.  
Domine Christe Jesu custodi  
nos semper in omni opere  
bono fons et auctor omnium  
bonorum Deus, evacua nos  
vitiis, et reple nos virtutibus  
bonis, per te xte Jesu :—

*Hisund duber sacorfaice dan.*

Corpus cum sanguine Dom-  
ini nostri. Jesu xti sanitas sit  
tibi in vitam perpetuam et  
salutem.

Refecti Christi corpore et  
sanguine tibi semper dicamus  
Domine Alleluja, Alleluja.

Qui satiavit animam inan-  
em et animam essurientem  
satiavit bonis Alleluja, Alle-  
luja.

Et sacrificent sacrificium  
laudis rl.—*usque* exultatione,  
Alleluja, Alleluja.

Calicem salutaris accipiam  
et nomen Domini invocabo,  
Alleluja, Alleluja.

Refecti Christi Corpore :—  
Alleluja, Alleluja.

Laudate Dominum omnes  
gentes, Alleluja, Alleluja.

bling people, and amidst the  
unceasing canticles of the  
surrounding cherubim and  
seraphim hear the petitions  
of our unhesitating hope.  
Our Father, who art in hea-  
ven, &c., *unto the end*.

Deliver us, O Lord, from  
evil. O Lord Jesus Christ,  
preserve us at all times in  
every good work : O God, the  
source and creator of all good,  
cleanse us from vice and  
replenish us with holy vir-  
tues through thee O Christ  
Jesus :

*Here give the Sacrifice to Him.*

May the Body with the  
Blood of our Lord Jesus  
Christ be health to thee unto  
eternal life and salvation.

Nourished with the Body  
and Blood of Christ may we  
always say to Thee, O Lord,  
Alleluja, Alleluja.

Who hath satiated the  
humble soul and replenished  
the hungry soul with good  
things, Alleluja, Alleluja.

And may they offer the  
sacrifice of praise : *with the  
remainder of the psalm to  
the word* rejoicing. Alleluja,  
Alleluja.

I will take the chalice of  
salvation and invoke the name  
of the Lord, Alleluja, Alleluja.

Nourished with the Body of  
Christ,<sup>1</sup> &c. Alleluja, Alleluja.

Praise the Lord all ye  
nations,<sup>2</sup> Alleluja, Alleluja.

<sup>1</sup> The antiphon "Nourished," &c.  
given above was to be here recited  
in full.

<sup>2</sup> The psalm *Laudate* was to be re-  
cited here, to the *Gloria*.

Gloria :—Reffecti Christi:—  
Alleluja, Alleluja.

Et nunc et semper :

Reffecti.

Sacrificate sacrificium justitiae et operate in Domino.

Deus tibi gratias aginous per quem misteria sancta celebravimus et a te sanctitatis dona deposcimus, miserere nobis Domine, salvator mundi.

Qui regnas in saecula saeculorum. Amen: *finit.*"

Glory (be to the Father, &c.)

Nourished by the Body of Christ. Alleluja, Alleluja.

Both now and for evermore.

Nourished, &c.

Offer unto God the sacrifice of justice, and hope in the Lord.

O God, we render thanks to Thee, through whom we have celebrated the Holy Mysteries, and we supplicate at thy hands the gifts of Holiness. Have mercy on us, O Lord, O Saviour of the world.

Who reigneth unto all ages Amen. *The end.*

I need not call the reader's attention to the clear proof afforded by this fragment to the belief of our early church in the doctrine of the Real Presence in the Holy Sacrament of the Altar. The word "Sacorfaice," *i.e. sacrifice*, which is here employed to designate the Blessed Eucharist, was constantly used by our ancient writers in reference as well to Communion as to the Holy Sacrifice. This is admitted by Usher in his "Religion of the ancient Irish." "They used," he says, "the name of *sacrifice* indifferently of that which was offered to God, and of that which was given to and received by the Communicant," and he gives the following instances from our early writers. In the collection of Canons, made for the Irish Church about the year 700, permission is granted to a Bishop to bequeath by testament a portion of his goods "to the Priest that giveth him the Sacrifice." Again, in one of the Synods of St. Patrick, the following canon occurs:—"He who deserveth not to receive the sacrifice during his life, how can it help him after his death." And in the Commentary of Sedulius the phrase also occurs—"Await one for another, *i.e.* (adds Sedulius) until you receive the Sacrifice."

At the close of the Book of Deer, the Apostles' Creed is inserted in full in the handwriting of the original scribe. It will not be uninteresting to the reader to insert it in full, as it



too forms part of the sacred Liturgy, and presents some curious readings peculiar to this MS.—

*Credo in Deum patrem omnipotentem creatorem caeli et terrae. Et in Jesum Christum filium ejus unicum Dominum nostrum qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto. Natus ex Maria Virgine, passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus et sepultus, descendit ad inferna. Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit in caelum, sedit ad dexteram Dei patris omnipotentis. Inde venturus est judicare viros et mortuos. Credo et in Spiritum Sanctum, sanctamque Ecclesiam Catholicam, sanctorum Communionem, remissionem peccatorum. Carnis resurrectionis vitam aeternam. Amen."*

## FIRST IRISH MISSION OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.—(Continued).

THE English took measures to counteract the projects which they suspected. Hatred and fanaticism rendered them clear-sighted and watchful; they discovered the presence of the Roman envoys, put a price upon their heads, and threatened with confiscation and death every family or individual who should shelter Salmeron and Brouet. However, the main object of the nunziatura was accomplished. The Sovereign Pontiff, foreseeing the persecutions which a prolonged sojourn in the island would bring on the Catholics and on the fathers, had ordered them to return to Italy if they saw that their presence would compromise the lives and fortunes of the faithful. They obeyed the orders of the Pope, and perhaps also the Ulster bishops told them to act on the Irish proverb—"a short visit is the best."

CUAIRTE ZEARR  
SÍ IR ZEARR.

They had, consequently, to tear themselves away from the tears of an affectionate people, whose drooping spirits they had raised, whose minds they had enlightened, and among whom they left the sweet odour of sacerdotal and Christian virtues.

On account of the proverbial honour and fidelity of the Irish, which would have "in safety lighted them round the Green Isle," our Fathers were denied the glory of being imprisoned and sent to Henry VIII. However, they were resolved, says Mr. Crétineau, to make their way to London,

and to present themselves before that murdering monster. They hoped to be able by the force of eloquence and charity to disarm his wrath, and to plead before the tribunal of his conscience the cause of faith and morality. This project was impracticable. Had they been able to reach London, their sentence of death would have blackened with a new crime the history of the royal murderer. However, personal danger was nothing to them. They had an object to gain, and they would have rushed blindly towards it, as a soldier runs to victory.<sup>1</sup>

The idea of paying Henry VIII. a visit is mentioned only by Mr. Joly, and he may have mistaken for it the intention which they had of visiting the King of Scots, and of upbraiding him with not having kept his promises, as it appears from a letter of an English agent in France that James did not keep his word with the Irish chiefs. Perhaps the poor Scottish King could not keep his word, since more than a hundred chief nobles and gentlemen were in the pay of England, and were leagued with the Douglasses against the King's life, and with the reformers against the Catholic faith. Henry, without declaring war, sent three thousand men to burn and spoil his nephew's country. But the Scotch general, Huntley, defeated this corps on the 24th of August, 1542, and afterwards, with inferior forces, he drove out of Scotland forty thousand English, who, under the command of Norfolk, were carrying fire and sword over the borders. James was indignant at the hostility of his uncle, and proposed to invade England. His nobles refused to go with him, and would have murdered his confidential advisers, had they not disagreed about the persons who were first to be put to death. These assassin lords and a fine army ran away before four hundred Englishmen at Solway Moss, and the King died of grief and shame, at the cowardice and treachery of his nobles.<sup>2</sup> After the example of England, Scotland had its religious revolution, and pushed still farther the disorder of heretical principles and the abusive interpretation of Holy Writ; and hence, on arriving on the Scottish shore, the Nuncios were prevented by the Protestant lords from approaching the King, and being informed, perhaps by Cardinal Beaton, that their presence would do no good, they embarked for Dieppe, and thence went on foot to Paris. There they received an order to return to Scotland with the same powers as they had in Ireland; but on informing the Holy See of the disorganised state

<sup>1</sup> Crétineau, vol. I, p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> Titler's "Scotland," Miss Strickland's "Queens of Scotland."



of the kingdom of James V., they were commanded to proceed to Rome to give an account of their Irish Legation.<sup>1</sup>

Zapata remained in Paris to prosecute his studies; the others set out for the Eternal City, on foot, as they were wont to travel. France was then at war with Spain, and was afraid and watchful of the wiles of Charles V. Hence the appearance at Lyons of two strangers, whose threadbare, travel-stained dress contrasted singularly with their polished language and address, awakened strong suspicions in the minds of the authorities, and prevented them from thinking with Tasso that,

Questi dall' alte silve irsuti manda  
La divisa dal monde ultima Irlanda.

Salmeron was evidently a Spaniard; Brouet was suspected of being one also; and both were taken as spies and thrown into prison on the 29th or 30th of July.

Their imprisonment was announced to Henry VIII. by his active agent, Paget, who got on their trail at Lyons. On the 31st of July, 1542, he wrote a letter in cipher, which is given in the Calendar of Foreign State Papers, and is thus read:—"There hath lately been in your Majesty's land of Ireland two Freres Spaniardes, sent thither by the Bishop of Rome to practise with O'Neill and O'Donnell against your Majesty. They passed through Scotland, with letters of commendation to the King of the Scots. With them was sent for that purpose the Bishop of the Isles' brother, that is, Farquhard Farquhardson, which Bishop lyeth at Icolmille, between Scotland and Ireland. The two Spaniards and the Bishop's brother be arrived within these two days in this town, on their return from Ireland, where, as they say, they have done no good, because the Scottish King kept not his promise. And this confession have these two Freres made to the Lieutenant of this town, for here they were arrested for spies.

"The Scot says his brother hath sent him to Rome, but wherefore he knoweth not until he come there, and then he thinketh to receive his brother's instructions. He telleth them here that he knoweth certainly that if your Majesty do make any business with France, the Scottish King will straight molest you."<sup>2</sup>

The English agent had, by means of money no doubt, heard immediately of their arrival, and of their examination and imprisonment. Fortunately for the Fathers, other people

<sup>1</sup> Crétineau "*Histoire de la Comp. de Jesus*," p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> S.P. Paget's Letter to Henry VIII, 31st July, 1542.

heard of it too. Cardinals de Tournon and Gaddi happened to be passing through Lyons about this time; they heard of the "spies," visited them, recognized them as old acquaintances, got them liberated from prison and treated with all the honour due to Legates of the Holy See, and furnished them with money, horses, and guides, to enable them to reach Rome in safety.<sup>1</sup>

On their arrival in the Eternal City, they gave an account of their stewardship to the Holy Father and to St. Ignatius. Probably Salmeron was told to write out a full and circumstantial narrative of their nunziatura, and perhaps there are copies of this narrative in the archives of the vatican or the Gesù. That Legate had a glowing style and a facile pen, as his sixteen enormous folio volumes abundantly testify, and as is elegantly and quaintly expressed by old d'Oultreman:—

"Un si grand Ecrivain n'eust pas fait long voyage,  
Un si grand voyageur n'eust pas fait long escrit:  
Si Dieu pour le patron d'un rare personnage,  
Ne l'eust avantagé et de zèle et d'esprit."<sup>2</sup>

While we hope some antiquarian pilgrim will soon be fortunate enough to exhume Salmeron's narrative, we can say without the help of that manuscript, that our Nuncios did a great deal of good in the face of a great many difficulties. According to Paget "they did no good," because the Scottish King did not keep his promise with Ireland. Alas! other kings also have taught the Irish not to put their trust in princes, from Charles V. and Francis I. to Napoleon I.; for foreign Potentates have ever trifled with the hopes of this country, and have seemed to think that it was sufficient for their own interests and those of Catholicity, to cause "a diversion" in Ireland.

However, the English agent at Lyons was misinformed as to the result of the mission, for all the historians who have written about it say that it was successful; yet Orlandini adds, that "if, by some inscrutable design of Providence, they did not succeed as well as was expected, at least they gave proof of their devotion to the Holy See, and of their readiness to brave every danger, and even death itself, for the preservation of the Faith and the salvation of souls. Even the Protestant historian, Cox, who is quoted approvingly by Dr. Mant, declares that "Robert Wauchop, famous for riding past the best of any man in Christendom (although

<sup>1</sup> Nieremberg "Varones Ilustres," art Salmeron; Orlandini; Bartoli "Memorie."

<sup>2</sup> D'Oultreman. "Tableau des Personnages Signalés, S.J.," art Salmeron.



he was blind from his cradle), did introduce the Jesuits into Ireland in this year 1542, and the observing reader will easily perceive the dismal and terrible effects of that Mission, which hath ever since embroiled Ireland even to this day."<sup>1</sup>

St. Ignatius, who was a most competent judge, has left on record his satisfaction at the way in which the Fathers acquitted themselves of their distant and dangerous legation. In a Spanish autograph letter, a facsimile of which is given by M. Crétineau, he says: "If God our Lord should so ordain that one of our Company is to be Patriarch of Ethiopia, I think the lot will fall on my Pasquier, who is the man whom I should select. For such a charge three things are very necessary—the first, goodness; the second, learning; the third, a good physique, that is, good personal appearance, bodily strength, and middle age. Now these things are found combined in no one of the Company in such a high degree as in Master Pasquier Brouet. Master Lejay is too old; Master Laynez lacks health; Master Salmeron is young and without beard; whereas Master Pasquier has all the requisites together, and in a high degree.

"Firstly, he is so good that he is looked on as an angel in the company. Secondly, besides great learning, he has had much experience in reforming dioceses and monasteries. He has been Nuncio in Ireland, and has given an admirably good account of all that he has taken in hands: 'dando admirabilmente buena cuenta de todo quanto ha tomado entre manos.' He is very cautious and careful by nature, and also very studious, as he has had so much to do with episcopal cases, and cases of conscience. Moreover, he is very well favoured in person, health, and strength, and is about forty years of age. May God arrange all for His greater glory, and preserve us all in His continual favour."<sup>2</sup>—IGNATIUS.

This extraordinary commendation, from one who was proverbially sparing of praise, shows that Father Brouet's mission to Ireland was a signal success. The apostolic heart of Ignatius must have been delighted to learn from his companions that the Irish would never abdicate the crown of faith bequeathed to them by St. Patrick, although in a moment of weakness, and to gain breathing time, they gave a temporal crown to the King of England.

However, the Primate of Ireland was somewhat disappointed and disheartened when he saw that the Fathers had not been able to do all the good which he had expected from their legation. He attributed their partial failure perhaps to the

<sup>1</sup> Mant's "History," an. 1542.

<sup>2</sup> Crétineau "Histoire S.J."

fault of the King of Scots, as Paget tells us the Nuncios did, perhaps to the greediness with which the Irish chiefs swallowed the sacrilegious bait thrown to them by Henry, and to the dissensions of the Irish people. In his affliction he cried out: "Now I see that if the sheep do not hear the voice of the shepherd, I shall do little good." The venerable prelate travelled from Rome to Ireland, despising the greatest dangers. He escaped by a singular protection of Providence, and he went through the whole of his archdiocese, wonderfully consoling his people, and extending and consolidating the good work begun by the Legates.<sup>1</sup>

If he went immediately after the arrival of the Fathers in Rome, he could not have remained long in his archdiocese, for he was Papal Nuncio in Bavaria in the summer of 1543. When passing through Ratisbonne, he prevailed on the Jesuit Father Claude Le Jay to fill the chair of theology at Ingoldstadt, vacant by the death of the famous Eckius.<sup>2</sup> Thus, our Primate was not only the first man to introduce the Jesuit Fathers into the Isle of Saints, but also the first to introduce them into the German universities, where they eliminated the poison of heresy from the minds of the German youth.

Dr. Wauchop's friend, Le Jay, who was a native of Geneva, was so successful in his war against Lutheranism, that the Protestants threatened to drown him. He answered their menace by saying, that "it was all the same to him to go to heaven by water as by land;" and he worked on fearlessly until he was called to the Council of Trent as theologian of the Bishop of Augsburg. The Duke of Bavaria was so well pleased with him that he asked for other Jesuits to teach in the University of Ingoldstadt, and had the good fortune to get the Venerable Peter Faber and the Blessed Peter Canisius as companions to F. Le Jay.<sup>3</sup> D'Oultreman, playing a *jeu de mots* on the name of Jay, thus expresses pleasantly the controversial success of this good father:—

"Ce Jay porte le nom de geai par antiphrase,  
Car certes il n'est rien moins que geai en ses propos ;  
Ou peutetre l'est-il par quelque antonomase,  
Pour avoir fait muets tous les geais Huguenots."

We cannot determine with precision when our Primate came to Ireland. In the month of January, 1550, "the Irish were combining through hope of comfort from the Scots,

<sup>1</sup> Crétineau. Orlandini.

<sup>2</sup> "Hist. Germaniae Superioris S.J." by Agricola. Partignani, art. "Jaio."—Aug. 6th.

<sup>3</sup> Patrignani, Aug. 6th, "Jaio."



promised by the blind Bishop that came from Scotland out of Rome ;<sup>1</sup> and some time in that year "he was in Derry awaiting the arrival of the French, and he was a dangerous character, as the Earl and country of Tyrone knew from experience."<sup>2</sup> Even O'Donnell announced to the Deputy that "the blind Bishop was in Derry, whither he had come after having visited several places ; and that if the Deputy wished him to be banished, his orders should be executed."<sup>3</sup> The chieftain of Tirconnell did not say that he would give him up ; he promised to banish him, and thus showed that he had not a spark of the spirit of Maguire, who, when asked by the Deputy to deliver up Primate MacGauran, gave the proud answer :—"Come and take him if you can." It may be said, in order to excuse O'Donnell and Dr. Dowdall, that they knew they could denounce Dr. Wauchop without compromising his safety, as he was beyond the reach of English power ; and that they knew also that the English were well aware of his presence.

Though Dr. Dowdall was Henry's Archbishop of Armagh, and thus could say with Mathan :—

"Par là je me rendis terrible à mon rival,  
Je ceignis la tiare et marchai son égal ;"

yet his orthodoxy and his spirit forbid us to think he meant to injure the Primate, and we cannot say of him what Abner said of Mathan :—

"Pour vous perdre il n'est point de ressort qu'il ne joue."

As to O'Donnell, it may be looked on as certain that he was a friend of Dr. Wauchop, and that he wanted merely to throw dust in the eyes of the English, for two French envoys were entertained at that time in his castle of Donegal. The French first landed at Culmor Fort, the governor of which was O'Dogherty, the son of a vassal of O'Donnell, and there they were visited by the Primate : thence they proceeded to O'Donnell's castle, and there the northern princes promised to place themselves under the protection of France, so that "whoever should be King of France should also be King of Ireland."<sup>4</sup>

Whether the Primate went to the continent with the French agents we cannot tell, nor can we say whether he went with the Irish envoys, Paris, Fitzgerald, and O'Moore ; but certain

<sup>1</sup> Allen's Letter, Jan. 1550, S.P.

<sup>2</sup> Dowdall's Letter in Shirley Collections.

<sup>3</sup> O'Donnell's Letter, 1550, in S.P.

<sup>4</sup> Moore : Hist. of Ireland, vol. iv., p. 7.

it is, that he was in France in the year 1551, trying to procure help for Ireland, we presume, and preparing to go to his diocese for the second or third time. However, God called him to receive the reward of his labours. The Comarba of St. Patrick died on the 10th of November, at the Jesuit residence of Paris, in the arms of the Fathers of that Society, which he had loved from its birth with the fondest affection. Before yielding his soul to God, on the eve of St. Martin's Feast, he repeated aloud those words of that uncle of our Apostle:—"O Lord, if I be still necessary to thy people, I do not shrink from the labour: Thy will be done."

The good Primate never shrank from labour, or even from the danger of death, when it was question of preserving the faith of St. Patrick. And thanks and everlasting remembrance are due to that Comarba Padruig, and to the other bishops and priests through whose exertions that faith was not only preserved in the sixteenth century, but, as Mr. Froude says, deepened into a national principle.

It is hard to say how far the Nuncios contributed to prevent the Isle of Saints from being dragged down into heresy by the falling away of all the nations of the north. The victories of faith, won in fights of three hundred years, are due to a singular blessing of God, to the protection of the Blessed Virgin, to the prophetic prayer of St. Patrick, and to the intercession of thousands of Irish saints, and to the virtues of the Irish priests and people. Though we cannot agree with the French historian, Thierry, who says that the Catholic spirit was kept alive "by the Papal Nuncios, and above all, by the Society of Jesus, which displayed in this country its accustomed cleverness;"<sup>1</sup> yet Ireland owes some small debt of gratitude to that Society, six of whose children were sent as Nuncios to Ireland in the reigns of Henry and Elizabeth.

The Irish people have not been ungrateful. "Whoever," says an American writer, "has studied the genius of that susceptible and devoted nation, will easily understand how intense was their veneration of those apostolic men, who, for the mere love of their souls, had encountered the fatigues of a long journey and the frowns of the English government. And were it more universally known that Fathers Salmeron and Brouet were the first missionaries sent from Rome to comfort and strengthen the Irish Catholics immediately after the fatal Reformation in England, their names would be embalmed in the memories, and engraven in the hearts of the children of Erin at the present day."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thierry's "Conquete de l'Angleterre," vol. iii., p. 443.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Pise "St. Ignatius and his Companions."



In order to satisfy the grateful curiosity of our Irish readers, and to show fully what manner of men the Holy Father sent to the help of Ireland, we shall glance briefly at what our Nuncios did afterwards on the continent for the glory of God and the salvation of souls. When they arrived in Rome they got no time to rest from their labours, for schism and heresy were enveloping Italy, and the Turks were threatening the fair provinces of that country. The Jesuit Fathers were scattered through the Italian cities as advanced sentinels. Salmeron and Brouet were sent to the aid of the Cardinal Bishop of Foligno, in whose diocese the tares had almost stifled the good grain. They converted and preserved Foligno. From that town Brouet went to Montepulciano, where he worked such reforms that Cardinal di Carpi asked him to evangelize some city of Lombardy. There he exercised all the functions of his ministry with such self-devotion, that he worked himself into a fit of sickness which proved almost fatal. While convalescent he went to Faenza. There the use of the Sacraments had almost died out; even young children were wont to utter foul and blasphemous words; concubinage was common, and inveterate family feuds, handed down from sire to son, prompted many murders almost every day. The city was sick with the Protestant fever; in it heresy was building its nest under the shadow of all vices, and was sustained by many ministers who flattered the passions of the people, placed theology at the service of the grossest instincts, and created for themselves a powerful party by corrupting the faithful while pretending to civilize them. The chief of the propagators of reform in Faenza was Ochino, who became one of the saints of the Reformation, and a canon of Canterbury. In order to enable our readers to appreciate Father Brouet's victory of this Protestant champion, and to make up for the ungrateful omission of his name from the English dictionaries of biography, we shall sketch this worthy *en passant*. He was born at Siena. He distinguished himself by his brilliant talents, and became general of a religious order. "He had a style warm as the sun of Naples, splendid as Rome, and coloured like the vegetation of Venice; he had a dark piercing eye, theatrical gestures, and the complexion of an anchorite; he enchanted all Italy, says Schröck, he fascinated learned men, fashionable ladies, monks, priests, and the mass of the people.<sup>1</sup> Bembo cried out, when speaking of him: "What eloquence; what fascination; men and women, and all, are beside themselves when listening to him;" and Charles V. said, after hearing him: "Here is a man who would make the very stones weep."

<sup>1</sup> Schröck, "Christliche Kirchengeschichte." Audin's "Calvin," t. iii., p. 781.

Unfortunately his humility was not as great as his eloquence; as he could not get a Cardinal's hat, he put off his cowl, his sack, his sandals, and flowing beard; took as concubine a young girl whom he seduced at Lucca, and went to Geneva, where he was received with open arms by Calvin, who at once wrote to Melanchthon:—"We have here Bernardino of Siena, that illustrious man whose flight has produced such a sensation in Italy." The illustrious man was soon expelled even from Geneva, and setting out on foot with his concubine leaning on his arm, as a true reformer, he went in search of truth, and in order to catch it he cast away at every step some one of the doctrines which embarrassed his march. When he arrived at Zurich, his symbol was so slender and exhausted that the ministers asked him to make a profession of faith. He professed *their* faith, but soon denied almost every truth of Christianity, and devoted his talent to the apotheosis of polygamy. In 1546, he assisted at that famous conference of Antichristians, in which the society of Freemasons was formed, with a view to destroy the Church of Christ. In the following year he was invited to England by Cranmer, was made Canon of Canterbury, with dispensation of residence, and by letters patent was granted forty marks a year.<sup>1</sup> He died of the plague in Moravia, in 1561, leaving four bastards behind him. He has been denounced by Beza as a wicked debauchee, as a favourer of Arians, and a mocker of Christ; he changed his faith as often as his dwelling place; he preached plurality of wives in England and Germany by word and example, and scandalized the world by his awful immorality.<sup>2</sup>

Such a man was a formidable opponent in such a place as Faenza. He spoke Italian with such eloquence, elegance, and facility, that crowds went to listen to him. Fascinated by the magic of his words, the workman in his shop would pause to hear the pleasing novelties most plausibly proposed to him, and the loungee at the tavern would drink in with keen delight the poisonous doctrines distilled from Bernardino's lips.<sup>3</sup> Yet, in spite of all the eloquence of Ochini, and all the bad passions of the people, the Picard Jesuit, who, perhaps, pronounced Italian no better than his countrymen pronounce foreign tongues, put to flight the smooth-tongued Sieneſe apostate and his fellow reformers. According to St. Ignatius, Brouet was a man of good address, of fine presence, of dove-

<sup>1</sup> Burnet's Reformation, vol. ii., p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> Audin's "Calvin; Goschler, Dictionnaire Encyclopédique; Feller's Dictionnaire."

<sup>3</sup> Patriguani "Broeto;" Orlandini; Crétineau.



like simplicity, of great gentleness ; in a word, he was "an angel." He did not attack Ochini openly and all at once. But in his familiar discourses he stimulated the establishing of confraternities for the relief of the poor, who were very numerous. From the relief of the poor he passed to the reform of those who joined the work of charity. Thus, by charity and good example, he found his way to the heart of the people ; then he made a step in advance, and preached controversial sermons with such clearness and cogency, that Ochini and Co. left the city, and Brouet remained master of the situation. The inhabitants embraced each other in the street, to testify their reconciliation with God and man, and the Jesuit remained two years in the place, perfecting and consolidating the work so successfully begun.

From Faenza the father went to Bologna, Montepulciano, Ferrara, and again to Bologna, and from all these places he eliminated the poison of Protestantism. In 1551, he was made Provincial of Italy by St. Ignatius, and thus was the first who ever held that office in the Society. The year after he went to France, and established the Society in it in spite of many contradictions. He died a martyr of charity, at Paris, in the year 1562.

Father Brouet's fellow-legate was separated from him at Foligno. He was sent to Modena, where for two years he combated Protestantism with such success, that the promoters of heresy, being unable to hold out against him, sent calumnious accusations about him to Rome. These he disproved triumphantly, and he was soon after, together with Father Laynez, deputed to the Council of Trent as Theologian of the Holy See, and, with Laynez, was deputed to draw up a list of all the errors with which the theologians of the council were to deal. On all points proposed for discussion he was the first to speak, and Laynez was the last ; and his first discourse at the council, delivered when he was only thirty-one years of age, was so much admired by the assembled Fathers, that they unanimously ordered it to be printed. When the council was transferred to Bologna, Salmeron had the happiness to find there, as theologians, Fathers Brouet, Lejay, Laynez and the Blessed Peter Canisius. He preached the lent in the Church of Santa Lucia, and besides attended the council, at which he delivered two most eloquent orations on the Sacrifice of the Mass. Then he evangelized Verona and the Venetian States, where he won the name of a second St. Bernardine of Siena. Afterwards he became Dean of the Faculty of Theology at Ingoldstadt, and was employed by the Popes in most important missions to Germany, Poland, and the Netherlands,

as well as to Ireland. Popes Paul III., Julius III., and Pius IV., named him there Theologian at the Council of Trent, St. Pius V. appointed him his own preacher in the Apostolic Palace; and Cardinal St. Charles Borromeo gave him a most honourable letter of recommendation to the Legates of the council. The theatre of his last labours was Naples, whither he was sent by the Holy Father to oppose the efforts which the reformers were making to pervert that city. There he preached seven Lents successively; during the rest of the year he explained some book of Holy Writ, on festivals and Sundays; and when the ministers, disguised as merchants, scattered their heretical books among the people, he refuted their errors in most eloquent discourses, and with the Vicar-General went to the public bookshops to detect the Protestant works, and prevail on the booksellers to burn them. So mad were the ministers at Salmeron's success, that they vented their vengeance on him, as their followers have poured out their malice on many a great and good priest even down to our times. They said he had whispered into the ear of an intimate friend that he was heart and soul with the German reformation, and that he opposed it with such vehemence only to cover his plans for escape.

Strange to say, the Neapolitans believed this absurd and infamous calumny, and if they lost sight of Salmeron only for a few days, they imagined that he had gone over to Saxony. To dissipate this impression, the poor man, by the advice of his friends, used to get on horseback and ride up and down the great thoroughfares of Naples. Thus too was calumniated his confrère, Father FitzSimon, who, however, succeeded in allaying the anxiety of the Catholics of Dublin by climbing up to the top of his tower in Dublin Castle, and making a great and emphatic sign of the Cross.

But the Neapolitan people had such a morbid appetite for calumny, that they had their mouths always open to swallow any lie about the Jesuit Father. For example, when Salmeron was called to Rome in 1561, to act as Vicar-General of the Society, while the General Father Laynez was at the celebrated "Colloque de Poissy," the reformers at Naples reported that he had at last thrown off the mask of hypocrisy, and had retired to Geneva. They even forged letters, in which Cardinals and Princes bewailed the apostasy of so great a man.<sup>1</sup> The lie was most successful.

"Jamais mensonge heureux n'eut un effet plus prompt."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bartoli "Memorie Istor, S. J."

<sup>2</sup> Athalie.



In vain did the Jesuit Fathers tell the people the real motive of his departure; they were not believed, and their churches and schools were deserted; they were insulted in the streets, and little boys were taught to sing in the streets a song beginning with the following lines:—

Sentite una canzone :  
Il Padre Salmerone,  
Con quattro mila ducati,  
A una donna leccati,  
A Genevra se n'andò.  
Vi par furbo : sì o no ?<sup>1</sup>

As this calumny gave great scandal, Pius IV. got Cardinal St. Charles Borromeo, and other cardinals, to write to the Viceroy of Naples, and to their friends in that place, and to assure them that Salmeron was in Rome, and was actually governing a religious order. And in such high estimation was he in Rome, that, when Father Laynez returned to resume his generalship, Cardinal Ghisleri, afterwards St. Pius the V., wanted to secure Salmeron's services for Savoy, while Cardinal Borromeo, afterwards St. Charles Borromeo, tried to get him sent to Milan. However, he was ordered to go back to Naples, the scene of his former services and sufferings.

In that city he spent the evening of his life, performing works of charity, and writing sixteen folio volumes of commentaries on the New Testament. He had even undertaken a commentary on the Old Testament, when he was called to his eternal reward at the age of sixty-nine, on the 13th of February, 1585. He died in the joy of the Lord, after repeating the words:—"Laetatur anima mea, laetatur."

He was a man of solid virtue, and equal to any position in which he had ever been placed. He was most dear to St. Ignatius, and by the candour and amiability of his manners, he became a great favourite of the Neapolitan nobles and of the Viceroy. He used his influence in favour of the poor, and in the interests of peace between the secular and ecclesiastical tribunals. He was the first Provincial of Naples, as Brouet was first Provincial of Italy and of France; and in Naples, as well as elsewhere, he won for himself the reputation of prodigious learning, great genius, zeal, industry, prudence, humility, and holiness.<sup>2</sup> But in the midst of his labours on the con-

<sup>1</sup> "Listen to a lay: Father Salmeron, with four thousand ducats stolen from a lady, has gone off to Geneva. Do you think him a rogue: yes or no?" Patrignani: "Pie Memorie" art. Salmeron.

<sup>2</sup> Orlandini, Bartoli, Patrignani.

continent, he never forgot, we are sure, that little island which lies aloof in the Atlantic. The Irish legation was the first, and, perhaps, the greatest mission of Fathers Salmeron and Brouet. It was the one in which they suffered most, and which they consequently remembered best. They often heard with gladness of the fidelity of Ireland from the lips of Primate Wauchop and of other Irish bishops at the Council of Trent; and they had the consolation to see under the banner of St. Ignatius, Woulfe, O'Donnell, Field, MacMorris, and about thirty other children of the Isle of Saints; and F. Salmeron lived long enough to hear that two Irish Fathers had been blessed in Ireland with that death for the faith which he had ambitioned in vain. In each of these Irish Nuncios, and in St. Ignatius, and in the Society, the exile of Erin ever found a friend, as we gather from a letter of Ignatius to Cardinal Pole, and from a letter of James Fitz-Maurice of Desmond, to the General of the Society of Jesus.

Thus St. Ignatius wrote to Cardinal Pole in the year 1555, when the Roman college was in want of funds, and the Saint dared to draw on the funds of Providence: "In our college there is one Irishman of great hope. If you think it advantageous to send thence to either of our colleges here some youths who have a taste for study, I have hopes that in a short time they can return home with great store of virtue and learning, and with the greatest veneration for the Holy See. Your Eminence will weigh this proposal very accurately. For our part, we have thought it our duty to propose to you what is suggested to us by the desire which the Sovereign and Divine Charity gives us, of serving the souls of those kingdoms according to the very small means of our manner of life."<sup>1</sup>

This love of the souls of Ireland which the Sovereign and Divine Charity gave to Ignatius, burned also in St. Francis Xavier, who would most probably have been sent to this country if Father Bobadilla, who was destined for India, had not got suddenly ill. The great Apostle of the Indies knew before he left Rome that our Fathers were to go to Ireland, and he was most anxious to know how they got on, and he prayed ardently for their success. In the collection of his beautiful letters, which have been preserved to us, he does not ask particularly about Ireland, perhaps; but in a letter written from Goa, about the time the Irish Nuncios arrived in Rome, he says: "I conjure you in the name of the Lord, my Venerable Brethren, to write to me about all the members of our Society. I cannot hope to see them any more in this

<sup>1</sup> "Epistolae S. Ignatii," Bononiae, 1804.



life, and, as the Apostle says, *face to face*; but let me, at least, see them in spirit by means of your letters! Do not deny me this favour notwithstanding all my unworthiness.<sup>1</sup> I desire ardently, my Father, to receive news about yourself and all our brothers.<sup>2</sup> I beg of you most earnestly, and conjure you for the love of God, write to me, or get some one to write to me. Above all, write at great length; let it not be in brief or general terms, but particularly and in detail, giving the names of each of our confrères who reside in Portugal, Rome, or elsewhere; for their is no spiritual consolation reserved for us in this life greater than that which we shall derive from the perusal of your letters.<sup>3</sup> It would be most consoling to me (oh, my Father in Jesus Christ, St. Ignatius,)<sup>4</sup> if you would deign to recommend one of the persons who dwell in your house, to give me an account of all the Fathers who came with us from Paris to Rome, and of all the other Fathers. . . . . Such a letter would wonderfully lighten the immense labours which we undertake on land and sea, in Japan and China. . . . . May God unite us in heaven, and, even in this life, if it be the interest of his glory. The last of your children, and the farthest away from your presence,

“FRANCIS XAVIER.”<sup>5</sup>

Thus, “*ut unde exorsa est ibidem terminetur oratio*,” we finish our sketch, as we began it, by introducing the great figures of St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier, and we now take leave of our kind readers, begging them to bear in mind that the successors of Salmeron and Brouet have not been unworthy of them. About a hundred years after this first Irish Mission of the Society of Jesus, a distinguished Irish Jesuit wrote in a work which circulated through every country in Europe:—

“Oh, that I could publish here the labours of our Irish Fathers! If I described the happy foundation of the Mission by St. Ignatius himself; its constancy midst the storms of persecution; the bright glories of its children, who have rendered themselves illustrious at home and abroad in every branch of science and literature; the expansive self-diffusing industry of a few men in teaching, preaching and founding schools over the whole island; if I described the loss of their property under Cromwell, their prisons, their chains, their distant exile among barbarous peoples, and in fine, after

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Goa, September, 1542.

<sup>2</sup> Cochin, February, 1545.

<sup>3</sup> Cochin, January, 1545.

<sup>4</sup> This was address on the letter, according to Bartoli.

<sup>5</sup> Goa, April, 1552.

all that ruin, the renewal of their former labours . . . . If, I say, I were to bring forth all these things, which are now hidden from the public, posterity would indeed wonder that things, most worthy of being known to the world, should have been kept for so many years behind the curtains of silence and modesty."<sup>1</sup> "That Mission is one of the oldest missions of the Society in Europe, it was founded by St. Ignatius, it was promoted by Father Laynez, it was much increased by St. Francis Borgia, it was specially loved by Father Aquaviva, who formed it by peculiar instructions and ordinations; it was honoured by the Holy See with many privileges, indulgences, and faculties; it has worked down to our time (1661) to the great advantage of souls in Ireland and the neighbouring islands, and it has been the mother of a great many of our order, who have been celebrated for their learning and virtue, and have signalized themselves in most of the Universities of the Christian world."<sup>2</sup> It is a pity that the names and biographies of these Irish worthies have not been bequeathed to Ireland; "but the Irish Fathers, who could have done so, chose rather to perform actions worthy of record than to transmit the memory of them to posterity—magis scilicet hactenus intenti fuerunt ut scribenda patrarent quam ut patrata conscriberent."<sup>3</sup>

## QUESTIONS REGARDING THE JUBILEE.

### XII.—THE JUBILEE FAST.

An interesting question in reference to the nature of the abstinence required on the days of the Jubilee Fast, when they are not observed within the time of Lent, has been raised by a respected Correspondent, who is of opinion that "the doctrine regarding this subject, which was laid down in the RECORD "for last October, must now be regarded as untenable."<sup>4</sup>

In support of his view, he refers to the Rescript published in the same number of the RECORD, "allowing the use of

<sup>1</sup> Arsdekin : *Theologia*, vol. iii. (published 1670), p. 224.

<sup>2</sup> Father Yonge to the Fathers of the General Congregation S. J. 1661.

<sup>3</sup> Arsdekin : *Theologia*, vol. iii., p. 224—9th Edition.

<sup>4</sup> See *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, vol. vi., No. lxi., October, 1869, pp. 20—9. Our correspondent's difficulty regards, as will be seen, the view which was maintained in that article, in reference to the use of eggs and lacticinia during the *extra-Lenten* observance of the Jubilee fast.



"eggs and lacticinia, *as a special privilege*, to the faithful in this country, without any distinction between the extra-Lenten and the Lenten observance of the Jubilee Fast."<sup>1</sup> This Rescript he regards as "an authoritative declaration of the Holy See that, *secluso privilegio speciali*, it would be necessary in all cases to abstain from eggs and lacticinia."

He suggests, then, that a statement to this effect should now be inserted in these pages. "For although," as he goes on to say, "no practical difficulty can arise, as far as the people of this country are concerned—the use of eggs and lacticinia having been allowed to them by the Rescript in question—the elaborate and apparently conclusive reasoning of the paper in the October number may have led some readers of the RECORD in other countries, for which no such privilege has been granted, to believe that in their case also the use of eggs and lacticinia is allowed when the Jubilee fasting days are observed outside of Lent.

"No doubt," he writes, "the arguments and authorities referred to in that paper furnish a conclusive proof that, in the absence of some special provision to the contrary, the use of eggs and lacticinia is consistent with the extra-Lenten observance of the Jubilee Fast. . . . But it is necessary to examine also this further question—whether, on the present occasion, a provision of that nature has not been made. . . .

"And on this question," he concludes, "the Rescript is decisive. In it the Pope grants, *as a special favour*, the privilege of eating eggs and lacticinia on the days of the Jubilee Fast, not only during Lent, but also *during the rest of the year*. We have, therefore, an authoritative decision that the fast required for gaining the present Jubilee, at whatever time of the year it may be observed, includes abstinence from eggs and lacticinia. For evidently it cannot, consistently with the respect which is due to the Holy Father, be asserted that the privilege thus granted was unnecessary, as would of course be the case if in the absence of any such Rescript eggs and lacticinia could be eaten."

However ingenious this line of reasoning may appear, it is manifestly inconclusive, for two reasons. In the first place, the assumption on which it rests—namely, that His Holiness, in this Rescript, allowed "*as a privilege*" the use of eggs and lacticinia, not only in Lent, but also "*during the rest of the year*,"—has no foundation in fact. And secondly, even if it were true that such a privilege had been thus granted, we could not, without losing sight of one of the most elementary principles

<sup>1</sup> See *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, vol. vi., No. lxi., October, 1869, pp. 38-9.

of ecclesiastical jurisprudence, regard its concession as a proof that the use of eggs and lacticinia is inconsistent with the fast required for the Jubilee.

But before proceeding to explain these points in detail, it may not be out of place to observe that in the article to which our Correspondent refers, the question regarding the use of eggs and lacticinia is considered under both aspects—not merely in reference to Jubilees in general, but also in reference to the special regulations of the present Jubilee. And in establishing the conclusion that the fast prescribed on the present occasion does not exclude the use of eggs and lacticinia, the Bull of the present Jubilee, *Nemo certe ignorat*, and the various Decrees issued by the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences in explanation of it, were taken into account.<sup>1</sup>

And here I may add, that the view which I have taken of this question is adopted and indeed put forward as unquestionable, in an elaborate article upon the subject which appeared in one of the recent numbers of the *Revue des Sciences Ecclesiastiques*, conducted by the well known canonist, M. Bouix. After a careful examination of all the documents bearing upon the question, the writer of the article, M. l'Abbé Girard, comes to the following conclusion:—"Le jeûne prescrit pour le Jubilé, "c'est le jeûne *tel qu'il s'observe dans la contrée*. . . . Les oeufs "et le laitage ne seraient interdits en dehors du Carême que "là où une coutume spéciale plus rigoureuse que le droit commun de l'Eglise étendrait cette abstinence stricte à tous les "jours de jeûne indistinctement."<sup>2</sup>

I am, therefore, justified in stating—and this, indeed, our correspondent does not seem to controvert—that so far at least as the Encyclical and the Decrees of the Sacred Congregation are concerned, it does not appear that abstinence from eggs and lacticinia is enjoined.

Now it is obvious that this circumstance gives rise to an exceedingly strong presumption against the soundness of the reasoning upon which our correspondent relies. For, does it not seem almost extravagant to suppose that if the Holy Father now, for the first time, insisted upon the observance of a special and most rigorous form of abstinence, the necessity of which is expressly and unanimously denied by all theologians of eminence, this important fact should not have been explained in the official documents published by His Holiness and by the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences for the information of the Church? And that the only evidence of it should be found in a Rescript which regards

<sup>1</sup> See *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, vol. vi., No. lxi., October, 1869, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> *Revue des Sciences Ecclesiastiques*, Deuxieme Serie, tom. x., N. 116, p. 175.



merely the faithful of this country, and which is, of course, unknown throughout the greater portion of the Catholic world?

I may now return to the examination of the weak points of our Correspondent's argument. These, as I have already observed, are two :—(1.) The facts of the case do not sustain his statement, that in this Rescript “the Pope has allowed, *as a privilege*,” the use of eggs and lacticinia during “the extra-Lenten observance of the Jubilee Fast;” and (2.) Even if such a privilege had been granted, its concession would not justify his inference that, “*secluso privilegio*, abstinence from eggs and lacticinia is enjoined.”

In reference to the first point it will suffice to observe that in the Rescript, the Holy Father merely accedes to the prayer of the petition which was presented to him :—“*benigne annuit pro gratia juxta preces*.” Now, the petition does not, as our correspondent seems to imply, distinguish between the Jubilee Fast as it should be observed “*during Lent*,” and as it should be observed “*during the rest of the year*.” It prays merely that in consideration of the difficulty of procuring in Ireland the Lenten fare, the faithful in this country may be enabled to gain the Jubilee without observing the Lenten Fast, that is to say, without abstaining from eggs and lacticinia.<sup>1</sup> The effect, then, of the Rescript undoubtedly is to remove *whatever necessity may have existed* of observing this rigorous abstinence. But what was the extent of this necessity? Did it regard the time of Lent only, as every theologian teaches who has explained the nature of the Jubilee Fast? Or did it regard also “the rest of the year,” as our correspondent supposes? Since on this point the Rescript, as well as the petition, is silent, it obviously fails to sustain the statement that “in it the Pope *grants as a special favour the privilege* of eating eggs and lacticinia on the days of the Jubilee Fast, not only in the time of Lent, but also *during the rest of the year*.”

And it may be well to add that the advantage of obtaining this Rescript, in the supposition of its being required only for the time of Lent, is manifest. For, as was fully explained in the October number of the RECORD,<sup>2</sup> if such a privilege had not been granted, large numbers of the faithful in this country would from the extreme difficulty of observing the strict Lenten or “Black” Fast, have been

<sup>1</sup> The words of the petition are :—“[Quum] fere impossibile esset ut maxima pars populi adimplere posset conditionem jejunandi solis cibis Quadragesimalibus . . . petit ut praedicta conditio jejunii . . . cum sola abstinencia a carnibus . . . adimpleri possit.” See *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, vol. vi., No. lxi., October, 1869, page 39.

<sup>2</sup> See *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, vol. vi., No. lxi., October, 1869, p. 29.

unable to avail themselves of the permission which had previously been granted by his Holiness to the entire Church, allowing the Jubilee to be gained during the time of Lent.

Neither the terms of the Rescript, therefore, nor the circumstances in which it was obtained supply any grounds for supposing that it refers not to the time of Lent only, but also to the "rest of the year." It is plain, therefore, that the assumption on which the entire reasoning of our correspondent rests, is without the slightest foundation in fact.

But his reasoning is defective also upon other grounds. Even if it were true that a Rescript had been granted by the Holy Father, allowing as a privilege the use of eggs and lacticinia on the Jubilee fasting days throughout the entire year, it would by no means follow that independently of such a concession, eggs and lacticinia might not be eaten. *For it is an incontrovertible maxim of ecclesiastical jurisprudence that the fact of a privilege being granted even by the Pope, is no proof that any necessity existed for obtaining it.*

As this is a point of great importance in connection with other questions of much more practical moment than that which we are now examining, it may be useful to quote the language held in reference to it by two writers whose authority upon such a subject is beyond all exception. Suarez, in his Treatise on Laws, which, it is hardly necessary to observe, is universally regarded as a work of the very highest authority upon all questions regarding the principles of ecclesiastical legislation, says that sometimes a privilege is sought for and granted, authorising a person to perform some action, for the performance of which no permission was required:—" *Illud ipsum quod clare et sine controversia jure communi concessum est.*"<sup>1</sup> In such a case, he says:—" *Tale privilegium non potest habere effectum substantialiter distinctum ab effectu juris communis.*" And he illustrates his meaning by the following example:—" *Si alicui detur privilegium dicendi Missam ante recitatam Primam, quod constat jure communi esse licitum, ex vi illius privilegii nihil aliud habebit . . . Quod si tale privilegium videatur inutile, sibi imputet qui illud postulavit.*" Elsewhere he lays down the same principle with still greater emphasis. In reference to some theologians who were of opinion that the reading of Matins could not be commenced until shortly before sunset on the preceding day, he says:—" *Censent majorem anticipationem non esse licitam, inde argumentum sumentes quod saepe per privilegia Pontificia conceditur facultas dicendi*

<sup>1</sup> *De Legibus. Lib. viii., cap. xxii., n. 5.*



matutinum una hora ante occasum solis ; nam hoc est signum sine privilegio id non licere. *Sed hoc argumentum infirmum est, . . quia multa in privilegiis conceduntur, non quia necessaria sunt, sed quia petuntur.*"<sup>1</sup>

And that the practice of the Holy See has undergone no change in this respect, since the time of Suarez, is proved beyond all question by the manner in which the subject is referred to in a work<sup>2</sup> recently published at Rome, by Father Ballerini, whose position as Professor of Moral Theology in the Roman College, and Consultor to several of the Roman Congregations, renders it unnecessary to make any remark upon the weight which should be attached to his testimony regarding a question of this nature. In one of the most elaborate of his Notes to the last Roman edition of Gury's Theology, in the course of a discussion regarding the validity of a marriage in a certain case, he notices an argument which is sometimes brought forward to prove the invalidity of such marriages—namely, that the Holy See has frequently granted faculties *ad matrimonium revalidandum*, which would, it is plain, be altogether useless if these marriages were valid. In reference to the principle on which this argument is based—the same principle, it will be observed, which our correspondent considers cannot be rejected consistently with the respect due to the Holy See—the Professor of Moral Theology in the Roman College writes :—"At vero ejusmodi principium facile fallax apparebit, illudque falsitatis arguit quotidiana praxis..."<sup>3</sup> "que rem exemplo aliquo illustremus... fac modo, quisquam petierit et obtinuerit facultatem sequentis diei Matutinum hora secunda recitandi ; *concludes ne ideo Pontificem sic declarasse, invalide si desit haec facultas matutinum recitari?*"<sup>4</sup> So that in the judgment of this most competent authority, the principle assumed by our correspondent is not only false, but is so obviously false that it is sufficiently refuted by simply stating the consequence which would follow from its application to a case almost identical with that which we are examining.

Again, in replying to a similar argument, he says :—"Cum Benedicto XIV. (*Quaest. Can.*, 183, nn. 26-7) reponi potest quod cujusvis dispensationis aut facultatis concessio . . neque controversiarum statum neque jurium conditionem ullomodo immutat."<sup>4</sup> And of the application of this principle, still relying upon the authority of Benedict XIV., he gives the follow-

<sup>1</sup> *De Virtute Religionis*. Tract. iv., lib. iv., cap. xxvii., n. 12.

<sup>2</sup> GURY, *Compendium Theologiae Moralis Ant. Ballerinii, S. J., Adnotationibus Locupletatum*. Romae, 1866-9.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* Pars ii. n. 867. Ed. Romae, 1869.

<sup>4</sup> *Id ibid.*, n. 788. Romae, 1866.

ing examples :—" *Dispensatio concessa super irregularitate vel censura, non evincit incursum in irregularitatem vel censuram . . . Concessio facultatis petita, v.g. a Regulari . . qui vi privilegiorum ea jam pollebat, nihil Regularium privilegiis detrahit . . . Nec dispensatio concessa ad convalidandum matrimonium evincit praecedentem matrimonii nullitatem . . . Nec dispensatio concessa ad matrimonium contrahendum evincit certam impedimenti existentiam.*"<sup>1</sup>

And, elsewhere, having explained the motives which influence the Holy See in granting a dispensation or privilege in such cases, he goes on to say :—" *Cum quis . . ob opinionem falso conceptam, ab Apostolica Sede dispensationem quaerit ; haec sane nunquam respondet, ea petitione opus non fuisse . . sed dispensationem consuetis formis concedit,*"<sup>2</sup>

From the testimony, then, of these two writers, it is evident that the fact of a privilege being granted by the Holy See, cannot be regarded as a proof that any necessity existed for obtaining it. So that, as I have already remarked, the inference of our correspondent could not be sustained, even if a privilege, such as he describes, had been granted.

But, having called his attention to this very important maxim—in itself sufficient to show the unsoundness of his argument—I must remind him that I have also shown his statement regarding the actual concession of such a privilege in the case of the extra-Lenten observance of the Jubilee Fast, to be a purely gratuitous assumption.

For both these reasons it is plain that the Rescript in question furnishes no grounds for questioning the accuracy of the view which was explained in the October number of the RECORD.

W. J. W.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* Pars ii. n. 788. Romae, 1866.

<sup>2</sup> *Id ibid.* n. 867. Romae, 1869.



## LETTERS OF BALMEZ.

## IX.—GERMAN PHILOSOPHY—HEGEL.

MY ESTEEMED FRIEND—In my last letter I gave you my opinion about the modern German philosophy, and ventured to qualify it with a severity that perhaps appeared to you excessive. This boldness when treating of men who have acquired much celebrity, and whose words are listened to by some as if they came from the mouths of infallible oracles, imposes on me the duty of proving what I there said, and of doing so in a way that can admit of no reply. You recollect my complaints about the doctrine of these philosophers, with respect to Pantheism, and that I accused them of resuscitating the errors of Spinoza, though wrapped up in mysterious forms of a symbolic and emphatic language. This is the charge I am going to justify with respect to Hegel.

According to this philosopher, religion is the “production of the feeling, or of the consciousness which the mind has of its origin, of its divine nature, of its identity with the universal mind.” We might doubt of the real sense of that expression, *its divine nature*, if it stood alone, because as our soul is created after the image and likeness of God, and is distinguished by its elevation above all corporeal beings, it might be thought that Hegel only wanted to remind us of the nobleness and dignity of our mind, by founding religious sentiment on the consciousness which we have that our origin, our nature and destiny, are much superior to the piece of clay that encompasses our soul, and embarrasses and obstructs it. But the German philosopher took care to explain his ideas by adding that our mind was identical with the universal mind. What can that universal mind be that absorbs, that identifies itself with all particular minds? Is this not the pure and simple enunciation of a spiritualistic Pantheism? Is this not affirming that God is all minds, and that all minds are God? That the thought, the soul of every man, is no more than a modification of the only Being in whom all others are confounded and identified? But let us hear the German philosopher again, lest we may not have well comprehended the meaning of his words. “This consciousness,” continues Hegel, “is at first involved in a mere sentiment, the expression of which is worship; soon the consciousness is unfolded; God becomes an object, and from this

arise the mythologies, and all that is called the positive part of religion; but to detain oneself in this second stage in which the God of the universe is adored in the marble of Phidias, in which Jesus Christ is no more than an historical personage, would be treason to the mind."

"In religion people rest their ideas on the essence of the world, and the relations humanity has with it." The absolute being is here the object of their consciousness; there is another further off, which they represent to themselves, now with the attributes of goodness, now with those of terror. This opposition does not exist in prayerful recollection or in worship, and man is elevated to a union with the divine Being. *But this divine Being is reason in itself and for itself, the universal concrete substance; religion is the word of reason which is revealed.*" Perhaps you will wonder why the German philosopher takes so many turns to tell us that religion is no more than an ulterior manifestation of reason, that the divine Being, the Being that is the object of religion and worship, that is, God, is no more than reason itself, but *in itself and for itself*, or the universal concrete substance; I do not know if you be well enough versed in these matters to comprehend the jargon of a being that is *in itself and for itself*, that is human reason, and that in addition is the universal concrete substance. Be this as it may, I will endeavour to give you some explanation of the meaning involved in the enigmatical words of our metaphysicians.

To understand this you should know that according to Hegel, the entire world is no more than the evolution of the idea, and according to the degree of this evolution it is said beings are *in themselves*; and when it has attained its greatest progress, it is said beings are *for themselves*. You will ask me, what is the idea? According to Hegel it is nothing else but "the harmonious unity of this universal aggregate which is eternally unfolding itself;" "all that exists," he adds, "contains no truth but inasmuch as it is the idea that has passed to the state of existence, because the idea is the true and absolute reality." And do not believe that with this definition he wishes to express the divine intelligence, or otherwise the infinite essence of the Creator, in which is represented from all eternity all that exists, and all that is possible; nothing of the kind. When Hegel speaks of the harmonious unity he refers to this universal aggregate which has an eternal development, that is, to the world itself that receives different forms, and is modified in various ways. "To comprehend," he says, "what this evolution is by which the idea is produced and ends, it is necessary to distinguish two states;



the first is known by the name of disposition, virtuality, power, and I call it *being in itself*; the second is the actuality, the reality, or what I call *being for itself*. The child when it is born has reason virtually, in germ, but it does not yet possess the real possibility of reason. It is reasonable *in itself*, but it does not become such *for itself*, until it is developed. Every effort to understand and know, every action, has no other object but to bring to light what is hidden, to realise or actualise what exists virtually, to make objective what is in itself, to unfold what exists in germ."

"To come to existence is to suffer a change, and yet to remain the same; see, for example, how the oak comes of the acorn; the things produced are very different, but the whole was enclosed in the germ, though invisibly and ideally."

I shall pass over the many and serious considerations that could be suggested by the strange signification the German philosopher gives to the word *idea*. It had occurred to the authors of systems of ideology to give various explanations of the mystery of thought, giving also different acceptations to the word *idea*; but to say it is the "harmonious unity of the universal aggregate which is eternally unfolding itself," or in clearer terms, to call nature itself the idea, could only enter into the mind of one who, desiring to confound everything in a monstrous Pantheism, commences by giving to his words a signification unheard of and extravagant. I would wish to have it explained what necessity there is for so many circumlocutions to tell us that in the world there is but one being, or one substance, that it suffers different modifications, and that everything that exists is no more than one of the accidents of the universal aggregate which is being incessantly transformed. This is certainly Hegel's thought; the child has the use of reason in posse, the adult in esse: nay more, and, to speak with greater precision, the adult himself when he thinks he has the actuality, when asleep the potentiality of thought.

Hegel says that every effort to understand and know, and even every action, has for its object to bring to light what is hidden, to realise or actualise what exists virtually; this requires explanation. It is true that the effort to understand and to know, tends to make bright and clear what was obscure to us or entirely hidden from us; but it is not true that no action has any other object than to realise or actualise what exists virtually. It cannot be denied that in the order of nature there is a continual unfolding, in which some beings spring from others, as the *oak from the acorn*; but there are some, too, whose essence is opposed to their having emanated from any other whatever.

"To come to existence," says Hegel, "is to suffer a change, and yet to remain the same." This proposition established in general terms destroys all idea of creation, for creation can have no place without a passage from nothingness to being. If to come to existence is nothing more than to suffer a change and to remain the same, when the universe commenced to exist, it was not because it had been created by God, but because a transformation in the pre-existent matter taking place, this aggregate which astonishes us by its immensity, and enchants us with its beauty and harmony, was the result. Such a supposition brings us straight to the eternity of the world, to the chaos of the ancients, to all the absurdities about the origin of things, which the light of Christianity had banished from the earth.

It is strange that philosophers who boast of being exceedingly spiritualistic, who manifest contempt for the French materialism of the last century, should establish it so roundly and fully by combating the spirituality, the immortality, and the divine origin of our soul. If when it commences to exist there be nothing more than a change of being, as the oak is contained in the acorn, though developed and transformed, we can infer that the soul springs from the fruitful bosom of nature just as do the material germs; it may be a production more subtile, more active, more refined, but it will be nothing more than the being that already existed, than the plant that had sprung from the seed. This doctrine is essentially materialist, and all the mysteries and enigmas of the new philosophical language are not sufficient to screen it from this charge. What is simple, what is indivisible, cannot be the result of the transformation of another being; what passes from one state to another acquiring a new form, a new existence, like the vegetables that spring from the germ, is composed; because it is not possible to conceive that successive change without the idea of parts accompanying it. We can very well admit that a substance entirely simple may exercise very different acts, and receive various impressions, since all these modifications may be realised without altering its nature, as in fact we are continually witnessing with respect to our minds; but to affirm that the substance itself is no more than another transformed and developed, is to establish that this substance is composed of parts that can be combined in different ways.

The difficulty of attacking these ravings arises from the fact, that those new philosophers have had the humour to adopt a language so strange and enigmatical, that one is ever in doubt whether he has caught the true meaning of the



author. Thus, in the present case, if Hegel had said simply that in the world there is no more than one being, one substance that comprehends in itself the whole aggregate of whatever exists, adding, that what appear to us to be particular beings or substances, are nothing but modifications of the only substance that absorbs everything, we should know we had before us a professor of Pantheism; and when about refuting him we should not hesitate about what would be the best arguments to demonstrate the falsity of the monstrous system.

But what can you do with a man who begins by talking of idea, of harmonious unity, of the aggregate which is eternally unfolding itself, of the idea which is reality itself, of evolutions of being *in itself and for itself*, of transitions from virtuality to actuality, all for the purpose of telling us that the entire universe is nothing more than a successive development, coming out in the end with the stupendous discovery that a child when born has reason virtually, but that it does not possess it actualised, and that the oak comes from the acorn.

The branches, Hegel says, the leaves, the flowers, the fruit of one and the same plant, proceed each for itself, whilst the interior idea determines this succession. Could you tell me what can be the meaning of the branches, the leaves, the flowers, the fruits proceeding for themselves; or what may be the signification of the interior idea applied to plants? Does Hegel suppose that within nature there is an intelligent and provident being that sees everything, that regulates everything, intending to call this being's thought idea, distinguishing it however from matter? In that case he would come to the idea of God, for we also say that God is in all beings, in all places, seeing everything, ordaining everything, preserving everything, presiding over that magnificent development which is continually taking place in nature, in conformity with the laws established by the Creator. But we affirm that the Author of all these wonders existed from all eternity, before anything else existed, and now he preserves, moves, vivifies the world, not as the soul does the body, but in an independent, free way, without being bound to the creature, but acting by means of his omnipotent will, repeating every instant what Moses described to us with so sublime a touch:—*"Let light be made, and there was light."* But to give to nature an interior idea, bound, if we may say so, to corporeal beings, is to affirm that the world is an animated being, that it performs its functions in the same way as our body does, vivified by the soul; if this be accompanied by the confusion of mind with matter, if the existence of spiritual and corporeal

beings be supposed to be no more than a simultaneous development of the admirable aggregate, it forms pure Pantheism, such as Spinoza conceived it.

Perhaps you did not believe, my dear friend, that the modern philosophy of the unworthy successors of Leibnitz went to such an extreme; but for this very reason I have thought well to give you the very texts of the boasted philosophy, that you might become convinced at once that its loudly-proclaimed superiority is reduced to resuscitating old errors, though cloaked under extravagant names. This letter would be interminable, and I am sure it would be tiresome to you, if I should endeavour to show you, even in brief all the paradoxes to which Hegel was led by his enigmatic system. I will say nothing of the development of the idea in the *logical sphere of impersonal reason*, and other things of this kind. I shall limit myself to a few words about the strange hope the philosopher entertained of its being possible by means of his system to determine *a priori* the laws of the philosophical world. Newton and Leibnitz would certainly laugh at such a strange pretension; all modern physicians would laugh, as they agree that observation is the only means of obtaining a knowledge of the laws of nature; but Hegel would tell them with the greatest gravity, that as the laws of the physical world are nothing more than the laws of our mind, though rendered *objective*, it is very possible to pass from the knowledge of the latter to that of the former. The German philosopher would certainly find himself somewhat embarrassed, if he were asked for a clear and precise explanation of those laws of our mind, which are at the same time laws of nature. It would be curious to see indicated, that law of our mind, which, when applied to the corporeal world, is converted into universal attraction, exercised in direct ratio of the masses and inverse of the square of their distances; and to what the laws of affinity are reduced when on ceasing to be *objective*, they become simply laws of our soul. Poets, orators, philosophers, had already discovered many analogies between the moral and the physical world—analogies which seized on by genius, and embellished with the colours of a fruitful imagination, serve admirably to compare one with the other, and with different orders of beings, animating, varying, and embellishing the style; but it was reserved to Hegel not to be content with simple comparisons, but to establish complete identity, so that observation ceases to be necessary for penetrating the secrets of nature; it is enough to meditate on the laws of our mind—that is, to make abstraction of everything that surrounds us,



and then to *objectivise* the laws discovered, thus demonstrating *a priori* all those that direct the heavens and the earth.

You will undoubtedly believe I am jesting without grounds, at the expense of the German philosopher, and that I endeavour to give this turn to the discussion without paying regard to the true sense of Hegel, and attending only to the fact, that it is right to relieve in some way the discussion of subjects so insipid, because so abstruse. Well, be assured, I am not fighting a giant of my own creation. Hegel maintains, with all the gravity of a German, the paradoxes I have just refuted; and if the extravagant be mingled with touches of the ridiculous, it is not my fault. He proposed nothing less than to establish with the aid of his system all the natural sciences; and in his works you will find applications of it to mechanics, to physics, to geology, which he pretends to found on his metaphysical theories. The heavens, it is true, paid little attention to the prophecies of the philosopher, and sometimes sadly confounded him for having had the humour to demonstrate *a priori* that between *Mars* and *Jupiter* there could be no other planet, the celebrated astronomer, Piazzi, discovered for us, in the very same year, *Ceres*, which, as you know, takes up its position in the very place in which, according to Hegel's demonstration, no planet could be.

It is not to be wondered that a man who could presume so much, would go so far as to censure the immortal Newton in a most shameful manner. Notwithstanding his pride, it is certain posterity would not allow what is written on the English astronomer's tomb to be placed over that of the German metaphysician:—"Sibi gratulentur mortales tale tantumque exstitisse humani generis decus."

Hegel's mania on this point went so far that his admirer, Link, could not help saying "It is afflicting to see how our author talks of objects appertaining to the natural sciences, astronomy and mathematics; and yet he likes to talk of this, and he always does so with a tone so magisterial and so bitter, that it would make one laugh, if laugh he could, to see a man like him wandering so sadly. This evil of Hegel's grew worse in the last epoch of his life, and he even got vexed with those who did not consent to admire him."

I hope you are convinced, my esteemed friend, it was not without reason I was a little severe on modern German philosophy; for certainly the doctrine we have just examined requires no comments to show its tendency and spirit, as well as its own intrinsic worth. I hope to return to this point some other day, and in the meantime rest secure of the affection of your attached friend,

J. B.

## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

## I.

*Good Deeds: Sketches of Holy and Devoted Lives.* London: John Philp.

The two first quarterly Parts have now appeared of a Serial, which proposes to devote itself to that most attractive portion of Religious Literature—Biography. It does not seem that the canonized Servants of God are formally excluded from the programme; but as yet none such have been admitted among these “Sketches of Holy and Devoted Lives.” The First Part begins with a full and very interesting Life of Madame d’Houet, the Foundress of the Faithful Companions of Jesus, who are known in our own country by their flourishing Convents at Limerick, Newtownbarry, and Bruff. This is followed by shorter Sketches of the Count and Countess de la Garaye, and of the Mère Geoffry, Religious of the Sacré Cœur, whose life is almost as closely linked with the foundation of her Order as that of Madame Barat herself, more recently deceased.

The second of these Shilling Parts, which has just been published, opens with a brief sketch of the French Italian Marchioness Falletti di Barolo, who has been doubly fortunate in having her life written by Silvio Pellico (whose epitaph she nevertheless composed), and translated into English by Lady Georgiana Fullarton. The greater part, however, of this instalment of *Good Deeds* is occupied by a very minute and loving account of the “Good Sister Elizabeth,” Foundress of the Daughters of the Cross, and one of the most distinguished of those holy and zealous souls of whom God’s merciful providence made use to awaken the Catholicity of France after the nightmare of the Revolution had passed away.

The idea of this Biographical Series is happily conceived, and it has so far been executed with much skill and care. The style is clear and attractive; and the type and printing are such as Mr. Philp has taught us to expect in his publications.

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## II.

*Meditations on the Veni Sancte Spiritus.* London; John Philp.

We regret that this little book was not brought under the notice of our readers before the Feast of Pentecost, for which it is intended to serve as a preparation. However, it is an



agreeable and useful devotional tract at any season of the year. Monseigneur Gæume placed on the title page of his work on the Holy Ghost the inscription which St. Paul descried at Athens—*I gusto Deo*. He meant thereby to charge the devout faithful with what might, perhaps, too daringly be described as the absence of special devotion to the Third Person of the Adorable Trinity. Whether such a charge be well or ill-founded, the little book we are commending will have, at least for many, the charm of novelty both in subject and treatment, though in the original Italian it is some two hundred years old. It is hard indeed to believe that this is a translation, with such affectionate care and taste has the version been executed. It has run rapidly to a second edition, in which the Little Office of the Holy Ghost is added in Latin and English, and also many beautiful aspirations and prayers embodying the same devotion.

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### III.

*A Directory of Holy Indulgences, compiled from the Decrees of the S. Congregation of Indulgences, and other authentic sources, by Rev. M. Comerford. Dublin: Powell, 1870, pp. 130.*

The object sought in these pages is to supply ready and reliable information on the subject of Holy Indulgences, and thereby to facilitate their use, which the Council of Trent pronounces to be "most salutary to Christian people." As an Indulgence is not gained unless the conditions on which it is granted are accurately fulfilled, the necessity of being correctly informed regarding them is sufficiently obvious. The plan here carried out will, it is hoped, assist towards the attainment of this end. In the first part of this little compilation, the nature of an Indulgence, its different kinds, and the manner of complying with the conditions for gaining it, are briefly, but, perhaps, sufficiently explained. The second part consists of a collection of Indulged Devotions of the class generally practised by pious Catholics. The third part comprises a notice of various pious Confraternities and Associations, in selecting which, care has been taken to choose those which are held in more general esteem by the people for whose use the book is intended. In the last part, which is designed for constant use, the information contained in the preceding portions of the work is summarised and set forth in the form and order of a Calendar, by reference to which, the person can at once inform himself as to what Indulgences may be gained, on what title, what

conditions, etc., on the different Festivals and other occasions during the year.

The works from which this compilation has been chiefly made are the following:—"Resolutiones, seu Decreta Authentica Sacræ Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis præpositæ;" *Prinzivalli*; "Raccolta di Orazioni," etc., edition approved by the S. Congregation of Indulgences; "Le Chrétien éclairé sur la nature et l'usage des Indulgences," by *P. A. Maurel, S. J.*; approved by an express decree of the same Congregation, dated 12th December, 1857; "Il Domma delle SS. Indulgenze," etc., by the *Abbate Dom. Sarra*, Recorder of the said Congregation, etc. A translation of this last-named work, and also an authorized English version of the "Raccolta," by *F. St. John*, of the Oratory, have been published by Messrs. Burns, Oates, & Co. The reader is referred to these standard works for further information on the doctrine of Holy Indulgences, and for many indulgenced exercises not contained in the present compilation.

## MONASTICON HIBERNICUM;

OR,

### A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE ANCIENT MONASTERIES OF IRELAND.

[N.B.—The text of the "Monasticon" is taken *verbatim* from Archdall: the notes marked with numbers are added by the Editors.]

#### COUNTY OF CLARE.

*Kilfenora*; in the barony of Corcumroe. The annals of

Continuation of Note 17, from page 548.

'na θιαις αρ—"I bow to the grace of God, but I leave the blessed St. Lachtain to avenge it." When one neighbour visits another in sickness or in trouble the first salutation is: "οια ααφ Μυρε ααφ λατταιν λεατ, ααφ ααυ τα ορη α ρτορη μο ερωρε," &c. "May God and the blessed Virgin and St. Lachtain assist you, my dear friend, and what is the matter with you?" and as terms of applause and approbation they have: "λατταιν λεατ and λατταιν λεατ γεαγ, i.e., Lachtain be with you, and Lachtain to your arm, meaning, success attend you, and more power to your arm, &c.

Archdall gives a list of obits from the "Annals of the Four Masters," as belonging to this place, in his MS. additions preserved in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, which appears to support Dr. O'Donovan's opinion that Archdall confounded Kilfarboy, *Cill Feabhrath*, in the county of Clare, with *Cill Foibrighe*, or Kilfoibric, now Kilbrew, near Ashbourne, in the county of Meath, and it may be also confounded with *Bealach Abhra*, in Muscraigh, in the county of Cork,



Munster tell us, that Morogh O'Brien burnt the abbey of Kilfenora,<sup>18</sup> and slew many people therein, A.D. 1055.

another of St. Lachtain's churches. See "Annals of the Four Masters," A.D. 622, p. 245, A.D. 737, n. f. 768, n. k. 836, n. g.

In the Ordnance Survey Papers of the county of Clare in the Royal Irish Academy, vol. i., p. 331-4, we find the following notice of the parish and church of Kilfarboy:—

The parish of Kilfarboy, in the barony of Ibricken and county of Clare, is bounded on the north by the parish of Kilmannaheen, in the barony of Corcomroe, on the east by the parish of Cloony, in Corcomroe barony, and the parish of Eidhneach, in the barony of Inchiquin; on the south by the parish of Kilmurry, in the barony of Ibricken, and on the west by the Atlantic Ocean. See Engraved Map of Down Survey.

The name of this parish is of ecclesiastical origin, but whether the component parts are radically correct is more than I am at present prepared to decide. The present form of the name is that by which it is known within the memory of the oldest inhabitant, and it is also by that name the parish is set down in the book of Regal Visitation. The name as it is spoken would be spelled thus, *Cill Fearbaigh*, i. e., the Church of Saint *Fearbach*, but of this *Fearbach* no historical account has reached us.

There is a tradition in the district that this church is called *Kill-Fearabuidhe* from a number of (yellow men) Spaniards who were drowned at Spanish Point, near it, having been buried here many years ago. That the Spaniards were drowned and buried here is a fact, but whether the peasantry in striving to account for the origin of the name of the church have not pressed this circumstance into their assistance, is a matter that may be surmised. *Kill-Fearabuidhe* would literally mean the Church of the *Yellow Men*; [but *Ceill Feab-Rath*, as it is written in "O'Clery's Calendar," would mean the Church of the Healing or Sanctifying Graces, and this was the name by which the place was known for centuries before the advent of the Spaniards or "Yellow Men."]

Archdall seems to think that this is the *Cill Foibric* mentioned by Colgan (A. A. S. S. p. 360), of which Cormack was Bishop, whose death is placed by the same authority in the year 837.

He may or may not be right in this, but he has no proof that *Cill Foibric* was situated in the ancient district of *Ui-Bracain*. "There is no recollection of *Cill Foibric* or of St. Cormac here, neither is there of any other saint, but of Saint Lachtain (whose festival) is still observed in the parish on the 19th day of March, the same as in *Achad-Uir* in Ossory, and whose well is situated within the churchyard, and still much frequented by devotees" and invalids, on Sundays and Thursdays, nor are those visitors niggardly of their presents to (at) the shrine of the saint, for nothing is seen about the well but old nails, shells, Warren, blacking pots, bits of old leather, broken saucers, &c., &c., &c.

The old Church of Kilfarboy stands in the townland of Kilfarboy, to which it gives its name, measuring 65 feet 9 inches in length, and 17 feet in breadth; the walls in good preservation, excepting the west gable, which is down to the height of the side walls. There is a pointed doorway in the south side, at the distance of 14 feet from the west gable, 6 feet 4 inches high, and 3 feet 6 inches wide, built up in front, with well cut stones, and having a holy water font inserted in the wall on the right hand side as one goes in. Six feet 3 inches from the east gable, in the same side, is a pointed window, 7 feet high and 3 feet wide, inside, 4 feet from the ground outside where it measures 4½ feet in height, and 6½ inches in breadth at top, and 7½ inches at bottom, having its sides perforated for iron bars. There is a pointed window in the east gable, measuring 6 feet 9 inches in height on the inside, and 3 feet in breadth, and 4 feet 10 inches in height, and 7 inches in breadth on the outside. The sides perforated for the reception of iron bars. The walls are built for the most part of long thin quarry stones."—*Ordnance Survey of Clare*, vol. i., pp. 331-4.

<sup>18</sup> This was the cathedral church of the ancient episcopal city of Kilfenora, dedicated to St. Fechen, patron of the diocese. It was situated about four and a half miles north-north-east from the town of Ennistymon, in the barony of Corcomroe.

*Killaloe*,<sup>e</sup> the seat of a bishop, and situated on the western banks of the river Shannon, near the noted cataract. St. Molualobhair, the grandson of Eocha Baildearg, King of North Munster, founded an abbey here about the beginning of the 6th century.<sup>f</sup> He was succeeded by his disciple St. Flannan, who about the year 639 was consecrated bishop of the place; from this time we hear no more of it as an abbey.<sup>g</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Killaloe was anciently the resort of many pilgrims.

<sup>e</sup>Was called anciently *Kildalua*. <sup>f</sup>*Collectan. vol. i, p. 439.* <sup>g</sup>*War. Bish. p. 590.*

This ancient church is now represented by the Protestant church of Kilfenora, and the seven stone crosses that marked the sanctuary of the cathedral have all disappeared but two, and it appears hopeless to seek their history. One of them, however, may be still seen on the demesne of Clansford, at Killaloe. It was removed thither in the year 1821 by the Right Rev. Dr. Mant, Protestant bishop of the united dioceses of Killaloe and Kilfenora, and placed in the beautiful demesne of Clansford, with a Latin inscription indicating its history:—

Quam spectas crucem,  
In agro Fenaborensi vetustate collapsam,  
Ne penitus incuria, situque abolesceret  
Hic  
Apud sedem Laonensem  
Erigi curavit  
Antiquitatis Ecclesiasticæ studiosus  
R. M. S. T. P.  
Utriusque Dioceseos Episcopus.  
A.D. MDCCCXXI.

A few yards west of Kilfenora was Kilcarragh, a monastery or hospital endowed with one quarter of land; the site is marked on the Ordnance Map of Clare, sheet 16.

<sup>19</sup>The following notice of the parish of Killaloe is found in the Ordnance Survey of Clare, vol ii. p. 339.

"This parish is bounded on the north by the parishes of O'Gonnello and Kilno; on the west by that of Killokenedy; on the south by Kiltennaanlea, and on the east by the Shannon, which separates it from the county of Tipperary.

"The name of this parish is in all the ancient Irish authorities written *Cill da lua*, which means the church of *St. Dalua*, *Molua* or *Luanus*, a famous saint who flourished towards the end of the sixth century. Ledwich, indeed, contends that *Cill lo lua* is the true name, and that it means the church upon or near the *water*. In this, however, he opposes the whole stream of Irish history, for every authority states that *Kill da lua*, means the church of St. Molua, the *leper*. On this subject a few observations are here called for:

"Was Ledwich certain that Killaloe means the church near the water? He could not have been, because he was not master of the Irish language, and even if he were, he could not be certain that his interpretation was correct, for *Lua*, though given in the Irish vocabularies 'without authority' as one of the primitive words for water, is not to be found in composition in any Irish book or MS., or entering into the names of places in any part of Ireland; and even if *Lua* were found in the names of places as signifying *water*, it could not be certain that it meant *water* when placed after the term *Cill* a church. \* \* \* \* \*

St. Molua was succeeded by St. Flannan, who was consecrated bishop of the place about the year 639, and from that period forward Killaloe is mentioned in Irish history as the seat of a bishop. For the history of Killaloe, see Harris's "Ware," and "Annals of the Four Masters," transcribed into the first volume of the "Clare Extracts," pp. 335, 336, 338, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, & 346.

The well of St. Flannan, who became patron of the diocese (Molua never having had the dignity of bishop) is situated in the east corner of Killaloe town,



<sup>20</sup> *Kilnagallech*; on the shore of the river Shannon, and two miles and an half N. W. of Inis Scatterry.

St. Senan gave the veil to the daughters of Nateus in Kil-cochaille, now called Kilnacaillech, or the Church of the Nuns, not far from Inis Scatterry.<sup>h</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *Killoen*; in the barony of Islands. About the year 1190 Donald O'Brien, King of Limerick, founded an abbey here for nuns following the rule of St. Augustin, and dedicated it to St. John the Baptist.<sup>i</sup> Slaney, the daughter of Donogh Carbreach, King of Thomond, was abbess of this nunnery, and died A. D. 1260; she was pre-eminent in devotion, alms deeds, and hospitality to all the women then in Munster.<sup>k</sup>

<sup>h</sup>*Act. SS.* p. 540. <sup>i</sup>*War. mon.* <sup>k</sup>*Annal. Innisfal. Lodge, vol. 1, p. 251.*

and N. W. of the Cathedral. His memory was formerly celebrated at it on the 18th of December, but now it is visited on any day the pilgrims think proper.

Immediately to the north of the Cathedral there is a small stone-roofed church, or *Duirtheach*, not unlike St. Columkille's house at Kells, or St. Kevin's kitchen at Glendalough. It measures on the outside 36 feet 4 inches in length, and 35 feet in breadth. The doorway is placed in the west gable, but I could not ascertain its original height, as the ground is several feet raised. It is 4 feet 8 inches in width at the point where the arch springs. The height from the present level of the ground to the vertex of the arch is 6 feet. This doorway is semicircular at the top, and consists of four concentric circles not unlike the doorway of the church of Rahen, in the King's County; of Incha Gaill, in Lough Corrib; and of St. Caimin's church on Inis Cealtra.

In the very sharp gable over this doorway is placed near the top a round-headed window, which afforded light to the upper story. The roof is of stone, and seems to have been very firmly constructed, but it is now much broken and overgrown with grass and small *ash* trees.

The little choir of this *Duirtheach* is now destroyed, but its breadth can be ascertained from stones projecting from the east gable. The choir arch is not unlike in form that in St. Kevin's kitchen, but not so high, being only 8 feet 6 inches high from the present level of the ground. Over this little choir arch, near the top of the gable is placed a rectilineally-pointed window, not unlike those found in many of the round towers.—*Ordnance Survey of Clare, Royal Irish Academy, vol. ii., p. 339.*

<sup>20</sup> This church of Kilnagallegh is the church anciently called *Cill-Leochaille*, and appears to be that which is now called *Kill-na g-Caillech*, e. i. *Cella Sanctimonialium* &c. Church of the Nuns, situated not far from St. Senan's church of *Inis Cathaigh*, in the country of Corcabaischin.

The Irish lives of St. Senan record his visit to this church the day previous to his death, and his bequest of a relic to them for their protection.

<sup>21</sup> This abbey was situated in the parish of Killowne (or Clareabbey), in the barony of Islands, about two and a half miles south by west from Ennis, on the old road to Kildysart. The ruin is still in pretty good preservation, and handsomely situated near the north-eastern extremity of the beautiful lake of Killowne, in the picturesque demesne of Killowne (New Hall), the seat of W. E. A. Mac-Donnell, Esq.

Near this abbey is a celebrated holy well, dedicated to St. John, on the eve of whose festival it is much resorted to by the pious people of the surrounding country as a place of pilgrimage and devotion to St. John.

Inquisition 15th May, II. King James, finds that King Henry VIII., 1st July, xxxv. of his reign, granted to Morrogh, Earl of Thomond, this abbey, with three quarters and half a quarter of land in this county, with all the appurtenances, viz., all the tithes in the parish of Killowne and Kilnekelly, worth

<sup>22</sup> *Kilshanny*; In the barony of Corcumroe. The cell of Kilshanny, alias Kilfonna, was annexed to the abbey of Corcumroe.

This monastery, with all its appurtenances, mills and fisheries, was granted to Robert Hickman.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>23</sup> *Quin*; called also Quint, or Quinchy, is in the barony of Bunratty, five miles east of Ennis.

An abbey was founded here early, which was consumed by fire A. D. 1278.<sup>m</sup>

The monastery of Quin, for Franciscan Friars, was founded in 1402, by Sioda Cam M'Namarra;<sup>mm</sup> but Father Wadding

<sup>1</sup>*Rolls.* <sup>m</sup>*M'Geogh.* <sup>mm</sup>*Ann. 4 Masters.*

£13 4s. annual rent. Two parts of the tithes of Inishe and Clonrawde, containing 4 quarters of land; 2 parts of the tithes between Bothes Clares; 2 parts of the tithes in Kilmihil and Kilchreishe; 2 parts of Mourghy, and the rectory thereof, containing 4 quarters of land; 2 parts of the tithes of Rathkerney, and 2 parts of the tithes of 2 quarters of land near the noulet of Awne O'Gorna, in Ballyussin. *Ch-Remem.—Archdall's MS. Additions, Royal Irish Academy.*

<sup>22</sup> This monastery was situated in the parish of Killshanny, in the barony of Corcumroe, about two and a half miles north from Ennistymon, on the road to Kilfenora. It was built by Donald More O'Brien, King of Thomond, about the year 1194, under the invocation of St. Augustine, for Cistercians, and endowed with certain lands and privileges. St. Augustine is still venerated as the patron of the parish. The ruins are yet in good preservation, and traditionally venerated by the people of the surrounding country. There is a holy well at no great distance on the south side, dedicated to St. Augustine, where a patron is still held on the 28th of August, the feast of that saint.

The traditional history of the bells of St. Augustine, which were preserved here till very recently, constitutes, perhaps, the most interesting part of the modern history of this place. It was generally believed that to swear falsely by the bell of St. Augustine was immediately followed by some remarkable manifestation of the guilt of the person who had done so, and tradition has it that some persons guilty of having sworn falsely upon *Clog naomh Augustin* (or St. Augustine's bell), were known to rise from their bed on the following day with their mouth or face painfully distorted. This bell was preserved by a poor family in the village of Kilshanny, who were known as the hereditary keepers of St. Augustine's bell, and who, by usage, were considered to be entitled to a certain fee for the use of the bell and for the proper administration of the oath. Within a recent period the bells have been removed by some agency, not well known, and may be now seen in the collection of antiquities in the British Museum.

For a further account of these bells, see "*Kilkenny Archaeological Journal*" for the year 1852-3, p. 61-2, &c., &c.

<sup>23</sup> This magnificent abbey was situated in the ancient territory of *Clann Coilleán*, or *Mac Namaras* of Thomond (who were its founders), in the present barony of Bunratty, about five Irish miles to the east of Ennis. The ruin is still in good preservation, and is one of the most imposing and magnificent remains of monastic antiquity in Ireland. It is beautifully situated on a gentle slope over a small clear stream which, in its original course, was supposed to mark the extent of the monastic sanctuary at one side.

The following Inquisition, preserved in the Chief Remembrance Office, goes to prove the same:—

Inquisition 24th April, IV. King James, finds that the half of a quarter of land called Keave, containing sixteen acres and lying on the west side of the river and abbey of Quin, was parcel of the demesne of the said abbey, and that a mill in the town of Quin, with the water-course, was also a parcel thereof;



places it in the year 1350, yet at the same time he declares, that he thinks it was more ancient.<sup>n</sup>

Pope Eugene IV. granted a licence in 1433 to M'Namarra to place the friars of the strict observance in this monastery; which, as Wadding observes, was the first house of the Franciscan order in Ireland that admitted of that reformation.<sup>o</sup> The same year Macon Dall M'Namarra, Lord of Clancoilean, erected this monastery, being a beautiful strong building of black marble; his tomb is still remaining.<sup>p</sup>

This monastery, with all the manors, advowsons, &c. of Daveunwall, Icharve, Dounagoar, and divers others, with the site of all the hereditaments thereof, was granted to Sir Tirlagh O'Brien of Inishdyman, in fee, December 14th, 1583.<sup>q</sup>

The Roman Catholics repaired this monastery in 1604.<sup>r</sup>

Bishop Pococke thus describes its present state.<sup>s</sup> "Quin is one of the finest and most entire monasteries that I have seen in Ireland; it is situated on a fine stream, with an ascent of several steps to the church; at the entrance, one is surprised with the view of the high altar entire, and of an altar on each side of the arch of the chancel. To the south is a chapel, with three or four altars in it, and a very fine Gothic figure, in relief, of some saint; on the north side of the chancel is a fine monument of the family of the M'Namarras of Rance, erected by the founder; on a stone by the high altar the name of Kennedye appears in large letters; in the middle, between the body and the chancel, is a fine tower built on the two gable ends. The cloister is in the usual form, with couplets of pillars, but is particular, in having buttresses round it by way of ornament; there are apartments on three sides of it, the refectory, the dormitory, and another grand room to the north of the chancel, with a vaulted room under them all; to the north of the large room is a closet, which leads through a private way to a very strong round tower, the walls of which are near ten feet thick. In the front of the monastery is a building, which seems to have been an apartment for strangers, and to the south-west are two other buildings."

<sup>n</sup>As quoted by *Allemande*. <sup>o</sup>*Id.* <sup>p</sup>*War. MSS.*, vol. 34, p. 165. <sup>q</sup>*Rolls*. <sup>r</sup>*Cox*, vol. 2, p. 10. <sup>s</sup>*Journal*.

the whole of the annual value of 3s. besides reprises—*Chief Remem.—Archdall's MS. Additions, Royal Irish Academy.*

The possession of this stream appears to have been much contested in times of war. In the *Caithreim Toirdhealbhaigh*, or Wars of Thomond, we find a glowing description of a battle fought here between the Earl De Clare and the sons of Brian Roe O'Brien, in which the Earl is said to have taken possession of the church of *Cuinche* (Quin), and to have used it as a shelter and citadel for his forces, so that the sons of Brian Roe O'Brien had to burn the church to the ground in order to secure the defeat of the *Gall* (foreigner).

<sup>24</sup> *Rossbeenchoir*; near the western ocean; St. Cocca, nurse to St. Kieran, was abbess of a nunnery here,<sup>t</sup> which is now wholly unknown.

<sup>25</sup> *Shraduffe, or Templedisert*, on the 12th of March, 1611, the site of this abbey, and the possessions thereunto belonging, were granted, in fee, to Sir Edward Fisher, Knt.<sup>u</sup> This is

<sup>t</sup>*Act. SS. p. 461.* <sup>u</sup>*Rolls.*

The "Annals of the Four Masters" notice this battle at the year 1278 in the following words:—"The victory of *Cuinche* (Quin) was gained by Donough, son of Brian Roe and the other sons of O'Brien over the Earl of Clare. They burned the church of *Cuinche* over the heads of his people, and caused an indescribable destruction of them, both by burning and killing;" and the editor adds (foot note n) "The church here referred to, was an ancient Irish one, dedicated to St. Finghin. The great abbey of this place was not erected till the year 1402, or, according to Ware, till 1433. See Harris's edition of 'Ware's Antiquities,' p. 280."

<sup>24</sup> The "Annals of Innisfallen" notice this monastery as follows:—"A.D. 500, the monastery of Rosbeanchair, in the county of Clare, was founded by St. Conchadh. The same year a monastery was founded at *Inislua*, in the lower Shannon, in the county of Clare, by St. Caimin."

<sup>25</sup> A visit to the spot would have supplied abundant evidence of the former existence of the religious house, concerning which the author had such scanty information.

Templedisert, or the church of Dysert, is situated in the parish of Dysert (to which it gives name), in the barony of Inchiquin, about five miles north-west from the town of Ennis, on the road to Corofin. The ecclesiastical remains of this place consist of a beautiful old church or monastery in ruins; the doorway of this ruin has been considered one of the best specimens of monastic architecture in Ireland, and stands unshaken to the present day.\* It also contains the remains of a round tower between thirty-five and forty feet high, and a large cross of hewn stone bearing the effigy of the Patron Saint of the parish, namely, St. Monawl, whose altar of sculptured stone is still preserved at this ruin, and whose name and festival are still venerated in the parish of Dysert.

In the Petrie Collection of Ecclesiastical Antiquities in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, may be seen part of the ancient crozier of St. Monawl in two pieces, regarding which we find the following notice in Miss Petrie's handwriting in her father's Catalogue of Antiquities:—"No. 913-914. Crozier of St. Nael or Monalach, patron Saint of Dysert O'Dea; it had been preserved in the church until purchased by my father from an old woman who belonged to the neighbourhood of Dysert O'Dea, and who belonged to the family of the *Errenack's* or hereditary keepers."

This place is now commonly called Dysert O'Dea from its having been the territorial residence of the ancient Dalcasian sept of that name, (who were chiefs of the *Cinel Fearmaic* in Thomond, and whose castle stands in ruins at a short distance to the north-west of the old church, but it was also called Disert Tola, i. e., St. Tola's desert. Lanigan in his *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, vol. iii., p. 171, and p. 173, notes 105, 106, 107, in his notice of St. Tola and Disert Tola, appears to mistake the person and the place. He says:—"This Saint (Tola) was of the illustrious family of *Galengi* in the Queen's County," and places Disert Tola in the King's County.

The copy of O'Clery's Book of Genealogies of the Saints of Erin, preserved in the College of St. Isidore, in Rome, shows that he was not of the family of the "*Galengi*" of Leinster, but a Munsterman, and a kindred branch of the *Dalcais*, at the head of whose territory Disert-Tola is situated. This book gives his genealogy as follows:—[St.] "Tula, of Disert-Tula, son of Donchadh, son of Earbroinn, son of Garbann, son of Senach, son of Muireadach, son of Failglinn, son of Broccan, son of Carbmach, son of Taidg, son of Cian, son of Oilioll Olum," &c.

This is sufficient to establish Dr. Lanigan's error as to the family of St. Tola. To identify the place called Disert Tola we have only to consult the proper autho-

\*See a representation sketch of it in the "Dublin Penny Journal," 1832-3, No. 19, p. 148.



THE IRISH  
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AUGUST, 1870.

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A. F. OZANAM, HIS LIFE AND WORKS.<sup>1</sup>

IT has often been remarked that, as difficult times occur, God in every age raises up the men, who, in each particular time and place, are best fitted to combat error and to advance the cause of truth. The means, the instruments, which are suited in one age and in one country, may not, owing to circumstances, suit another age and a different climate. But this all experience tells us, that when God has work to be done, the men, and the best men, to do that work are sure to be found. I do not know that this truth was ever more strikingly illustrated than it was in France, by the brilliant group of believers who, in the midst of a society of scoffers, held courageously to their faith, and recovered no small portion of the conquests made by Voltaire and Rousseau and their followers. Amongst the clergy, Lacordaire and de Ravignan, amongst the laity, De Montalembert and Ozanam, were the most illustrious of these men,—men who made the reign of Louis Philippe, the eighteen years which elapsed from 1830 to 1848, a time, on the whole, of religious progress. Of these men, all of them marked with great ability, Ozanam is less known, perhaps, to the world outside of France than are the others. We are all familiar with the other names,—names which are emphatically great. The pulpit of Notre Dame and the rostrum of the House of Peers gave a greater vantage ground from which to address the world than the desk of a professor at the Sorbonne. Besides, to

<sup>1</sup> A lecture delivered before the Historical and Æsthetical Society of the Catholic University, by William Woodlock, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

speak the truth, Ozanam was not a man of the same calibre as the others; nor, while I wish to present him to your admiration, do I mean to pretend that he was, intellectually or otherwise, one of the giants of the church. He is not to be classed with a Thomas Aquinas or with a Bossuet, but he nevertheless did much good work in his day. He was a man of his own time, and he supplied, as you will see in the sequel, in his own period, a want which was then much felt, which is still much felt, and which it particularly behoves you, gentlemen of the Catholic University, to endeavour in your day and sphere to supply; and through his writings, and still more through the work he mainly helped to found, his influence is still powerful on thousands who, perhaps, have never heard his name.

Antoine Frédéric Ozanam was born at Milan, in the year 1813. His father was a medical man who appears to have had a somewhat wandering and unsettled life; at one time practising as a physician, at another time endeavouring, unsuccessfully, to establish himself as a merchant,—passing from Lyons to Leghorn, from Leghorn to Milan, and from Milan back to Lyons again. A man of some ability he must have been, for it is recorded that, settling at Milan at the ripe age of thirty-six, he was able to make a career for himself in his profession, and to earn the name of a painstaking and learned physician. It was in the days of the first Napoleon; all Northern Italy was in the hands of the French, and a Frenchman was pretty certain to find numbers of his fellow-countrymen wherever he went. However, shortly after the birth of the subject of this paper, Lombardy was handed over to the Austrians, and the elder Ozanam, with his family, returned to France. There, in the old city of Lyons, Antoine Frédéric grew up, and there he acquired the characteristics which marked him through life. Lyons has always been famous as a centre of Catholic feeling, and its inhabitants have ever been marked by a strong religious spirit. Everything about Ozanam tended to confirm the naturally religious bent of his spirit. A mind like his, fond of looking back on the past, could not be uninfluenced by the fact that some of the oldest memories of his ancestral city were stories of Christian martyrdom; and in the present, the famous pilgrimage of Notre Dame de Fourvières was there to show that the tradition of faith which began in the first, was not lost in the nineteenth century. The young man grew up under the tuition of a venerable priest, the Abbé Noirot, who had in his time some reputation as a teacher of mental and moral philosophy. Very early he began to write, and to prepare, by laborious study, for the fame he was afterwards to acquire.



Even at so young an age as that of sixteen we have it that he contributed to a Lyonnese literary paper, and dived deeply into the study of Hebrew and Sanscrit. In addition to these graver studies he applied himself to the acquisition of modern languages. He was a quick and ready learner, and we are told that he mastered English, German, Spanish, and Italian with great facility. His entire taste was for literature, and he was anxious to go to Paris to prosecute his studies in that direction, but his parents who disapproved his choice, threw in his way all the obstacles in their power, and placed him for a while in an attorney's office. However, he was at last able to follow his inclination, and, in the year 1831, he being then of the age of eighteen, he went to Paris and became a law student.

It was a time of no little importance in history. After a reign of fifteen years the elder branch of the Bourbons had a second time been driven from France. Passions, hopes, and fears were stirred to the uttermost among the people. Doctrines of the wildest description were spread abroad. Republicans, Socialists, Constitutionalists, Buonapartists, seemed to be struggling confusedly for supremacy, and for a time it was difficult to prophesy which would emerge victorious from the conflict. One cause there was which, whatever might be the fate of the others, seemed to have received a crushing blow,—that was the cause of religion. Religion, in France, was then in some way inextricably mixed up with the fortunes of the House of Bourbon; whatever affected the one, affected the other, and, then, at least,—I do not know how it may be at present,—the terms *légitimiste* and Catholic were very nearly synonymous. All over the continent revolution and infidelity appear to go hand in hand; and one of the first effects of the revolution of July had been to cause an outburst of the old spirit which had presided at the feasts of the Goddess of Reason. It was not enough for the liberal party that certain political principles should triumph, that particular abuses, supposing them to have been so, of monarchical power, should be corrected; the party burned with a hatred of all that appertained to the Catholic faith, and the altar and the throne were alike the objects of their hostility. This spirit had been apparent all through the debates in the French Chamber of Deputies from 1815 to 1830; and now that the Bourbons were gone, there were not wanting signs of a desire to get rid of other institutions as well. There were periods when it was hardly safe for an ecclesiastic to show himself in the streets of the capital; and on one evil day the Parisian mob sacked the palace of their archbishop, the

venerable Monseigneur de Quélen. It is needless to say that every kind of wild and extravagant doctrine, both in religion and in politics was flying abroad,—that religion was either banished from the schools, or, what is almost worse, placed in such a subordinate position, that the rising generation of Frenchmen could only learn to hold it in contempt and derision. Some few Catholics there were who, so far from being discouraged by the character of the times, thought that they might invoke, in favour of the church, the liberal maxims which its enemies so delighted in proclaiming. Montalembert, Lacordaire, and another of greater genius than either, but whose pride, unfortunately for himself was even greater than his genius, endeavoured in this way to serve the cause of their faith. Taking their stand on the charter which they thought existed as much for them as for other Frenchmen, they opened a free school for little children, and founded a newspaper for the advocacy of their principles. They were very soon undeceived. The police closed up their school and dispersed their scholars; and the government found the articles in their newspaper to be what we would call seditious libels, and the editors were visited with a criminal prosecution. This is, however, not the time to relate all that took place in reference to this little band of Catholics, as my present object is merely to place rapidly before you such matters as may enable you to judge of the influences which swayed the young minds of Paris, and the direction in which those minds were likely to tend, when at the age of eighteen Ozanam arrived in Paris and began to frequent the schools of law.

The student class, of which he now formed one, was precisely that which was most influenced by the ideas of the day. I fear that even at the present day, French students cannot be considered as a very religious body. Certainly some recent events have shown that a fondness for a certain amount of turbulence, and an attachment to extreme liberal ideas, are by no means dead amongst them. But in the early years of Louis Philippe's reign these characteristics were more strongly marked than even they are now, and it required no little moral courage for a student following his classes, mixing with other students, exposed to irreligious influences, alike from the professor to whose lectures he was listening, and from the comrade by whose side he was sitting, to profess fidelity to his religion, and to practise it openly and undisguisedly. There were, however, some who had this moral courage, and amongst them was Ozanam. In truth his courage went farther than what I have said would imply. It was not merely that he believed and practised, he made himself in his sphere the defender of



the interests of truth. After his lectures he would sometimes, we are told, investigate for himself the subjects on which his professor had been treating, and, if he found, as it seems he sometimes did, that truth had been sacrificed, he would address to the lecturer a grave and well-reasoned letter, to warn him of his fault, and, says Father Lacordaire, to implore of him to undo the wrong he had done to minds to which his duty was to give light.

Although the tone of the society into which Ozanam was thrown was, as a rule, worldly, and in two many instances even anti-Christian, he was not without friends of a very different type. When quitting Lyons he had obtained letters of introduction to several of the most distinguished men of his day, and, amongst them, to Chateaubriand. The illustrious author of the *Martyrs* and of the *Genius of Christianity*, was then living in Paris. His political career was over; the family in whose service he had wrought much, and suffered much, were in exile, and the old Breton nobleman was not one of those who can throw aside their convictions like an old garment, and transfer their allegiance from one set of masters to another, as lightly as though political honour were a thing of no account. But though the political world was closed to him, the world of letters was still his; in it he still was a power, and though other vigorous writers had appeared, Chateaubriand was at the time the greatest literary figure of France, while at the same time he represented unshaken fidelity to principle, even, when that principle seemed to be battered and crushed to earth. It is not wonderful then that Ozanam, almost a boy in years, should have hesitated in presenting himself to Chateaubriand. Accordingly, with a very natural timidity, he allowed some months to pass, till at last, in 1832, he ventured into the great man's presence. It is pleasing to know that Chateaubriand received his young visitor kindly, and gave him advice as to his conduct in life, which bore its fruits.

But more powerful than the influence of Chateaubriand on Ozanam's mind and life, was that of a man whose name, familiar to French ears, is, I fear, nearly, if not altogether, unknown to most of my hearers. This was Ampère, a profound mathematician; and, furthermore, what amongst professors of mathematics in those days in France, was not of very frequent occurrence, a faithful and practical Christian. Ampère had lived through the days of the first revolution, and had his marriage blest by a non-juring priest, at a time when to be, or have any intercourse with, such a priest, was fraught with rather more danger in France than a similar position

entailed in this country at the worst part of the penal times. He had toiled on, and if you wish a delicious picture of simplicity, purity, and industry combined, I would recommend you to read in Ste. Beuve's *Portraits Littéraires* the sketch of this illustrious man, whose character combined what would seem to be the two very opposite qualities of perfectly idyllic romance, and a dogged hard-headed fondness for his favourite mathematics. He was now, after a life of intense labour, in an honourable position in the University of France, and between him and Ozanam a strong and lasting friendship sprang up. During the first two years of his residence in Paris, Ozanam lived in the same house with him, and was in constant communication with him. They often worked together, and pages have been preserved written in part by the one and in part by the other. Untiring in his industry, and enthusiastic in his love for science, Ampère, with his strong religious feelings, must have been a fortunate companion for Ozanam to have obtained, and the influence which he exerted over the young man continued until death.

With such friends Ozanam spent the days of his studentship. The very dangers that surrounded him, the atmosphere of infidelity which pervaded the world in which he lived, were the occasion of good, and were made the means of bringing about an event of great importance, in which Ozanam had a principal share.

It appears to have been the custom for many of the young men, who were pursuing their various studies in Paris, to divide themselves into little societies for the purpose of discussing amongst themselves the various questions of the day, and the topics of interest which arose out of the lectures to which they were listening. The meetings of these little bodies were known by the name of conferences. As I have already stated, the general tone of this student world was very far from being religious; still, there were a certain number of young men who had brought with them from their families habits of piety, and who, in spite of the miserable atmosphere which surrounded them, clung to those habits, and persevered in the practice of their religion. I do believe that none of us living in Ireland at the present day can realize to ourselves how much quiet heroism this supposed in Paris in the year 1833. Whatever faults we may have, and whatever differences there are amongst us, there is, thank God, as yet at least, very little inclination in any section of Irish society to laugh at a man for fulfilling the duties of his religion, whatever that religion may be; but it was widely different in a country where Voltaire had taught his followers the use of those



powerful weapons, ridicule and mockery, and where those followers were but too ready to follow their master's example, and shoot the tongue and point the finger at all who ventured to believe and practise. From my own recollections of a French Catholic College, and of the advice and warnings which were there given to us, I would say that there was nothing our teachers so dreaded for us, nothing against which they thought it so necessary to steel us, as this detestable system, and the wretched human respect which naturally sprang from it. But all this Ozanam, and the few young men who thought and acted like him, had the courage to brave. Naturally enough, they sought in union the means of strengthening themselves; they, too, formed their conference where they thought over the terrible questions which forced themselves upon them at every moment, and armed themselves so as to be able to cope with effect with the infidelity which raged all around them. This, however, soon ceased to satisfy them. Prayer, thought, study, and discussion did not suffice for the ardour of their souls, and they resolved to carry out the precepts of the Gospel by devoting themselves, without however severing themselves from the world, each in his sphere, and as his occupations and means would permit him, to the service and relief of the poor. It was in May, 1833, that these eight students—for that was their number—chiefly, if not altogether, I believe, students of law, formed themselves into an association for this purpose, retaining their old name of conference. The sphere of their operations, as may well be imagined, was at first very limited, and the number of the poor whom they were able to relieve very small. Students are not usually the wealthiest of men, and these formed no exception to this rule; but, what they wanted in means, they made up in zeal and energy. Their meetings, we are told, were held in a room at the office of a newspaper, whose columns were open to receive their contributions; and for a while the chief resource of the young conference was the pay which its members received for their articles, which they always devoted to their charitable object. Such, gentlemen, was the humble beginning of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. In its foundation, Ozanam was the principal mover; to the day of his death, through all the fatigues of a very laborious career, in all the sufferings which ensued upon the breaking down of his health—a breaking down mainly caused by his unflagging industry—he never lost sight of it; and one of the latest acts of his life was to overcome the opposition of the Grand Ducal Government of Tuscany, and procure a reluctant assent to its introduction into that State. The little

society soon grew. In spite of human respect, in spite of sneers and mockery, other young men were attracted into its ranks, and it fast became a rallying point for the Catholic students who frequented the schools of Paris. First, the one conference so far increased that it had to be divided into two, then into five; then, when the long vacation arrived, the members brought the new idea with them to their homes in the various country parts of France, where new conferences were speedily formed; and at length, in 1836, these several conferences assumed the form of one great society, governed in all its branches by one set of rules, and aiming at the one great object—the sanctification of its members, men living in the world, and chiefly young men, through the means of prayer and the active works of charity. It has since spread far abroad. I believe that there is not a country in which Catholics are to be found, where this lay society is not at work, doing more or less good, according to the means of its members—never as much, or nearly as much, as they would wish to do,—visiting the poor at their homes, endeavouring to carry some help and comfort to them in their miseries, and striving, not only by the relief which they bring, not only by the advice which they give, but by thoughtfulness, by gentleness of demeanour, by consideration, to bridge over the inequality which separates rank from rank, to put in action that true fraternity which Christianity teaches, and to reconcile the wretched to the order of Providence. But this is not the only, or, indeed the chief aim of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul; nor was this the chief or only thought which inspired Ozanam, or Lacordaire, who, after Ozanam, was one of its warmest promoters. Founded by students, and founded for young men, its great end is to shelter the young from the dangers of the world upon which they are just entering, to give them an active interest in doing good, and by providing them with healthy exercise, to wean them, or rather to shut them away from evil associations. Youth is ever full of energy and of high aspirations, but these, noble as they are, may easily be perverted to unholy ends; and the service which Ozanam has rendered to youth is, that he has put before it a work which, rightly looked at, should satisfy its highest longings—for what, even from a human point of view, can be nobler than the relief of suffering humanity?—while at the same time an additional nobility and another safeguard from danger are added by the religious spirit which, as it gave vigour to the warriors of the middle ages in their contest with the infidel, will likewise strengthen those who are engaged in the modern crusade against misery and vice.



The foundation of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul gave to Ozanam, young as he was, a recognized position among the Catholics of France. His life henceforward was one unceasing labour in the cause of religion—one unceasing endeavour to bring back the young minds of France to the faith which had so nearly disappeared in the storms of the revolution. He was the type of what, in my view, the lay Catholic ought to be—unswerving in his fidelity to his faith, laborious in its service, zealous in its defence, anxious for its propagation, but courteous to adversaries—respecting, if not the opinions of others, at least the right of those others to those opinions, and, withal, so bearing himself through life as to deserve the name of gentleman in the highest sense of that word. And now this new Society became an instrument, though a humble one, in forwarding the great religious revival which was beginning to show itself in France. The eloquent Dominican, Father Lacordaire, was just commencing that career which was so fruitful of good to the Church. He had already established a name as a preacher, but though well known and beloved, especially by the young, he had not as yet obtained an opportunity of making his voice heard by the multitudes who were afterwards to throng round his pulpit. But the young students who had gathered round Ozanam, applied to the Archbishop of Paris, and the result was that Monseigneur de Quélen gave the necessary authorization, and Lacordaire ascended the pulpit of Notre Dame. Then commenced that wonderful series of discourses which were listened to with delight by thousands, and which, aided by the noble and, perhaps, severer and more logical eloquence of de Ravignan, kindled and sustained the flame of faith in many a heart where it was well nigh extinguished. It is a touching thing to read of the crowds of educated men who thronged to his preaching, and of the multitudes who, by it, were led to make open profession of their faith, so that at times the old Cathedral witnessed sights which were scarcely paralleled, and never excelled even in the ages when religion had a wider empire over the minds of men than it unfortunately possessed in those evil days; and to those who are members of the society which Ozanam so powerfully contributed to found, it is a proud reflection that the little band of students who used to meet in the printing office in the Quartier Latin, and those who had rallied to them and joined their work, were ever in the front rank of the huge congregations which filled the spacious aisles of Notre Dame.

But while thus active in works of charity and of religion,

Ozanam never ceased to be a laborious student. He pursued his university course indefatigably, and in due time was received Doctor of Laws. A little later, in 1839, he attained the same degree in the Faculty of Letters, publishing as his thesis on that occasion a work upon the great poem of Dante, which is one of the best known contributions to the study of that mighty genius, and which has passed through several editions, not only in the original French, but in translations in more than one European language. After this he became Professor of Commercial Law in his native city of Lyons, where he remained for a short time; but his true vocation was that of a teacher of literature, and in the year 1840, after a brilliant examination, he won the position of *agrégé* of the Faculty of Letters, and was called upon to take the place of M. Fauriel, Professor of Foreign Literature in Paris, first as merely an assistant lecturer, and later, on the death of his principal in 1844, as full professor. He was then thirty-two years of age, and the youngest man who had ever filled the post. M. Guizot, who, in this respect, had most nearly approached him, had been appointed at the age of thirty-six.

Ozanam had now found his proper place in the world, and entered upon the career for which his studies and his tastes best suited him. From 1840 to his death in 1853, he continued, apart from one or two intervals, to fulfil with equal ability and industry the duties of his office, lecturing upon the literatures of England, Italy, and Germany, and giving to his lectures a Christian tone, to which the teaching of the French university had long been a stranger, and which was not to be found in the lectures of his brother professors. His success as a teacher was brilliant. His lectures were always prepared with the most unremitting attention; they were, unfortunately not always written, but delivered from notes which themselves are often specimens of a warm eloquence and a deep erudition, and consequently too many of them have either been entirely lost, or are preserved only in a meagre short-hand record. His voice, however, appears to have been weak, and the efforts which he was compelled to make in order to overcome this defect, joined to the extraordinary labour which he imposed upon himself in his preparation for discharging his duty, finally preyed upon his health and ruined his constitution. He was, in truth, wholly given up to what he looked upon in the light of a sacred vocation, and allowed no weakness, no suffering, to restrain him from performing the task which, with all the enthusiasm of a Frenchman, he considered the honour of his life.

At this point in Ozanam's career, it may be convenient



to stop for a while in the story of his life, and take a short view of his literary and historical works. They nearly all either sprang immediately out of, or had in some way reference to, the position which he held at the Sorbonne; and the more important of them, whatever the dates of their composition, and whatever the subjects of which they treat, may be fairly considered as forming parts of one great plan which their author had laid out in his mind, and which it was one of the ambitions of his life to carry into execution. When a mere lad of fifteen he had conceived the idea of a work which was to apply the antiquity of our various historical, religious, and moral beliefs to the demonstration of Catholic truth. As he grew older, the form in which he intended to clothe his design changed, but, says one of his biographers, the design remained the same—to display religion glorified by history. Ozanam himself, in the preface to the series of lectures which formed his “History of Civilization during the Barbarous Ages,” says: “I propose to write the literary history of the middle ages from the fifth to the end of the thirteenth century—to the ages of Dante, with whom I stop as the most worthy representative of this great epoch. But in the history of letters, I study principally civilization, of which they are the flower; and in civilization what I chiefly perceive is the work of Christianity. The whole design of my book is, therefore, to show how Christianity was able to draw from out of the ruins of the Roman Empire, and the tribes which pitched their camps on those ruins, a new society capable of possessing truth, of doing right, and of discovering the beautiful.” To this end, accordingly, his most important literary productions were directed. These productions take the shape of finished works published by him during his lifetime, and of lectures delivered by him during the course of his teaching, and collected by his friends, and given to the world after his death. Of these lectures, some we have in their entirety; others, again, remain only in fragments, made up of the notes which he himself had prepared, or of the notes which his pupils had taken down during their delivery. Of these works the most important are his “Germanic Studies,” and his “History of Civilization in the Fifth Century,” two books which should be read in immediate succession, as each, so to say, completes the other, and between them they present a most vivid and life-like sketch of society during the period of which they treat. The “History of Civilization in the Fifth Century” deals more particularly with the Latin races and those countries which had come directly within the pale of the great empire which was now sinking under the attacks of the Barbarians.

The "Germanic Studies," as their title imports, are taken up rather with the history, the gradual development, and the civilization, through the means of Christianity, of the wild tribes which had remained unsubjugated by Rome in the season of her power, and themselves were moulded into that new Empire of the West, of which a shadow, at least, although but a faint one, remained down to the commencement of the present century. The tone of the former of these works was very much inspired by the circumstances of the time in which the lectures which compose it were delivered. It was in the year 1851, when it seemed to many as if a break up of European society, somewhat analogous to that which had taken place at the fall of the Roman Empire, was at hand. France had gone through a revolution, the effects of which had been felt in almost every country in Europe. The wildest doctrines were afloat, and a crisis appeared to be at hand in France, in which it was difficult to say if the friends of order would be able to hold their own. The minds of many were filled with a vague dread, and that "red spectre" which had for a time been laid after the insurrection of June, 1848, seemed to be growing again in size and strength. There was a feeling that the time was one of decline, and a fear that there was soon to be an end of anything like healthy or rational progress. It is this fear that Ozanam in these admirable lectures endeavours to combat. He takes up in them one of the darkest hours in the history of humanity. He shows us a great empire tottering to its fall; an old and magnificent political organization being resolved into its elements, and a civilized but effete society, giving way before the attack of a multitude of rude, but energetic savages. This is the dark side of the picture, and the side upon which ordinary historians are usually content to rest. But Ozanam presents another side also, and shows how through all this apparent decline there was an influence at work quietly and unostentatiously, which made even this dark period one of real progress. It is his merit that he puts us at the Christian point of view of what was going on. He paints the work of the Church in preserving for the use of future generations that which was good in the ancient form of society, while, at the same time, with a gentle but firm hand, she reformed or abolished that which was evil. Nowhere will you find better or more eloquently told how the old Pagan society of Rome—Pagan still to a great extent, even though emperors and nobles had seen and embraced the truth,—became gradually leavened with Christianity; how pious women won upon worldly and infidel husbands and fathers; how the faith gradually advanced



among unbelieving populations, and those rustics who clung the latest to the worship of the Fauns and Nymphs and Dryads were gradually made to forsake their old errors, and leave their idols to adore God and reverence his most Holy Mother. The influence of Christianity upon law, upon the spirit of Government, upon public morals, upon literature, are set out with all that admirable precision and method which form the characteristics of all good French prose writers. We see how those detestable forms of personal slavery, which Paganism had not merely tolerated but sanctioned, and for the alleviation even of which it had done nothing, were first made milder and at length abolished; and how the great of the earth were made to learn the lesson which Paganism had never enforced, as it never could, that all human nature, even that of the humblest and lowliest born, shared alike in the dignity conferred by a common wondrous creation, and by a common still more wondrous reformation. Did time permit, I might dwell at length upon that portion of these lectures which treats of that which ought to be more particularly interesting in a literary society—I mean that in which our author speaks of the fortunes of literature and education during this period. To Ozanam himself it is plain that this was a labour of love. It was his task to show that all was not so dark at this time as some would have us believe, and he traces with great detail and much minuteness a subject which has been left very little investigated, and which yet ought to be of surpassing interest, the influence of Christianity upon literature, the chain by which, even at that time of commotion, the literary tradition was handed along, and the means by which, in spite of revolutions, wars, invasions, and all that follows in their train, learning was not allowed to disappear even for a moment. There is, I think, a vague notion floating in the minds of many people that, if the middle ages were not exactly altogether ignorant of the Latin and Greek tongues, they were at all events ignorant of the literature of those languages, and that the great classical authors—Homer, Virgil, Horace, and their compeers—first burst upon the intelligence of Europe, in or about the time of the Popedom of Leo the Tenth, at the date of what is called the revival of letters. The notion is about as well founded as the kindred story with which we have all been made pretty well familiar—of Luther suddenly for the first time coming, in his convent library, upon a neglected and worm-eaten copy of the Scriptures, and after a perusal of a few lines, bursting into tears of gratitude and delight at the wondrous and unexpected discovery. The truth is that even in the worst times that followed the invasion of the Barbarians,

there were great scholars, to whose minds the poets and historians of antiquity were perfectly familiar ; the truth is, as Ozanam shows admirably, that so far from allowing literature to perish, the Church took it up, fostered it, defended the ancient masters against, not only the barbarians, but those over zealous Christians, for such there were, who thought that with the Pagan worship the Pagan literature should be forced to disappear also, and transmitted the precious inheritance to us, who are, perhaps, too often induced to forget what we owe in this respect to the Popes, the Bishops, and the Monks of the olden time. To all these Ozanam does full justice, but he does more ; he shows the last struggles of Paganism to retain its influence over the literature which was then growing up ; and to the student of literature nothing can be more interesting than the analysis which he gives of some of the works of the poets of the time, such as Claudian, Ausonius, Sidonius Apollinaris, and in which he traces with a masterly hand the slow but steady advance of Christianity into this new ground, and the difficulty which it had, even when they were Christians who wrote, and Christians who formed the subject of the writings, in dislodging its enemy ;—and after passing all in review, setting before his readers a really grand panorama of this age of transition, doing justice in eloquent terms to those to whom justice is due, and arriving at the formation of the three great modern Latin Nationalities in Spain, Italy, and France, he winds up with a passage which I shall translate, and which is as it were the key to the right understanding of all his course of instruction :

“Thus has Providence employed a singular art and a wondrous preparation to bind together times which seem so entirely separated by the different genius which animates them. You see that when God wishes to form a new world, it is only slowly and bit by bit that he takes down the ancient building which is to fall, and that the modern monument which is to succeed it is planned a long way back. As in a city which is besieged, the garrison behind the walls which are attacked begins early to raise the earthwork which is to replace them, and on which all the efforts of the assailants will fail, so, early, while the old wall of Roman civilization falls stone by stone, the rampart of Christianity is raised, behind which society can again intrench itself. This spectacle should serve us both as a lesson and as an example. Assuredly the invasion of the barbarians is the greatest and the most formidable revolution that has ever taken place, yet we see what infinite care God took to soften, so to say, its blow, and to break the fall of the old world. Let us believe



that our own time will not be more unhappy, that for us too, if the old rampart must fall, new and solid walls will be built to cover us, and finally that civilization will never perish. It is with these thoughts of hope," he says in conclusion to his hearers, "that I leave you. . . . I know not, Gentlemen, if I shall finish this course with you, or if, as has happened to many others, I shall not be allowed to enter into the promised land of my thought. At least I shall have hailed it from afar. And whatever may be the duration of my teaching, of my strength, of my life, I shall not have wasted my time if I have contributed to make you believe in progress by Christianity, if in difficult times when, despairing of spiritual light, too many fix their gaze on earthly treasures, I have revived in your young souls the feeling which is the principle of all that is beautiful, of all healthy literature—Hope."

Thus it is that in these lectures on the fifth century Ozanam traces the connection between modern and ancient learning, reminds us of those to whom we owe it that the torch of knowledge was kept burning and handed down to us, and inspires with courage those of his own day who almost despaired of the future, by showing the silent but substantial progress that was impressed upon the human race at a time when to the superficial observer the world appears to be one vast scene of bloodshed and ruin, material and moral. I shall not delay you with any long account of Ozanam's other most important work, the "Germanic Studies." It is divided into two parts, the first of which deals with the Germanic tribes prior to the Christian Era; the second with them subsequently to that date. The whole book is a monument of vast learning and industry, and is besides, what monuments of learning and industry too often are not, clear in style, lucid in order, and so written as at once to afford information to the laborious student, and pleasure to the reader who chiefly seeks for recreation. Going to the very root of his subject, Ozanam examines the origin, the language, the religion, the laws, and the customs of the ancient Germans, and recounts their struggles against the domination of Rome. The spirit which animates this portion of his work is very different from what we are accustomed to find in English writings upon the same subject. The Frenchman, thoroughly French in his love of system and order,—a child of one of the new Latin nationalities,—the law student imbued with the regular legislation of the Roman and French codes,—has little sympathy with the savage liberty of the Germans in their forests; his heart and his intellect alike appear to go with the Romans as the bearers of, with all its faults, a nobler and

loftier state of society,—as civilizers and introducers of law and settled government into a land where brute force and arbitrary violence formed before the only code. Even the rising of Hermann, and the defeat of Varus and his legions, which have formed themes for German poets and German patriots to write and speak upon ever since the German language began to boast of a literature, leave him unmoved ; we feel that, while he does full justice to some great qualities which he is forced to admit in the old Germans, his entire sympathies are with their conquerors. The second part of the work, which terminates with the era of Charlemagne, is in great part taken up with the history of the conversion of these barbarous tribes to Christianity. And here, we should,—as Irishmen, feel grateful to Ozanam for the bold relief in which he has placed the labours of the Irish Missionaries in Germany. One long and important chapter is devoted to the “preaching of the Irish ;” many other pages of this work,—and indeed I should have made the same remark when speaking of the lectures on the fifth century,—commemorate the learning of the Irish monks, and the vast monastic schools which in the seventh and eighth centuries flourished in this country. And these pages have this serious value ; they are not merely the vague praises which a writer of Catholic feeling might think it right to bestow upon men of a country distinguished by its fidelity to the faith. We have the satisfaction, when reading Ozanam’s account of these matters, of feeling that he has investigated and judged of the subject for himself. His praise has the inestimable value, in a matter of this kind, of not being unmixed. He shows how all through Southern Germany, Switzerland, and Eastern France, the Irish Monks were at once the pioneers of civilization and the preachers of the truth, but he points out at the same time certain defects of temperament which marred their utility to some extent, and prevented the field of their labours from being as extended as it otherwise would have been, having regard to their zeal, energy, and numbers. He does full justice to the services rendered to learning by the great schools in Ireland itself, but he hints that the Monks, perhaps, were more successful in giving refuge to civilization within the walls of their monasteries than in establishing peace among the five and twenty kings, and the hostile clans who disputed among themselves the sovereignty of the island. But, with all this, no Irishman can read the pages of which I speak without a glow of pride, without the knowledge being brought home to him that it was no empty boast which gave our country the



title of the Island of the Learned, and without a stronger and better grounded appreciation than he had before of her past true glories.

I have already referred to Ozanam's Essay upon Dante, an exhaustive study not merely of the work of that poet, but of the history, the politics, and especially the philosophy of his times. More pleasing even than this is his volume upon the Franciscan poets of the thirteenth century, to my mind the most charming of his works, than which no purer or more appreciative tribute has ever been paid to the noble character,—noble even looking at it from a mere human point of view,—of the good and gentle Francis of Assisi. In addition to these which are his more substantial works, there are a number of shorter writings called forth by the various occasions of his times. He began early to write, and never allowed his pen to remain long idle. So soon as 1831, while yet almost a boy at Lyons, at the age of eighteen, he published a masterly analysis and refutation of the system of Saint Simonianism, the then newest folly which was seizing upon too many of the minds of France. Later, in 1848, he published a number of papers; an able defence of the truest and noblest interests of society against the schemes of those who, under cover of the revolution of February, wanted to introduce a law of divorce; an eloquent exposition of the fallacies and absurdities of Socialism; and on the other hand, a multitude of articles, generous and Christian in tone, and excellently reasoned, in which he nobly vindicates the right of the poor to the help of their richer brethren. Of these shorter works, one of the most striking is a paper upon the literary duties of Christians, which he read before a meeting of the *Cercle Catholique* at Paris, in 1843.

In 1841 Ozanam married Mademoiselle Amélie Soulacroix, by whom he had one child—a daughter. As is usually the case with literary men, his life was in general marked chiefly by the dates of his writings. One terrible event, however, came to break its even tenor—the death of the Archbishop of Paris, Monseigneur Affre, who was shot in the socialist insurrection of June, 1848. During the days of that terrible conflict Ozanam was in the ranks of the National Guard, doing his duty as a citizen upon the side of order, and taking his share of the dangers of the contest. Anxious, as Father Lacordaire tells us, to see what religion could do to end the melancholy struggle, he thought of going to the Archbishop to implore him to take some conciliatory step with the insurgents. Two comrades, Christians like himself, joined themselves with him, and all

three waited upon the Archbishop. Monseigneur Affre, after hearing them, said:—"Since yesterday I have felt myself pressed with this idea; but how is it to be carried into execution? How are the insurgents to be reached: and will General Cavaignac permit the step to be taken?" However, accompanied by a few ecclesiastics and Ozanam and his friends, he went to the General. On his return he dismissed his companions in spite of their remonstrances, as he did not wish to go forth with any appearance of a military escort—reached the barricades, and there fell, as we all know, a martyr to his religious sense of duty—a willing victim in the cause of peace.

When the insurrection was suppressed, Ozanam, who had combated against it, did not forget the misery which in great part caused it, and poured forth article after article in a newspaper which he and some others had founded, to bring before the notice of the world the state of the poor, and to prevent another outbreak by stopping up the fruitful source of discontent. At the same time he was, as usual, busy at the duties of his professorship, unremitting at the various works of his beloved society, and an active participator in the business of the meetings of the Cercle Catholique. I have heard a venerable priest of our city recount with delight how at one of those meetings at which he had the good fortune to be present, he saw both Lacordaire and Ozanam, and how great was the almost filial affection with which the latter was looked up to by all who were there. But a life of incessant labour and study began to tell upon Ozanam, even while he was yet young. In 1851 his health gave way, but still he would not yield. Weak, sick almost to death, he had himself carried to his lecture-room, determined (as he phrased it himself) "to do honour to his profession," and as long as a remnant of strength was left to him, he devoted it to the service and instruction of the young. But he was driven, first to the Pyrenees, and afterwards to Italy, in search of that health which he was never again to find. It is characteristic of the man, that broken down, suffering as he was, he still retained energy to write some charming pages upon the few districts of Spain which he was able to visit; and when in Italy, to take copious notes of the manuscripts preserved in the public libraries of Florence, Pisa, and Sienna. It was on this last melancholy visit also that he succeeded in obtaining the authorization of the Tuscan authorities to the introduction of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul into their territories—an authorization granted only after the most urgent representations, as for some reason the Grand Duke was pleased to look upon the society as politically obnoxious.



Ozanam spent the winter of 1852 and the spring of 1853 near Pisa. The place had been chosen for him as the most favourable for his recovery, but the winter, which was cold and rainy, only brought on an aggravation of his sufferings, and with his wife and child, who had accompanied him in his wanderings, he set out once more for France, there—in the touching words of our Irish poet—"there to return, and die at home at last." Before leaving Italy, he took up his pen for the last time to write his will, some passages of which are so characteristic of the thoroughly Christian character of the man, that a sketch of his life would be incomplete without an extract from this his latest utterance :

"In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

"This twenty-third day of April, 1853, at the moment when I have completed my fortieth year, amid all the anxieties of a grave illness, sick in body, but sound in mind, I have written in a few words my latest wishes, intending to express them more fully when I shall have more strength.

"I place my soul in the hands of my Saviour, terrified at my sins, but trusting in the infinite mercy. I die in the bosom of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church. I have known the doubts of the present age, but my whole life has convinced me that there is no repose for the mind or the heart but in the faith of the Church, and under her authority. If I attach any price to my long studies, it is because they give me the right of imploring all those whom I love to remain faithful to a religion in which I have found light and peace.

"My latest prayer to my family, to my wife, to my child, to my brothers, and brothers-in-law, to all those who may spring from them, is, to persevere in the faith despite whatever humiliations, scandals, or desertions they may witness.

"To my good Amélie, who has made the joy and the charm of my life, and whose tender care has for the last year comforted me in all my sufferings, I address a farewell short as all the things of earth. I thank her, I bless her, I await her. In heaven alone I shall be able to give her all the love I owe her. To my child I give the blessing of the Patriarchs, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. It is sad for me to be unable to labour longer in the cherished work of her education ; but I entrust her without a regret to her virtuous and much-beloved mother.

"I repeat here my thanks to all who have done me service. I ask pardon for my vivacities of temper, and for the evil examples I have given. I solicit the prayers of all my

relatives, of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, of my friends at Lyons.

“Do not allow your charity to be slackened by those who will say to you: ‘*He is in Heaven.*’ Pray always for one who has loved you much, but who has much sinned. Aided by your supplications, dear, good friends, I shall leave earth with less fear. I hope firmly that we shall not be separated, and that my memory will be with you until you come to me. May the blessing of God be on you all.”

He reached Marseilles in September, and died there on the 8th of that month, the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin.

I have, now, Gentlemen, placed before you what I am conscious is a very imperfect sketch of this remarkable man. If I have been fortunate enough, at least to rouse in you a desire to learn more about him, I would refer you to the notices of him written by the younger Ampère, the son of the mathematician whom I mentioned in an early part of this lecture, and by Father Lacordaire. Between this latter and Ozanam there existed one of those friendships possible only between men of great minds and pure aim—strong, lasting, indissoluble. They were engaged in the same great work—comrades fighting, as beseemed their different callings, with various weapons—the religious with a tongue of fire, proclaiming the truth from his pulpit, the layman bringing his great historical and literary acquirements to the aid of religion in the secular instruction which he imparted to youth, and in his general commerce with the world around him. Accordingly, we find the great Dominican never weary of proclaiming the ability of his friend, and after Ozanam’s death, defending his memory against the attacks which were made upon it by some who too readily forgot his long and important services. What those services were, I hope I have enabled you to some little extent to judge. I said, in opening, that Ozanam had supplied a want which, in his day, was much felt, and which is so still; I may add that the deficiency presses with peculiar severity in our own country. What I have alluded to is the want of a Catholic literature; and I repeat, Gentlemen, that it is to you, the students of a Catholic university, that we must chiefly look to act in your day in this respect the part which Ozanam acted in his. When I speak of a Catholic literature I do not mean the literature of polemics and controversy. I may be wrong, but I cannot help thinking that, as a rule, these are matters that are best left to the care of those to whom we look up as our guides in the faith. There are very few laymen, I fear, who have so sufficiently mastered the



details of theology as to be able, with safety either to themselves or their readers, to enter upon that vast subject. What I mean is literature properly so called, as well the lighter descriptions of it as the more important branches—history, for example, both political and literary. This, especially to us who speak the English tongue, remains to be Catholicized. We want the flavour of Catholicism added to the treatment of those subjects which, as things stand, either taste of old-fashioned Protestantism, or worse, are tainted with the new-fangled infidelity, the subtle influence of which you cannot read the books or mix in the society of the time without perceiving to be rapidly permeating the entire of the intellectual atmosphere. We want books on history, books on antiquity, books on literature, written from our point of view—Catholic in tone and purpose. But this is not enough; they must be the offspring of conscientious study, and be valuable on other grounds than as being Catholic. They must not only win their way among ourselves, but force it among our adversaries for their intrinsic qualities, for the solid instruction which they shall give, and for the style in which that instruction shall be conveyed, for their clearness, for their order, for all that makes good books as distinguished from bad. But all this is not easily to be attained. It will require work—work dogged and unremitting; the laborious task of reading, of study, of investigation in its origin of the subject which may be chosen; and afterwards the constant labour of the file, the incessant polishing and re-polishing, the days and nights spent in the effort to clothe the result of study in such fitting language as will compel the attention of even unwilling readers. This labour, however, will bring its own reward in the feeling of having rendered service to your country and to your faith. And of such a literature as I have endeavoured to describe, I do not know that you will find any better model than in the writings of the man whom Lacordaire, in one of his letters, describes as one of the greatest minds and noblest characters which the Church of France has brought forth in our day.

## CLAIMS OF THE IRISH COLLEGE, PARIS, ON THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, IN VIRTUE OF TREATIES WITH FRANCE.

THE treaties in question are respectively under dates May 30, 1814, and November 20, 1815. They stipulate, especially the latter, "that the subjects of His Britannic Majesty having claims, who, since January 1, 1793, had suffered by the confiscations or sequestrations decreed in France, should, themselves, their heirs, or assigns, be indemnified, when their claims shall have been admitted as legitimate; and when the amount of them shall have been ascertained." Under these treaties a mixed Commission, partly English and partly French, was appointed to receive and to decide all claims that might be presented to them.

Accordingly the claims of the Irish College for arrears of revenue, reimbursement of capital and loss of property in lands and houses, &c., were presented within the time prescribed and in due form by the Very Rev. Paul Long, the then Rector of the Irish College, Paris, and Universal Administrator of the Irish Foundations for Educational purposes in France. The Commissioners not only received the claims but registered them as legitimate, the sole question remaining being as to the amount to be awarded.

A change, however, took place in the Commission, and instead of a mixed tribunal, an exclusively English Commission was appointed, which was to receive in England the claims of parties seeking for compensation, and another convention was also agreed upon between the two Governments, bearing date April 25, 1818, "for the final arrangement of the claims of His Majesty's subjects, and in order to effect the payment and entire extinction as well of the capital as of the interest thereon due to them." A sum of £3,500,000 was paid over to the Commissioners to carry out the purpose of the convention.

This change of Commission was most disastrous to the prospects of the Irish College. The Commissioners were all appointed by the English Government, at whose head was Lord Liverpool, with Lord Eldon as Lord Chancellor of England, two names notorious at the time, and still notorious in history, for their intense and persistent hostility to the claims of their Catholic fellow-subjects at home and abroad. It was obvious that a Catholic Institution, such as the Irish College, had but little chance of favorable consideration at



the hands of a Commission appointed by such nomination and exercising its functions under such auspices.

However, the English Catholic Colleges in France were to have precedence of the Irish Establishment, in testing the justice that governed the counsels of the Commission. These Colleges had ceased to exist, but their claims were brought forward by their respective superiors, either with a view of restoring them on French soil, or of establishing similar institutions in England. Their claims were rejected, the Commissioners alleging that "these Establishments had lost their corporate character by the laws of France, so that in consequence of the dissolution of the ancient charter, and the creation of a new one for similar purposes, the claimants were not, at the time, the real members composing such new Corporation, and not entitled in their individual capacity to claim the property which belonged to the ancient Corporation."

The conditions under which the Commission was appointed allowed an appeal to the Privy Council. Accordingly the claimants on behalf of the English Colleges brought their cause before this latter tribunal. The appeal was in vain. The Privy Council delivered judgment by Lord Gifford, then Master of the Rolls, on November 25, 1825, to the effect that "the Institutions on behalf of which the claims were made, although their members were British subjects, and their property derived from funds contributed by British subjects, were in the nature of French Corporations. They were locally established in a foreign territory because they could not exist in England. Their end and object were not authorized by, and were directly opposed to British Law; and the funds dedicated to their maintenance were employed for that purpose in France because they could not be so employed in England. We think, therefore, that they must be deemed French Establishments, and looking at the occasion and object of those treaties, we think it was not, and could not have been, in the contemplation of the contracting parties, that the British Government should demand, or the French Government grant compensation for property held in trust for Establishments in France, and for purposes inconsistent with British Laws."

But the claims of the Irish College remained yet to be disposed of. The Commissioners, as if emboldened in consequence of their award in the case of the English Colleges having been affirmed by the Privy Council, wished to be beforehand with the Irish claimants, and without waiting for any application from them, they published a manifesto in the

"London Gazette" January 31, 1826, sweeping away all claims of every Institution, English, Scotch, and Irish, with which the name of "Roman Catholic" was connected, in France, including, of course, the claims of the Irish College, Paris, though duly accepted and duly registered for compensation by the mixed Commission already referred to. What remained to be done by the representatives of the claims of the venerable Irish Establishment at Paris? The Very Rev. Dr. M'Swiney, President of the College, and Universal Administrator of the Irish Catholic Foundations in France, thought the case was one for diplomatic intervention on the part of the French Government. He conceived that that Government had a right to say to England, "We have admitted the claim of the Irish College as legitimate; we have transmitted it as such to you, and we have included in the £3,500,000 which we have given to you, the amount of that claim. Therefore, be pleased either to pay it to the representative of the College, or pay it back to us that we may hand it to him." This language, however conformable to the plainest dictates of justice, seemed too plain and too strong for the delicate relations existing between the two Governments, and so the French Minister of the Home Department replied to the memorialist that the French Government had fully recognized and acknowledged the claim; that they had paid and transferred the necessary funds to satisfy it to the British Government, who, by the very terms of the treaties, had released France from all demands, and the claimants were therefore referred to their own country, of which they continued to be subjects, for redress.

Thus foiled in his effort, Dr. M'Swiney was left no hope of redress except in an appeal to the British Privy Council. He trusted that a difference would be recognized between his claim and that of the English Establishments, and that such difference would lead to a different award. His hopes, however, were doomed to be disappointed. The judgment of the Privy Council, which was delivered by Sir John Leach, then Master of the Rolls, stated, "We are most clearly of opinion, that we are precluded by the Douay case from any further consideration of the subject," and this decision, based on the reasons of Lord Gifford, was declared by the statute to be final. The Douay case is specially referred to as representing the case of the English Colleges already spoken of, and in this judgment of the Privy Council it is made to be a precedent in every regard for the adjudication of the claim of the Irish College.

This act of the Privy Council of England has, ever since,



been regarded by all high-minded and enlightened men who have paid attention to the subject, not only as a flagrant injustice to the Irish College, but also as a national dishonor to Great Britain, involving, as it does, a breach of national faith under the treaties on which the claim of the Irish College was based.

Viewing it under this twofold aspect, a Nobleman distinguished for his sense of justice, and feeling for the honor of his country, has very recently brought the case under the notice of the House of Lords, and called for certain papers relating to it. It is to be hoped that reviewing the judgment both of the Commissioners and of the Privy Council, Parliament, recognizing their injustice, will amply repair that injustice in addition to the compensation so long withheld.

The claim of the Irish College is clearly and unquestionably based on the treaties alluded to in the beginning of this paper. The treaty bearing date Nov. 20, 1815, and signed by the Duke of Wellington and Sir Charles Stuart, afterwards Lord Stuart de Rothsay, then British Ambassador in Paris, expressly covenants, "that the subjects of His Britannic Majesty having claims, who since January 1, 1793, had suffered by the confiscations or sequestrations decreed in France, should, themselves, their heirs, or assigns be indemnified, when their claims shall have been admitted as legitimate, and when the amount of them shall have been ascertained."

The Commissioners, very soon after entering on their functions, sought the instructions of Sir Christopher Robinson, then King's Advocate-General, in reference to a claim made by the Marchioness of Wellesley. This exalted authority, after speaking of the special case in question, said in general terms with regard to the treaty, "I have always been of opinion on this subject that His Britannic Majesty must be understood to have stipulated for compensation for all seizures of the property of persons living under his protection as subjects in the popular and general sense."

Again there was a claim for compensation under the treaties in question before the House of Commons so lately as 1861, when the Attorney-General, Sir Richard Bethel, afterwards Lord Chancellor, and now Lord Westbury, declared "that the treaty, the conventions, and the Act of Parliament, all proceeded on the principle, that the property for which the French Government was to give compensation, should be British property held by persons, who were at the time of the forfeiture, subjects of the British Crown, and that the property so taken should be considered as unduly and illegally taken by the French Government; what," said he,

"was meant in the treaty by the words 'subjects of His Britannic Majesty?' These words meant persons who, at the time of the forfeiture, were *de facto* subjects of England, and were recognized in that character."

It is, therefore, manifest from these authorities, which should be held as decisive, that the claimants on behalf of the Irish College had only to establish that the property of the College in revenue, in capital, in houses and lands was, firstly, unduly and illegally taken by the French Government, and, secondly, that it was the property of persons who were subjects of the British Crown at the time. As to the first point, it admits of no controversy. The second point is sustained by the most irrefragable testimony exhibited in the following facts:—

*First Fact.*—When in the first outbreak of the French Revolution, the Irish College was seized upon by the Government as being comprised in the decree confiscating all French Ecclesiastical property, Lord Gower, British Ambassador in Paris at the time, acting in that capacity, interposed, and claimed that the College should be exempted as being the property of subjects of the British Crown. A committee on the part of the French Government was appointed to enquire into the matter, and it reported that the College should be exempted, as claimed by the British Ambassador, from the general confiscation of French Ecclesiastical property, and that the members of the Institution should be permitted to preserve the property which they had acquired through their own fellow-citizens; declaring at the same time, that it was contrary to their principles to prevent strangers from acquiring property within the dominion of France. Thus the two Governments concur in maintaining that the College was **BRITISH PROPERTY HELD BY PERSONS WHO WERE SUBJECTS OF THE BRITISH CROWN AT THE TIME.**

*Second Fact.*—When war broke out between Great Britain and France in 1793, the French Government issued a decree declaring all property, moveable and immoveable, belonging to English, Scotch, and Irish in France, to be confiscated, and in carrying out this decree seized on the Irish College with all its property of every kind. By this act they showed that the Irish College was held to be a **BRITISH INSTITUTION**, and that the *superiors and students* whom it dispersed, were **BRITISH SUBJECTS.**

*Third Fact.*—The Irish College, Paris, was notoriously established for the education of Irish students, and especially of aspirants to the Catholic Ecclesiastical Ministry in Ireland. The students were consequently always exclusively Irish,



the superiors were also at all times Irish, and therefore, both SUBJECTS OF THE BRITISH CROWN. The Establishment, too, was under the constant superintendence and government of the Irish Catholic Episcopate, who sent out the students and received them back for the sacred Ministry in their several dioceses.

*Fourth Fact.*—When the treaties, providing compensation for injuries done the property of British subjects by means of the Revolution, and the subsequent wars between the two countries, were put into the hands of the Commissioners appointed by both Powers to award such compensation, the claims of the Irish College were presented as the claims of BRITISH SUBJECTS, and duly recognized as such by the Commissioners to be legitimate.

*A Fifth Fact* is furnished in the reply already mentioned of the French Minister of the Home Department referring Dr. McSwiney to the English Commissioners for compensation out of the fund placed in their hands by the French Government to satisfy the claims of the British subjects.

These facts demonstrate, beyond all contradiction or cavil, that the Irish College with all its capital, income and property in lands and houses was British property, and that the superiors and other inmates were British subjects within the meaning of the treaties between the two countries, and according to the interpretation put upon these treaties by the high legal authorities quoted above. Wherefore, since there is no doubt about the injuries done by the revolution and subsequent wars to the property of the College, nor that the property thus injured was British property or the property of British subjects, the claims of the Irish College for compensation are irresistible and indefeasible.

But has not the Privy Council long since disposed of the claims of the Irish College? It is true that Sir J. Leach speaking for that tribunal replied to the appeal of the Very Rev. Dr. McSwiney so far back as the 27th February, 1832. "We are most clearly of opinion that we are precluded by the Douay Case from any further consideration of the subject." But this is the decision that is now to be submitted to Parliament with a view to its reversal.

It is to be noticed that the decision does not recite the terms of the award in the Douay Case to which it merely refers. We must therefore go back upon that award as pronounced by Lord Gifford, in order to show its utter irrelevancy. The words of the award are, "We think, therefore, that they (the Douay College, that of St. Omer's and the English Seminary, Paris) must be deemed French Establishments; and looking

at the occasion and object of those treaties, we think it was not, and could not have been in the contemplation of the contracting parties that the British Government should demand, or the French Government grant compensation for property held in trust for Establishments in France, and for purposes inconsistent with British Laws."

As we are not discussing the claims of the English Institutions doomed by this decision, we shall not stay to stigmatize the utterly gratuitous and arrogant assumption it puts forth as to what "was not, and could not have been, in the contemplation of the contracting parties." In maintaining the claims of the Irish College we have not to deal with mere conjectures as to what may have been within or without the contemplation of the two Governments. We have, happily, to deal with absolute facts—the fact that the Irish College did put forward its claims under the treaties for awarding compensation to British subjects; the fact that its claims were admitted as legitimate by the mixed Commission appointed to administer these treaties; the fact that so admitted, they were registered and the amount of them calculated and included in the sum paid over to the British Government; the fact in fine, and the crowning fact, that contrary to what had been pretended with respect to the English Establishments, the Irish College, Paris, existed for purposes in perfect consonance and harmony with British Laws.

This last fact is of supreme importance in the case of the Irish College, and not only exposes the injustice, but displays an unaccountable stupidity on the part of the Privy Council in their judgment as delivered by Sir J. Leach. How could they have forgotten that they treated of an Irish not of an English College? How could they have forgotten the College of Maynooth which was not only in accordance with British legislation and British policy, but was actually subsidized by money from the British Treasury for its support? How in fine, could they have overlooked the identity of the two Establishments, with their superiors Irish, their students Irish, and their purposes being to supply Ecclesiastics to the Ministry of the Catholic Church in Ireland? In a word, as far as British policy and British law were concerned, we must contend that the Irish College was entitled to compensation, irrespective of its religious denomination, just as much as if it were a Protestant Institution. And so regarding it who could believe it would have been spurned by the Privy Council of the day in the arbitrary language dealt out by Sir J. Leach, and should have been doomed to wait for nigh 40 years more after having waited almost 20 years already, in



the hope that sooner or later a more just and liberal spirit succeeding the bigotry that pervaded the administration of that period, would dispose men in power to listen favorably to claims so manifest and so irresistible?

But even as a Catholic Institution, the treatment of the Irish College is not only unjust but exceptionally so, and at variance with the conduct of the British Government elsewhere. We shall content ourselves with referring to a single instance. In Lisbon there are at present three Irish Institutions of the Catholic Religion; the convent of Corpo Santo, belonging to the Irish Dominican Fathers, the convent of Bom Sucesso, belonging to the Irish Dominican Nuns, and an Irish College like that at Paris, for the education of Irish Ecclesiastics for the Irish Ministry. This last Establishment has not been in operation for some time past, but the building exists with some property attached to it, to be employed for the purpose of its institution when it may be convenient to do so. There is also an English Catholic College for the education of Ecclesiastics for the Catholic Church in England. Now all these Establishments were in existence when the party that triumphed in the long-protracted struggle for the succession to the Portuguese Throne, following the example of modern revolutions elsewhere, suppressed the Monasteries and Convents of the country, and seized upon all other Ecclesiastical property for state purposes. The Irish Institutions above mentioned were included in the general spoliation. The British authorities, however, then at Lisbon, acting, as it must be supposed, under directions received from their Government at home, interposed, and had them exempted, so that to this very day they present a striking contrast, in the security and liberty they enjoy, with the state of slavery and degradation to which that wretched Government has reduced the national Church of Portugal.

And looking at this noble protection of the rights of British subjects, who can doubt that if Portugal in her folly or her frenzy had disregarded the aegis of British power, and confiscated the property of these Establishments—who can doubt that England would have demanded compensation to the last shilling? Thus does it appear that the Privy Council has not only acted unjustly towards the Irish College, Paris, but has moreover, betrayed the principles that guide the Government of Great Britain in the protection of its subjects and their Institutions, irrespective of religious distinction, all over the world. Surely a liberal and enlightened Parliament will not allow this injustice to remain unredressed, this disgrace to continue unrepai red.

But are there in existence funds to meet the claims of the Irish College? It appears there are. By a return made to Parliament in 1835, there was a balance of £277,200 principal, with interest thereon to the amount of £6,528 1s. 7d. with a further sum of £2,694 1s. 3d. interest on Exchequer Bills, making a total of £286,422 2s. 10d. Another inquiry was made in 1842, which occupied four days, and resulted in finding in the hands of the Commissioners £482,752 6s. 8d. It is true that this result was afterwards questioned by the Attorney-General, but the Honorable M. Denman, Q.C. asserted subsequently in Parliament on the 4th June, 1861, that there still remained a sum of £200,000.

But in the supposition even that the entire fund has been expended, we are to recollect that there were enormous misapplications of it from time to time. The first of these was the sum of £250,000 for erecting in front of Buckingham Palace the marble gateway, which having been afterwards removed, forms now the marble arch of the Northern entrance to Hyde Park. Again, we find Mr. Montague Chambers asserting in the House of Commons, June 21, 1854, that as to the fund being duly appropriated or entirely expended, the misapplications, as appeared from authentic returns, were startling and notorious. For example, £23,000 to Monsieur Labédet; upwards of £200,000 to the Bordeaux claimants; £68,000 for claims not sanctioned by the Commission; and gratuities to the Commissioners themselves of an additional year's salary after the termination of their duties.

In presence of these vast misapplications of public money, every honest man must say that dishonesty takes with it the obligation of restitution. We find indeed that restitution has been made in part by refunding the £250,000 expended on the Hyde Park ornament. But there yet remains a sum of £34,822 10s. interest on that amount, to be accounted for. At all events it is a circumstance aggravating beyond measure the injustice done to the Irish College, and which Parliament cannot avoid taking serious account of, that whilst that Institution has been so long kept in expectation, or rather in despair, of its just rights, the fund for satisfying these rights was recklessly dissipated and misapplied by men to whom the nation's honor was confided in the solemn treaties placed in their hands for carrying into effect so large a measure of international justice.

From the foregoing statement, the case of the Irish College may be summed up in a very few words.

1. That Institution suffered large losses and injuries at the hands of the Government of France.



2. The Government of France acknowledging its obligation to make restitution, placed the requisite funds for so doing in the hands of the British Government binding it by solemn treaty to fulfil this obligation.

3. The British Government has withheld restitution since 1818, a period of over 50 years, on grounds as unjust as they were false, to the great detriment and injury of the College.

The claim of the College as set out in an official paper presented to Parliament by the Commissioners in 1830 previous to the appeal to the Privy Council, amounted in 23 separate items to a total sum of £103,604, to which are to be added in the appeal now made to Parliament, the interest since accumulating, as also suitable damages for the loss and injury to the College, by withholding its rights for so long a period.<sup>1</sup>

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## THE BLESSED IMELDA LAMBERTINI.

[In deference to the pious request of some devout clients of the Blessed Imelda's, the following sketch of the life of that Servant of God has been written. The devotion to the Blessed Imelda is so widespread in Irish religious houses, that this slight fragment of sacred biography will prove welcome to most of our readers.]

### I.

THIS favoured child of Heaven was born at Bologna, of illustrious parents, in the year 1322. When hardly yet emerged from infancy, she took the greatest delight in reading the Lives of the Saints, and in listening to stories about them. A little later she fashioned for herself a tiny oratory, to which she was wont to retire for prayer while her companions were busy with their childish sports. With the graceful simplicity of childhood she combined a wonderful and unaffected dignity which seemed to spring from a consciousness that God was ever present with her. Not intending it in the least, she had an irresistible charm about her that won the respect and love of all who knew her. But the affections of her own heart were fixed on God alone. Filled with his holy love, her soul could find no room for the joys of the world, and she cared not to share in the splendour of her father's house. When she

<sup>1</sup> For more ample information on the subject of this statement, as also for authentic references, see "*The Case and Claims on the British Government of the Irish College, Paris, &c.*," by HIBERNICUS HISTORICUS. James Duffy, Wellington-quay, Dublin, and Paternoster-row, London, 1870.

was yet but ten years old she entered a convent of Augustinian nuns, just outside the walls of her native town, and in this retreat of sanctity, her virtues were the wonder and admiration even of those to whom she humbly looked for example and for guidance. She was the prudent virgin that kept her lamp ever trimmed, and herself ever ready for the bridegroom's coming. He came at the end of one short year, and at the tender age of eleven, her spotless soul passed from this world of trouble to the kingdom of eternal repose.

Amongst the pious sisterhood she was eminently distinguished by her eagerness for mortification, her fervour in prayer, her spirit of generous self-sacrifice. But nothing was so remarkable about her as her ardent love for Jesus Christ in the Blessed Eucharist, and her vehement desire to share in the sacred banquet. It would seem, however, that those who had charge of her conscience, considering the tenderness of her years, and overlooking, perhaps, the fulness of her virtues, forbade her to approach the altar. Thus day after day, longing and pining for this Heavenly food, day after day she was transfixed with grief when the rest of the sisters were admitted to holy communion and she alone was repelled.

Not long, however, did her love remain without its reward. One morning, it was the Vigil of the Ascension, when the nuns were going up to communion, Imelda as usual, remaining behind. Suddenly, above her head the Sacred Host was seen suspended in the air. At this miraculous appearance the sisters were struck with amazement, and knew not what to think or what to do. But the priest, recognizing therein the will of God, came down to the place where Imelda was kneeling, and receiving upon the patena the Host thus wonderfully sent from Heaven, he gave it to the holy virgin, and filled up the measure of her earthly joy.

The joy was too great for her tender frame to bear. Many days and nights had she sighed for this close and mysterious union with her beloved. He was come at last, and he was come to take her to himself forever. Scarcely had she received the Holy Communion than she was observed gently to close her eyes, and, as it seemed, to faint away. The sisters ran up to her aid, and they found she was dead. Her pure soul, in the first transports of its love had burst asunder the chains that bound it to its earthly prison-house, and mounted with its divine spouse to Heaven.

## II.

The Blessed Imelda is venerated in a special manner by two great religious orders, the Dominicans and the Augustinians,



each of which claims her as a saint of its own. To which of them she more justly belongs the reader may judge for himself. The convent of Saint Mary Magdalen, outside the walls of Bologna, was, in the days of our holy virgin, a convent of holy nuns who had been established there from the year 1259. But about two centuries after her death, in the year 1505, it so happened that this community laid aside the habit of Saint Augustine, and took in its stead the habit and rule of Saint Dominick. It would seem, therefore, that she lived and died among the Augustinians ; but that the Dominicans have come in for the traditional memory of her virtues, and the possession of her holy remains.

It may be thought strange that a child of eleven years, not yet admitted to her first communion, should have been a member of a religious order. There is no reason, however, to suppose that Imelda was a professed nun, or even that she had commenced her formal noviciate. Most probably she went into the convent with a view to remove herself from the pleasures of the world, for which her pious soul had little relish, and to put herself under the care and instruction of the nuns, intending to enter on her noviciate when she had attained the necessary age. Something of this kind is told of Saint Nicholas of Tolentine. We read, in the process of his canonization, that he was brought up from a child in the order of the Augustinians, and began to wear the religious habit at the age of ten.

The body of the blessed Imelda was buried in the convent of Saint Mary Magdalen, where she died ; and the fame of her innocent life and her holy death brought many pious clients to visit her tomb. In the year 1666, the Sisterhood was transferred from that convent to the monastery formerly occupied by the Servite Friars, within the walls of Bologna. The precious relics of our saint, were, at the same time, carried by the good Sisters to this new home. I believe they are still preserved.

An Italian Monk, by name Celso Sassoferato, has written a short life of Imelda, which was published in 1638, by John Baptist Lambertini, a member of her own family. She is also commemorated by Benedict the Fourteenth, who was likewise of the same family, in his work, on the canonization of saints ; and her name is placed by him on the catalogue of the beatified. These, and one or two other documents, of less importance, preserved in the *Acta Sanctorum*, constitute, as far as I know, the sole memorials that remain to us of a life singularly blessed by God.

G. M.

## DOCUMENTS.

I.—CONSTITUTIO DOGMATICA PRIMA DE  
ECCLESIA CHRISTI.

PIUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI SACRO APPROBANTE  
CONCILIO AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM.

**P**ASTOR aeternus et episcopus animarumstrarum, ut salutiferum redemptionis opus perenne redderet, sanctam aedificare Ecclesiam decrevit, in qua veluti in domo Dei viventis fideles omnes unius fidei et charitatis vinculo continerentur. Quapropter, priusquam clarificaretur, rogavit Patrem non pro Apostolis tantum, sed et pro eis, qui credituri erant per verbum eorum in ipsum, ut omnes unum essent, sicut ipse Filius et Pater unum sunt. Quemadmodum igitur Apostolos, quos sibi de mundo elegerat, misit sicut ipse missus erat a Patre: ita in Ecclesia sua Pastores et Doctores usque ad consummationem saeculi esse voluit. Ut vero episcopatus ipse unus et indivisus esset, et per cohaerentes sibi invicem sacerdotes credentium multitudo universa in fidei et communionis unitate conservaretur, beatum Petrum caeteris Apostolis praeponens in ipso instituit perpetuum utriusque unitatis principium ac visibile fundamentum, super cuius fortitudinem aeternum exstrueretur templum, et Ecclesiae coelo inferenda sublimitas in huius fidei firmitate consurgeret.<sup>1</sup> Et quoniam portae inferi ad evertendam, si fieri posset, Ecclesiam contra eius fundamentum divinitus positum maiori in dies odio undique insurgunt; Nos ad catholici gregis custodiam, incolumitatem, augmentum, necessarium esse iudicamus, sacro approbante Concilio, doctrinam de institutione, perpetuitate, ac natura sacri Apostolici primatus, in quo totius Ecclesiae vis ac soliditas consistit, cunctis fidelibus credendam et tenendam, secundum antiquam atque constantem universalis Ecclesiae fidem, proponere, atque contrarios, dominico gregi adeo perniciosos errores proscribere et condemnare.

## CAPUT I.

DE APOSTOLICI PRIMATUS IN BEATO PETRO  
INSTITUTIONE.

Docemus itaque et declaramus, iuxta Evangelii testimonia primatum iurisdictionis in universam Dei Ecclesiam

<sup>1</sup> S. Leo M. serm. iv. (al. iii.) cap. 2. in diem Natalis sui.



immediate et directe beato Petro Apostolo promissum atque collatum a Christo Domino fuisse. Unum enim Simonem, cui iam pridem dixerat: Tu vocaberis Cephias <sup>(1)</sup>, postquam ille suam edidit confessionem inquit: Tu es Christus, Filius Dei vivi, solemnibus his verbis allocutus est Dominus: Beatus es Simon Bar-Iona: quia caro, et sanguis non revelavit tibi, sed Pater meus, qui in coelis est: et ego dico tibi, quia tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram aedificabo Ecclesiam meam, et portae inferi non praevallebunt adversus eam: et tibi dabo claves regni coelorum: et quodcumque ligaveris super terram, erit ligatum et in coelis: et quodcumque solveris super terram, erit solutum et in coelis.<sup>2</sup> Atque uni Simoni Petro contulit Iesus post suam resurrectionem summi pastoris et rectoris iurisdictionem in totum suum ovile, dicens: Pasce agnos meos: Pasce oves meas.<sup>3</sup> Huic tam manifestae sacrarum Scripturarum doctrinae, ut ab Ecclesia catholica semper intellecta est, aperte opponuntur pravae eorum sententiae, qui constitutam a Christo Domino in sua Ecclesia regiminis formam pervertentes negant, solum Petrum prae caeteris Apostolis, sive seorsum singulis sive omnibus simul, vero proprioque iurisdictionis primatu fuisse a Christo instructum; aut qui affirmant, eundem primatum non immediate, directeque ipsi beato Petro, sed Ecclesiae, et per hanc illi ut ipsius Ecclesiae ministro delatum fuisse.

Si quis igitur dixerit, beatum Petrum Apostolum non esse a Christo Domino constitutum Apostolorum omnium principem et totius Ecclesiae militantis visibile caput; vel eundem honoris tantum, non autem verae propriaeque iurisdictionis primatum ab eodem Domino nostro Iesu Christo directe et immediate accepisse; anathema sit.

## CAPUT II.

### DE PERPETUITATE PRIMATUS BEATI PETRI IN ROMANIS PONTIFICIBUS.

Quod autem in beato Apostolo Petro princeps pastorum et pastor magnus ovium Dominus Christus Iesus in perpetuam salutem ac perenne bonum Ecclesiae instituit, id eodem auctore in Ecclesia, quae fundata super petram ad finem saeculorum usque firma stabit, iugiter durare necesse est. Nulli sane dubium, imo saeculis omnibus notum est, quod sanctus beatissimusque Petrus, Apostolorum princeps et caput, fidei-

<sup>1</sup> Ioan. i. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Matth. xvi. 16-19.

<sup>3</sup> Ioan. xxi. 15-17.

que columna et Ecclesiae catholicae fundamentum, a Domino nostro Iesu Christo, Salvatore humani generis ac Redemptore, claves regni accepit: qui ad hoc usque tempus et semper in suis successoribus, episcopis sanctae Romanae Sedis, ab ipso fundatae, eiusque consecratae sanguine, vivit et praesidet et iudicium exercet.<sup>1</sup> Unde quicumque in hac Cathedra Petro succedit, is secundum Christi ipsius institutionem primatum Petri in universam Ecclesiam obtinet. Manet ergo dispositio veritatis, et beatus Petrus in accepta fortitudine petrae perseverans suscepta Ecclesiae gubernacula non reliquit.<sup>2</sup> Hac de causa ad Romanam Ecclesiam propter potentiorum principatitatem necesse semper fuit omnem convenire Ecclesiam, hoc est, eos, qui sunt undique fideles, ut in ea Sede, e qua venerandae communionis iura in omnes dimanant, tamquam membra in capite consociata, in unam corporis compagem coalescerent.<sup>3</sup>

Si quis ergo dixerit, non esse ex ipsius Christi Domini institutione seu iure divino, ut beatus Petrus in primatu super universam Ecclesiam habeat perpetuos successores; aut Romanum Pontificem non esse beati Petri in eodem primatu successorem; anathema sit.

### CAPUT III.

#### DE VI ET RATIONE PRIMATUS ROMANI PONTIFICIS.

Quapropter apertis innixi sacrarum litterarum testimoniis, et inhaerentes tum Praedecessorum Nostrorum, Romanorum Pontificum, tum Conciliorum generalium disertis, perspicuisque decretis, innovamus oecumenici Concilii Florentini definitionem, qua credendum ab omnibus Christi fidelibus est, sanctam Apostolicam Sedem, et Romanum Pontificem in universum orbem tenere primatum, et ipsum Pontificem Romanum successorem esse beati Petri principis Apostolorum, et verum Christi Vicarium, totiusque Ecclesiae caput, et omnium Christianorum patrem ac doctorem existere; et ipsi in beato Petro pascendi, regendi ac gubernandi universalem Ecclesiam a Domino nostro Iesu Christo plenam potestatem traditam esse; quemadmodum etiam in gestis oecumenicorum Conciliorum et in sacris canonibus continetur.

Docemus proinde et declaramus, Ecclesiam Romanam disponente Domino super omnes alias ordinariae potestatis

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ephesini Concilii Act. iii.

<sup>2</sup> S. Leo. M. Serm. iii. (al. ii.) cap. 3.

<sup>3</sup> S. Iren. Adv. haer. l. iii. c. 3. et Conc. Aquilei. a. 381. inter epp. S. Ambros. ep. xi.



obtinere principatum, et hanc Romani Pontificis iurisdictionis potestatem, quae vere episcopalis est, immediatam esse: erga quam cuiuscumque ritus et dignitatis pastores atque fideles, tam seorsum singuli quam simul omnes, officio hierarchicae subordinationis, veraeque obedientiae obstringuntur, non solum in rebus, quae ad fidem et mores, sed etiam in iis, quae ad disciplinam et regimen Ecclesiae per totum orbem diffusae pertinent; ita ut custodita cum Romano Pontifice tam communionis, quam eiusdem fidei professionis unitate, Ecclesia Christi sit unus grex sub uno summo pastore. Haec est catholicae veritatis doctrina, a qua deviare salva fide atque salute nemo potest.

Tantum autem abest, ut haec Summi Pontificis potestas officiat ordinariae ac immediatae illi episcopalis iurisdictionis potestati, qua Episcopi, qui positi a Spiritu Sancto in Apostolorum locum successerunt, tamquam veri pastores assignatos sibi greges, singuli singulos, pascunt et regunt, ut eadem a supremo et universali Pastore asseratur, roboretur ac vindicetur, secundum illud sancti Gregorii Magni: *Meus honor est honor universalis Ecclesiae. Meus honor est fratrum meorum solidus vigor. Tum ego vere honoratus sum, cum singulis quibusque honor debitus non negatur.*<sup>1</sup>

Porro ex suprema illa Romani Pontificis potestate gubernandi universam Ecclesiam ius eidem esse consequitur, in huius sui muneris exercitio libere communicandi cum pastoribus et gregibus totius Ecclesiae, ut iidem ab ipso in via salutis doceri ac regi possint. Quare damnamus ac reprobamus illorum sententias, qui hanc supremi capitis cum pastoribus et gregibus communicationem licite impediri posse dicunt, aut eandem reddunt saeculari potestati obnoxiam, ita ut contendunt, quae ab Apostolica Sede vel eius auctoritate ad regimen Ecclesiae constituuntur, vim ac valorem non habere, nisi potestatis saecularis placito confirmentur.

Et quoniam divino Apostolici primatus iure Romanus Pontifex universae Ecclesiae praest, docemus etiam et declaramus, eum esse iudicem supremum fidelium,<sup>2</sup> et in omnibus causis ad examen ecclesiasticum spectantibus ad ipsius posse iudicium recurri;<sup>3</sup> Sedis vero Apostolicae, cuius auctoritate maior non est, iudicium a nemine fore retractandum, neque cuiquam de eius licere iudicare iudicio.<sup>4</sup> Quare a recto veritatis tramite aberrant, qui affirmant, licere ab iudiciis Romanorum Pontificum ad oecumenicum Concilium

<sup>1</sup> Ep. ad Eulog. Alexandrin. l. viii. ep. xxx.

<sup>2</sup> Pii PP. VI. Bree, *Super soliditate*. d. 28 Nov. 1786.

<sup>3</sup> Concil. Oecum. Lugdun. ii.

<sup>4</sup> Ep. Nicolai I. ad Michaellem Imperatorem.

tamquam ad auctoritatem Romano Pontifice superiorem appellare.

Si quis itaque dixerit, Romanum Pontificem habere tantummodo officium inspectionis vel directionis, non autem plenam et supremam potestatem iurisdictionis in universam Ecclesiam, non solum in rebus, quae ad fidem et mores, sed etiam in iis, quae ad disciplinam et regimen Ecclesiae per totum orbem diffusae pertinent; aut eum habere tantum potiores partes, non vero totam plenitudinem huius supremae potestatis; aut hanc eius potestatem non esse ordinariam et immediatam sive in omnes ac singulas ecclesias, sive in omnes et singulos pastores et fideles; anathema sit.

## CAPUT IV.

### DE ROMANI PONTIFICIS INFALLIBILI MAGISTERIO.

Ipsa autem Apostolico primatu, quem Romanus Pontifex tamquam Petri principis Apostolorum successor in universam Ecclesiam obtinet, supremam quoque magisterii potestatem comprehendit, haec Sancta Sedes semper tenuit, perpetuus Ecclesiae usus comprobatur, ipsaque oecumenica Concilia, ea imprimis, in quibus Oriens cum Occidente in fidei charitatisque unionem conveniebat, declaraverunt. Patres enim Concilii Constantinopolitani quarti, maiorum vestigiis inhaerentes, hanc solemnem ediderunt professionem: Prima salus est, rectae fidei regulam custodire. Et quia non potest Domini nostri Iesu Christi praetermitti sententia dicentis: Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram aedificabo Ecclesiam meam, haec, quae dicta sunt, rerum probantur effectibus, quia in Sede Apostolica immaculata est semper catholica reservata religio, et sancta celebrata doctrina. Ab huius ergo fide et doctrina separari minime cupientes, speramus, ut in una communione, quam Sedes Apostolica praedicat, esse mereamur, in qua est integra et vera Christianae religionis soliditas <sup>(1)</sup>. Approbante vero Lugdunensi Concilio secundo, Graeci professi sunt: Sanctam Romanam Ecclesiam summum et plenum primatum et principatum super universam Ecclesiam catholicam obtinere, quem se ab ipso Domino in beato Petro Apostolorum principe sive vertice, cuius Romanus Pontifex est successor, cum potestatis plenitudine recepisse veraciter et humiliter recognoscit; et sicut prae caeteris tenetur fidei veritatem defendere, sic et, si quae de fide subortae fuerint quaestiones, suo debent iudicio definiri. Florentinum deni-

<sup>1</sup> Ex formula S. Hormisdæ Papae, prout ab Hadriano ii. Patribus Concilii Oecumenici viii., Constantinopolitani iv., proposita et ab iisdem subscripta est.



que Concilium definivit : Pontificem Romanum, verum Christi Vicarium, totiusque Ecclesiae caput et omnium Christianorum patrem ac doctorem existere : et ipsi in beato Petro pascendi, regendi ac gubernandi universalem Ecclesiam a Domino nostro Iesu Christo plenam potestatem traditam esse.

Huic pastorali muneri ut satisfacerent, Praedecessores Nostri indefessam semper operam dederunt, ut salutaris Christi doctrina apud omnes terrae populos propagaretur, parique cura vigilarunt, ut, ubi recepta esset, sincera et pura conservaretur. Quocirca totius orbis Antistites nunc singuli, nunc in Synodis congregati, longam ecclesiarum consuetudinem et antiquae regulae formam sequentes, ea praesertim pericula, quae in negotiis fidei emergebant, ad hanc Sedem Apostolicam retulerunt, ut ibi potissimum resarcirentur damna fidei, ubi fides non potest sentire defectum.<sup>1</sup> Romani autem Pontifices, prout temporum et rerum conditio suadebat, nunc convocatis oecumenicis Conciliis aut explorata Ecclesiae per orbem dispersae sententia, nunc per Synodos particulares, nunc aliis, quae divina suppeditabat providentia, adhibitis auxiliis, ea tenenda definiverunt, quae sacris Scripturis et apostolicis Traditionibus consentanea Deo adiutore cognoverant. Neque enim Petri successoribus Spiritus Sactus promissus est, ut eo revelante novam doctrinam patefacerent, sed ut eo assistente traditam per Apostolos revelationem seu fidei depositum sancte custodirent et fideliter exponerent. Quorum quidem apostolicam doctrinam omnes venerabiles Patres amplexi et sancti Doctores orthodoxi venerati atque secuti sunt ; plenissime scientes, hanc sancti Petri Sedem ab omni semper errore illibatam permanere, secundum Domini Salvatoris nostri divinam pollicitationem discipulorum suorum principi factam : Ego rogavi pro te, ut non deficiat fides tua, et tu aliquando conversus confirma fratres tuos.

Hoc igitur veritatis et fidei numquam deficientis charisma Petro eiusque in hac Cathedra successoribus divinitus collatum est, ut excelso suo munere in omnium salutem fungerentur, ut universus Christi grex per eos ab erroris venenosa esca aversus, coelestis doctrinae pabulo nutriretur, ut sublata schismatis occasione Ecclesia tota una conservaretur, atque suo fundamento innixa firma adversus inferi portas consisteret.

Atvero cum hac ipsa aetate, qua salutifera Apostolici muneris efficacia vel maxime requiritur, non pauci inveniantur, qui illius auctoritati obtruncant ; necessarium omnino esse censemus, praerogativam, quam unigenitus Dei Filius cum

<sup>1</sup> Cf. S. Bern. Epist. CXC.

summo pastorali officio coniungere dignatus est, solemniter asserere.

Itaque Nos traditioni a fidei Christianae exordio perceptae fideliter inhaerendo, ad Dei Salvatoris nostri gloriam, religionis Catholicae exaltationem et Christianorum populorum salutem, sacro approbante Concilio, docemus et divinitus revelatum dogma esse definimus: Romanum Pontificem, cum ex Cathedra loquitur, id est, cum omnium Christianorum Pastoris et Doctoris munere fungens, pro suprema sua Apostolica auctoritate doctrinam de fide vel moribus ab universa Ecclesia tenendam definit, per assistentiam divinam, ipsi in beato Petro promissam, ea infallibilitate pollere, qua divinus Redemptor Ecclesiam suam in definienda doctrina de fide vel moribus instructam esse voluit; ideoque eiusmodi Romani Pontificis definitiones ex sese, non autem ex consensu Ecclesiae, irreformabiles esse.

Si quis autem huic Nostrae definitioni contradicere, quod Deus avertat, praesumpserit; anathema sit.

## II.—PIUS IX. AND REV. DR. MOLLOY'S WORK ON *GEOLOGY AND REVELATION*.<sup>1</sup>

### PERILLUSTRIS ET REVERENDE DOMINE.

Allatum est nuper una cum tuis observantissimis litteris die 17 elapsi Martii datis ad Sanctissimum Dominum Pium IX. exemplar operis a Te anglica lingua elucubratum, in quo id tibi praeclare propositum habuisti, ut mutuam concordiam Geologiam inter et Religionem revelatam ad refellendos incredulorum errores verbum Dei revelatum ex ipsis admirandis creationis operibus oppugnantium, demonstrares. Quamquam peregrinae linguae ratio et graves occupationum curae impedimento fuerint Sanctissimo Patri, quominus aliquid de eodem opere, uti optasset, degustare posset, tamen opus ipsum doctissimi viri suffragio commendatum, veluti eximium documentum habuit tui zeli ac eruditionis et studii quod ad benemerendum de veritate et religione impendis, ac non minus in tuis litteris suscepit et commendavit praestantes devotionis sensus, quibus te intime animatum esse ostendis ac probas. Mihi itaque honestissimum officium demandavit, ut tibi suo nomine gratularer, ac debitas tuae pietati et zelo laudes deferrem,

<sup>1</sup> It is with special pleasure that we insert in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* this flattering letter, in which the Holy Father honours with his commendation a work, the greater part of which, through Rev. Dr. Molloy's kindness, first appeared in our pages.



tibique cum grati animi sui significatione paternam caritatem suam testarer, in cujus pignus Apostolicam Benedictionem super te peramanter effundit.

Dum autem apud te delato mihi officio perfungor, hac ipsa opportunitate libentissime utor, ut peculiare gratulationes meas observantiaeque et aestimationis sensus tibi exhibeam, illud a Domino adprecans ut tibi omnia fausta et salutaria concedat.

Tui, Perillustis et Reverende Domine  
Addictissimus Famulus,

CAROLUS NOCELLA,

Sanctissimi Domini ab Epistolis Latinis.

Perillustri et Reverendo Domino GIRALDO MOLLOY,

Professori Theologiae in Collegio S. Patritii,

Maynooth, in Hibernia.

[TRANSLATION].

A copy of a work written by you in the English language, together with your very respectful letter, dated the 17th of March last, has been lately presented to our Most Holy Lord Pius IX. In this work it has been your high purpose to demonstrate the mutual harmony that exists between Geography and revealed Religion, and thus to refute the errors of unbelievers who make use of the wonderful works of creation to impugn the revealed Word.

Although the difficulty of a foreign tongue and the heavy weight of business have prevented the Holy Father from reading any part of the book himself, as he would have wished to do, nevertheless, after referring it to the judgment of a distinguished scholar, he has regarded it as an eminent proof of your zeal and learning, and of the labour which you expend in the service of truth and religion. Not less has he observed in your letter, and commended the strong feeling of attachment with which you show yourself to be thoroughly animated.

He has, therefore, committed to me the agreeable duty of congratulating you in his name, and of conveying the praise which is due to your piety and zeal; and, at the same time that I express his gratitude, of testifying likewise his fatherly charity, as a pledge of which he lovingly pours out upon you his Apostolic Blessing.

While discharging this duty imposed upon me, I gladly avail myself of the opportunity to offer you also my own congratulations, and to express my sentiments of respect and esteem; praying at the same time that God may grant you always whatever is propitious and salutary.

### III.—ADDRESS OF THE IRISH BISHOPS TO HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL CULLEN,

AT THE CLOSE OF THE FOURTH PUBLIC SESSION OF THE  
VATICAN COUNCIL.

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*"To his Eminence Paul Cardinal Cullen, Archbishop of  
Dublin, Primate of Ireland, &c., &c.*

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EMINENCE—On this most memorable day in the history of the Vatican Council, We, the undersigned Archbishops and Bishops, representatives of the Irish race, respectfully approach your Eminence, and offer our heartfelt congratulations on your most able and successful vindication in the Council Hall of the rights of the Holy See, and of the tradition of the Irish Church concerning them.

"Your Eminence truly represented on the occasion the faith and feelings of the Irish people, and we are proud of the manner in which you have testified to both.

- \* D. M'Gettigan, Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland.
- \* P. Leahy, Archbishop of Cashel
- \* Charles Eyre, Archbishop of Anazarba, &c.
- \* W. Keane, Bishop of Cloyne.
- \* M. O'Hea, Bishop of Ross.
- \* F. Kelly, Bishop of Derry.
- \* P. Dorrian, Bishop of Down and Connor.
- \* John M'Eily, Bishop of Galway.
- \* L. Gillooly, Bishop of Elphin.
- \* George Butler, Bishop of Limerick.
- \* N. Power, Bishop, Administrator of Killaloe.
- \* James Donnelly, Bishop of Clogher.
- \* N. M'Cabe, Bishop of Ardagh.
- \* Thomas Nulty, Bishop of Meath.
- \* D. Murphy, Bishop of Hobart Town.
- \* J. A. Gould, Bishop of Melbourne.
- \* James Quinn, Bishop of Brisbane.
- \* S. Fennelly, Vicar Apostolic of Madras.
- \* E. O'Connell, Bishop of Grassvalley.
- \* John Strain, Vicar Apostolic, E.D., Scotland.
- \* John M'Donald, Vicar Apostolic, W.D., Scotland.
- \* J. Chadwick, Bishop of Hexham.
- \* E. Horan, Bishop of Kingston.



- \* T. O'Mahony, Bishop of Armidale
- \* P. Moran, Bishop of Dunedin.
- \* Thomas Grimley, Vicar Archbishop of Capetown, South Africa.
- \* John Cameron, Coadjutor Bishop of Arichat.
- \* Thomas Power, Bishop of St. John's.
- \* T. W. Croke, Bishop of Auckland.
- \* John Farrell, Bishop of Hamilton.
- \* L. B. Sheil, Bishop of Adelaide."

#### THE CARDINAL'S REPLY.

MY LORDS ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS, I thank you most warmly for your kind address, though it has not been in my power to perform anything in connection with the Vatican Council deserving of such a manifestation of your approval. At the same time I must say that it was a great honour to have been allowed to take any part, however humble, in one of the greatest ecclesiastical assemblies that the world has ever witnessed, an assembly which will form so remarkable a feature in the history of our holy and beloved Father, Pius the Ninth, and will add so much lustre to the last years of a long reign, rivalling in its splendour and its wonderful events the Pontificates of his greatest and most illustrious predecessors. All those who have been present at the Vatican Council must have been struck with the proofs which it afforded of the unity and Catholicity of our Church, and have admired the liberty with which every question was so eloquently and learnedly discussed, whilst all, though differing in opinion on other matters, were united in the profession of the one true faith. In progress of time the decisions of such a body will be the source of great blessings to the Church, condemning, as they do, so many forms of modern error, upholding the cause of justice and authority, defining the rights of religion, and, above all, banishing Gallicanism from the pale of the Church. This form of teaching, notwithstanding the name it bears, was never adopted by the great Church of France, but was violently forced into a sort of official existence by an ambitious King. Its tendencies always were to undermine the foundations of the Church, to divide the faithful of different countries into hostile camps, and to promote schisms and dissensions among those who should live together like brethren. Having been now solemnly condemned by a General Council, it is to be hoped that itself and its offshoots will soon be forgotten. The definition of the Pope's Infallibility,

for which we all voted to-day, was hailed with enthusiasm by the multitudes assembled around the shrine of St. Peter, and tens of thousands of the faithful from every clime joined in sending forth hymns of thanksgiving to the Almighty for having visited and conferred a signal blessing on them. Every Catholic nation will repeat the same canticles of joy, and our own devoted flocks will be among the first and the most fervent in manifesting their feelings of delight. To you, my lords, I am confident that the Irish people, over whom you preside, whether at home in the United Kingdom or in the distant colonies of the British empire, where so many new churches are springing up, will be most grateful for the zeal, devotedness, and learning with which you defended the ancient traditions of the Church of our Fathers, and for the unanimity with which you did honour to St. Peter, voting for the most glorious prerogative of his successors, the gift of Infallibility, which they enjoy, when teaching the Church, as Vicars of Jesus Christ. This doctrine was always held in Ireland from the days of our Apostle down to the Synod of Thurles, and every good Irish Catholic would be grievously scandalised were any one to assert that the Pope could teach heresy to the Church, or that the supreme Pastor could give poison instead of wholesome food to the flock of Christ. I shall conclude by observing that when the last General Council was held, three hundred years ago, Ireland was in a sad state of depression. The country was laid waste, the population reduced to the lowest ebb, the clergy in exile or prison, and religion proscribed. Hence, during the greater part of the eighteen years which the Council of Trent lasted, no Irish bishops could be present at its deliberations. Thanks be to God, things are greatly changed. Ireland is now recovering from her past afflictions, and her people are founding churches and spreading religion over the world. The children of St. Patrick have been amply represented in the Vatican Council by a large array of prelates; and your flocks may well be proud of the high position which you held among the assembled bishops of all the nations of the earth! May God in his mercy continue to watch over our poor country, now so intimately connected with the most distant regions of the earth! May He strengthen the faith of our people wherever they are dispersed, and may He give them and their zealous and faithful pastors the grace always to adhere to the Rock of Peter, and to be the devoted children of his infallible successors!"



# MONASTICON HIBERNICUM;

OR,

## A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE ANCIENT MONASTERIES OF IRELAND.

[N. B.—The text of the “Monasticon” is taken *verbatim* from Archdall: the notes marked with numbers are added by the Editors.]

### COUNTY OF CLARE.

the only information we have that there was a religious house here.

Continuation of Note 25, from page 596.

rities. The following note from the *Felire Aenguis* in the *Leabrha Breac* at the Feast of St. Tola is conclusive enough on the subject:—

“Tola the pious from Disiurt Tola in the upper part of Dal g-Cais, and from Enach Dairen in Uibh Faile.” *Felire Aenguis*, 30th March.

The following extracts from the “Annals of the Four Masters,” at the year A.D. 1589, confirm this passage, and leave no doubt as to the position and antiquity of Disert-Tula or Disert O’Dea:—A.D. 1589. “Dermot Oge, the son of Dermot, son of Denis, son of Dermot, son of Conor, Bishop of Limerick, son of Morough an Dana, O’Dea, died and was buried in his own town of Disert Tola, in the cantred of Kinel-Fearmaic, in the upper part of Dal g-Cais.”

The Conor O’Dea, Bishop of Limerick, above-mentioned, “succeeded in the year 1400, resigned the see in 1420, and died in 1434. See Harris’s edition of Ware’s Bishops p. 507, where this bishop is mentioned under the name of Cornelius O’Dea.”

O’Dea’s castle stands in ruins a short distance to the north-west of St. Tola’s church. This castle is mentioned in the description of the county of Clare, written in 1585, and now preserved in the Manuscript Library of Trinity College, Dublin, E. 2, 14, as the residence of Donell Mael O’Dea. See “Annals of the Four Masters,” A.D. 1589, n. z. and A.D. 1598 n. w.

This place has been celebrated in history as the scene of the memorable battle of Dysert O’Dea, fought on the 10th May, 1318, by the Dal g-Cais of Thomond against Richard De Clare and his army. This battle forms one of the finest episodes in the *Caithreim Toirdhealbhaigh*, or History of the wars of Thomond, written by Magrath, the Historian of Thomond, who was alive when the battle was fought, and probably an eye-witness of what he has so eloquently described.

In this battle of Dysart O’Dea, Richard De Clare was slain by Conor O’Dea, and his son fell at the same time by the hand of Feidhlim O’Conor of Corcomroe, and four of his bravest knights, namely, Sir Henry De Capel, Sir Thomas De Naas, Sir James De Cantelon (Condon), Sir John De Cantelon and other noble chiefs, and the flower of his army, fell by the broad blades of the Dal g-Cais, and the remnant of De Clare’s army, dispirited at the fall of their leaders, gave way on all sides and were pursued by the Dalcassian troops to the castle of Bunratty, the stronghold and residence of De Clare. When the news of the death of her husband and son reached De Clare’s wife at Bunratty, we are informed that she abandoned the castle, set fire to the place, and took a final farewell of the country, and that none of her descendants ever came back to claim it, and since the memorable battle of Dysert O’Dea we find no mention of the name of De Clare in the Annals of Thomond.

“This important battle,” says O’Donoghue in his Memoir of the O’Briens, “was

<sup>26</sup>*Six-Mile-Bridge*, called in Irish Abhuinn O'Gearna, from the river Gearna, which runs from thence to the Shannon. There was a chapel, or vicarial house, near to this town, which did belong to the Dominicans of Limerick, but of this there are now no remains.<sup>w</sup>

*Tomgrany*,<sup>x27</sup> Three or four miles east of Lough Derg. An abbey was founded here early.

A.D. 735. Died the abbot St. Manchin.<sup>y</sup>

747. Died the abbot Conell.<sup>z</sup>

791. Died the abbot Cathnia O'Guary.<sup>a</sup>

886. The abbey was plundered.<sup>b</sup>

949. It received the same treatment.<sup>c</sup>

964. Cormac O'Killeen, a man famous for his learning and good works, died this year; he was abbot of Tuaimgrene and of Roscommon, he was also both abbot and bishop of

<sup>w</sup> *Burke*, p. 213. <sup>x</sup> *Was called anciently Tuaimgraine.* <sup>y</sup> *Act. SS.* p. 332. <sup>z</sup> *M'Geogh.* <sup>a</sup> *Id.* <sup>b</sup> *Tr. Th.* p. 634. <sup>c</sup> *Id.*

fought on the 10th May, 1318, besides establishing on a secure basis thenceforward the power of the O'Briens as sovereigns of Thomond, and expelling from its borders the issue of Thomas De Clare, who, to the weakness of a title depending merely on the sword, had added the crime of murder, conceived in perfidy, if not sacrilege." We are informed that, "previous to the banquet from which Brian Roe was hastily dragged to be torn between horses, by Thomas De Clare, he and Brien had, in token of greater confidence, partaken of the same holy sacrament, the consecrated host being divided in two parts for the purpose."—See the celebrated Remonstrance to Pope John XXII., from O'Neil, in "*Fordun's Scottish Chron.*," Lib. 12, chap. 26.

So great was the resentment of the Dal g-Cais against the De Clares, that the body of Richard, the father, was cut into minute pieces. Pembridge confirms this statement, but adds that the remains were interred in the church of the Friars Minors in Limerick. See "*O'Donoghoe's Memoir of the O'Briens*," Chap. ix., pp. 127-128, n. 22.—See *Cathreim Toirdhealbhaig* (Wars of Thomond) A.D. 1318.

<sup>26</sup> This abbey was situated on the river O'Garney in the present town of Six-Mile-Bridge, situated partly in the parish of Kilfentenan, barony of Bunratty, but chiefly in the parish of Kilfinaghty, barony of Tulla, six Irish miles N.W. by West from Limerick on the old road to Ennis.

Abhan O'g-Cearnaigh, now the river O'Garney, which gives name to this village (called in Irish "*Droichead Abhain O'g-Cearnaigh*," or the bridge of the O'Garney river), rises near Broadford in Glenomra, flows through the village of Six-Mile-Bridge, and discharges itself into the Shannon at Bunratty. This river was originally called the *Rait*, *gen. Raite*, hence *Bunraite* or Bunratty, and derived its present name of O'Garney from the territory of Ui-g-Cearnaigh through which it flows.

See "*Annals of the Four Masters*," A.D. 1564, p. 1600. n. o. and Ordnance Map of Clare, sheet 52.

<sup>27</sup> A.D. 1026. Conall Ua Cillene, successor of Cronan of Tuaim Greine, was abbot.

A.D. 1031. Mac Dealbhaeth, successor of Cronan of Tuaim Greine, died.

A. D. 1093. Ailill Ua Niallain, Tanist, abbot of Cluain Mic Nois, died. The successor of Cronan of Tuaim Greine, and the successor of Colman of Cill Mic Duach.

A. D. Macraith Ua Flathen, successor of Ciaran, and Cronan of Tuaim Greine, died on his pilgrimage at Acha-bo; he was of the tribe of Ui Fiachrach-Fella.

The following unpublished notice of the history of the parish and church of



Clonmacnois; and built the church and steeple of this abbey.<sup>d</sup>

1002. Died the abbot Dungal, he was the son of Beoan.\*

1027. Brien Borombh, the famous monarch of Ireland, repaired the steeple about this time.<sup>†</sup>

1078. Died the abbot Cormac Hua Beain.<sup>‡</sup>

1084. O'Ruark of Breffny reduced this abbey to ashes,

<sup>d</sup> Act. SS. p. 107, 360. \* Id. p. 257. † Keating. ‡ Act. SS. p. 361.

Tomgrany is found in the Ordnance Survey of Clare, in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy:—

"This parish is situated near the N. E. extremity of the county of Clare, and is bounded on the west and north by the parish of Feakle; on the east by the parishes of Moyno and Ogonnello; on the south by part of the latter and Kilno, and on the west by the parish of Feakle.

"The name of this parish is written in all the ancient Irish authorities *Tuaim Greine*, and explained in the 'Yellow Book of Lecan,' and in the 'Lismore MS.' as signifying the *tumulus* of *Grian*, the daughter of *Borb na Binne*, who was drowned in *Lough Greine*. The same legend is vividly remembered in the country, but horribly deformed. The lady *Grian*, who was also called *Gille Greinne*, or *Candor Solis*, i. e. the Brightness of the Sun, was a far-famed beauty who flourished here at a period unknown to chronology, but like Venus, she was of unnatural origin, begotten by a human being on a sunbeam, and when told of this she became sad and cheerless, and at once determined on self-destruction. She cast herself into a lake in *Sliabh Echtghe*, in which she was immediately drowned. When her fair body floated it was carried by the stream flowing from this lake in a south-eastern direction and cast up on the land upon the margin of a wood called by posterity from that circumstance *Daire Greine*, i. e. *Robertum Grynea*, where it was found by her friends who interred it at a place not far distant, and raised over it a *tumulus*, to which they and posterity gave, and continued to give, the name of *Tuaim Greine*, i. e. the *tumulus* of *Grian*. This is the local explanation of the word, and it is as true as any other legend etymology and conjecture could invent to account for it.

"The only other explanation which could be offered, is to suppose that *Tuaim Greine* signifies the mount of the sun, and that it received that appellation from a colony of Heliolators or Grionalators formerly established in this wild district; unless we suppose that it simply means *sun-mount*, i. e. the *sunny hill*, or human sepulture, and this latter is likely to be as true as any other, as we have millions of nice little names derived from 'clear spring,' or shady grove, or SUNNY HILL, so that if we reject the explanation of the name *Tuaim Greine* preserved by written and oral tradition, we must only invent a little etymological FABLE to account for it in a new and learned (lárned) manner.

"A monastery was founded here at an early period by *St. Cronan*, who was venerated there as the patron, and whose Coarbs the abbots of *Tuaim Greine* were called; but no life of him has been published by Colgan, nor discovered by the investigators of Irish hagiology employed on the Ordnance Survey of Ireland.

"According to the Irish Calendar collected from various sources by the Four Masters, his memory was celebrated on the 19th of October, under which his life is certainly given in Colgan's MSS., which were in Louvain about one hundred years ago. Till the life of *St. Cronan* of *Tuaim Greine* be discovered, no chronological calculation can be made of the time at which an ecclesiastical establishment was first placed at *Tuaim Greine*.

"For the annals of *Tuaim Greine*, see Archdall's "Monasticon," p. 55, copy in the Royal Irish Academy, and "Annals of the Four Masters," at the years A.D. 735, 744, 747, 789, 1002, 1026, 1031, 1078, 1084, 1093, 1100, 1164, 1185, 1485.

"Colgan has published a passage relating to this place in his *Acta SS.* (under, chapter i. of the appendix to the life of *St. Cormac*, Bishop of *Ath-Truim*), which

but the fate he merited soon overtook him, for he fell by the troops of Thomond.<sup>b</sup>

1164. This abbey was put into the same miserable state this year.<sup>i</sup>

1170. It was plundered again about this time.<sup>k</sup>  
Tomgrany is now a parish church.

<sup>b</sup> *Id.* and O'Halloran, vol. 2, p. 294. <sup>i</sup> *Act. SS.* p. 634. <sup>k</sup> *Id.*

he gives as from the "Annals of the Four Masters," A. D. 964, but which is not to be found in the copy published by Doctor O'Connor, nor in any copy to which we have access in Dublin. This passage is of great value, and cannot be a fabrication of Colgan, though it is probable that he has quoted the wrong Annals.\* It runs thus :—

"A.D. 964, Cormac O'Killeen, Coarb of the Saints Kiaran, Coeman, and Cronan, bishop sage, a man of great age, who erected the church of *Tuaim Greine*, together with its tower, died.

"It is to be lamented that we have not the original Irish of this passage, as it would show that a *Cloig Teach* (round tower) was erected at *Tuaim Greine*, in the third quarter of the tenth century.. This passage must be looked for in the more original Annals.\*

"It will further appear from a passage given by Keatinge in the reign of Brian Boroo, that the tower of *Tuaim Greine* was not built for the first time in the Abbacy of Cormac O'Killeen, but rebuilt or repaired, as can be inferred from the words employed, *Cloigtheach Thuama Greine do athnuadhach le Brian*, i.e. 'The round tower of *Tuaim Greine* was renewed by Brian.' This passage can be easily reconciled with the one published by Colgan, for the fact was that Saint Cronan's little tower, which had been shattered by lightning at various periods, and patched up as often, was no longer large or strong enough to answer the purposes of the monastery, which had in the course of three or four centuries sprung up at *Tuaim Greine*, and Brian thought proper to extend his patronage to the aged abbot to have it rebuilt. The antiquary has to lament that even the site of this tower is not now known at *Tuaim Greine*. Pity the antiquarian does not find a cross there inscribed with this inscription:

"The present church of *Tuaim Greine* is of no antiquity, and there is nothing there by which the antiquarian can be interested but a rude castle, which was built by the O'Grady's, hereditary *herenachs* of *Tuaim Greine*, and lords of the territory of Hy Donghaile, in which it is situated. This castle is mentioned in the College list of the castles of Thomond, as belonging to Edmond O'Grady, who had another castle at Moyno, and another at Scariffe.

"The little town of Scariffe, which is shewn on the Down survey as a village even then of some importance, belongs to this parish. It is mentioned in the "Annals of the Four Masters" at the year A.D. 1598, as a castle taken from the Attorney of the Bishop of Meath's son (Brady) by Taidg O'Brien. It is also mentioned in the same Annals at the year 1564. The holy well of Saint Cronan, the patron of *Tuaim Greine*, is situated in the centre of the townland of Currakyle.—Your obedient servant,

JOHN O'DONOVAN."

\* The Irish text of this passage is found in the "Chronicum Scotorum." The translation is as follows :—

"A. D. 964, Cormac Ua Cillin, of the Uib Fiachrach, Aidhne Comarb of Ciaran and of Coman, and Comarb of Tuam Grene; and it was by him the great church of Tuam Grene was built and its *Claigtech* (round tower). Sapiens et senex, et Episcopus, quievit in Christo.

See also Petrie's "Round Towers," p. 375.

(To be continued.)



THE IRISH  
ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

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SEPTEMBER, 1870.

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LITURGICAL FRAGMENTS FROM THE EARLY  
CELTIC CHURCH.

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II.—THE STOWE MISSAL.

THE venerable MS. of the early Irish Church, known as *the Stowe Missal*, formed part of the Stowe collection, and is now preserved in the rich library of Lord Ashburnham. Like other MSS. which were written by our sainted fathers, or at least were hallowed by their touch, it has been from a very early time regarded with religious veneration, and enshrined in a *cumhdach*, or costly covering, adorned with silver plates and precious stones. The latest antiquary who had the privilege of examining the venerable shrine in which it is enclosed, thus writes: "It is a stout oaken box, overlaid everywhere with silver plates curiously wrought, garnished with niello ornamentation, and inscribed with several names, telling of the royal personages who, by their munificence, contributed to its adornment, or of those who lent their individual handicraft for that purpose."<sup>1</sup>

For all details regarding the ornamentation of the ancient *cumhdach* I must refer the reader to the valuable papers on the subject by Dr. O'Connor, in his "Stowe Catalogue,"<sup>2</sup> and Dr. Todd in the "Transactions of Royal Irish Academy."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Rev. Canon Rock, D.D.*, "On Celtic Spoons." A Paper read in London before the Royal Archaeological Society, and published in their Proceedings for 1869, page 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Stowe Catalogue*, vol. i., appendix prima; and *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*, vol. ii.

<sup>3</sup> "On the Ancient Irish Missal and its silver box, &c.," by J. H. Todd. Read June 23, 1856. *Transactions of R. I. A.*, vol. xxiii.

The older inscriptions on the shrine date from the middle of the eleventh century. They begin with invoking "THE BLESSING OF GOD ON EVERY SOUL WHO DESERVES IT." Then they ask "A PRAYER FOR DONNCHADH, SON OF BRIAN, KING OF IRELAND." "AND FOR MAC-RAITH-HU-DONNCHADHA, KING OF CASHEL." Only one other of the ancient inscriptions is now legible. It is "A PRAYER FOR DUNCHADH O'TACCAIN, OF THE MUINTIR OF CLUAIN, WHO EXECUTED THIS WORK." The word *muintir*, which literally means *family*, here, as invariably in similar construction, signifies a religious community, or monastery. The name of Donchadh O'Taccan, or O'Tagan, does not occur elsewhere in our religious annals. "Of this Donchadh O'Tagan," writes Dr. Todd, "we know nothing except what we learn from this inscription, that he was of the religious society of Clonmacnoise, and that he was the artist by whom this ornamented and costly box was made for the preservation of the venerable MS., which it contains."<sup>1</sup>

King Donnchadh, son of the celebrated Brian Boromhe, not satisfied with the royal diadem of Munster, assumed the title of King of Ireland in the year 1026, in which year he invaded Leinster and carried off hostages from Meath and Bregia, as also from the Danes of Dublin, and the men of Ossory. Many of our annalists, however, refuse him this title of *King of Ireland*, partly on account of his crimes; partly, too, because there were throughout his reign other claimants to the chief kingship of our island. In the year 1064 he was not only deprived of this title, but was moreover driven from his own kingdom of Munster, as we learn from the following entry of the Annals of Tighernach:—"Donnchadh, son of Brian Boromhe, King of Munster, was deposed, and went to Rome in pilgrimage, where he died after the victory of penitence, in the monastery of Stephen." This monastery of St. Stephen, in Rome, stood on the site of the old pagan temple of Cacus, close by the modern Minerva, and was specially allotted to the pilgrims who from distant countries flocked to Rome to offer their prayers at the shrines of the Apostles. At the time of which we speak the monastery was in charge of the Benedictine monks, but soon after passed into other hands. At present there is no memorial there to mark the spot where rests the son of the great monarch Brian. The Annals of Ulster also mark the year 1064 for the deposition of Donnchadh:—"Donnchadh O'Brien, deposed from his crown, went to Rome in his pilgrimage." The "Chronicon Scotorum" places

<sup>1</sup> Todd, loc. cit., page 9.



this event in 1061:—"Donnchadh, son of Brian, was dethroned, and he went to Rome on his pilgrimage, and died in penitence, viz., in the monastery of Stephen." The "Annals of Clonmacnoise" assign the year 1063:—"Donnogh MacBrian Boroimhe was king, as some say, and was soon deposed again, and he went to Rome to do penance, because he had a hand in the killing of his own elder brother, Teig MacBrian. He brought the crown of Ireland with him thither. . . . Donnogh MacBrian died in pilgrimage in the abbey of St. Stephen the Protomartyr." It is the tradition, that together with the royal crown of his father, Donogh O'Brien brought with him to Rome a copy of the ancient Book of Canons of the Irish Church.

MacRaith, King of Cashel, mentioned in the above inscription, succeeded Donnchadh as King of Cashel, when the latter assumed the sovereignty of Ireland. The annalists who refuse to Donnchadh the title of King of Ireland, refuse also to style MacRaith the King of Cashel, giving him only his earlier rank of king, or chieftain of the Eoghanacht-Caisil. Tighernagh, when commemorating his death, gives him the title of *heir apparent* to the throne of Munster:—"A.D. 1052, MacRaith O'Donnchadha, King of the Eoghanacht of Cashel, *heir apparent*, King of Munster, died." MacRaith in the inscription, as in the entry just referred to, is called *Mac-Donnchadha*, i.e., grandson of Donnchadh, King of Munster, who died in the year 962.<sup>1</sup>

That the inscriptions on the shrine of which we speak were made during the lifetime of Donnchadh O'Brien and MacRaith, may be assumed as certain. No prayer is asked *for their souls*, as is usual in such inscriptions for deceased benefactors; and moreover, as Dr. Todd remarks, "it is not very likely, from their subsequent history, that so costly a relic would have borne mention of them with their regal titles, after their death."<sup>2</sup> Thus, then, we may safely conclude that this rich case was made for the Stowe Missal between the years 1023, when Donnchadh assumed the title of King of Ireland, and 1052, when MacRaith died.

Three hundred years from the death of Donnchadh the shrine was repaired and re-adorned. One of the later inscriptions asks "A PRAYER FOR PHILIP O'KENNEDY, THE KING OF ORMOND, WHO COVERED THIS SHRINE, AND FOR AINI, HIS WIFE." The death of this royal chieftain of Ormond is thus registered in the "Annals of the Four Masters:"

<sup>1</sup> See the Genealogy Table in O'Donovan's "Battle of Magh Rath," p. 340.

<sup>2</sup> Todd, loc. cit., page 8.

—"A.D. 1381, Philip O'Kennedy, Lord of Ormond, and his wife Aine, daughter of MacNamara, died." Another inscription of the same date adds:—"A PRAYER FOR GILLARUADHAN O'MACAN, THE COMHARB, BY WHOM THIS WAS COVERED." The omission of the name of the monastery to which Gillaruadhan belonged as well as his own name, *servant of St. Ruadhan*, seems to imply that he was Abbot in the district of which O'Kennedy was chieftain—that is to say, he was comharb of St. Ruadhan, in the famous monastery of Lothra (now Lorha), situated in Lower Ormond, which was also called *O'Kennedy's country*.

When the outward shrine, with its silver plates and other precious ornaments, has come down to us from the first half of the eleventh century, we may justly conclude that even at that remote date the MS. which it contained was considered a venerable relic of our early Church—an heirloom of the great founder of the monastery in which it was preserved. The intrinsic evidence and the style of writing of the MS. itself, confirm this conclusion:—"It is by no means impossible," writes Dr. Todd, "that the MS. contained in this box may have been the original Missal of St. Ruadhan himself, the founder of the monastery of Lothra, who died A.D. 584. . . . The original MS. was written in an ancient Lombardic character, which may well be deemed older than the sixth century" (loc. cit., page 16). This distinguished antiquarian has also observed that portions of the MS. are written in a second and much later hand; and at page 71 of the MS., at the end of the Canon of the Mass, the name of this second scribe is given:—"Maelcaich rector." "This name," adds Dr. Todd, "is certainly Irish, and belongs to an early period of our history, when the names of Paganism were still retained" (page 18). Subsequently, commenting on a statement of O'Connor, in regard to a particular passage which should necessarily be referred to the eighth century, he writes:

"He has omitted to notice the fact that it is not in the original hand of the MS., but in the later handwriting, of which I have several times spoken. The date, therefore, which is thus obtained, applies to all these additions, made, as we have seen, by one Maelcaich; and, as they must, therefore, be referred to the eighth century, they furnish a strong additional evidence of the very high antiquity of the original Missal" (page 34).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The death of Maelcaech, son of Cumscrath Meann, is registered by the Four Masters in the year 776. It is quite possible that the additions in our MS. may have come from him.



The name of the original scribe is given, as is usual in the old MSS., at the end of the Gospel of St. John, as follows :—

*“Deo gratias ago, Amen. Finit, Amen. Rogo quicumque hunc librum legeris ut memineris mei peccatoris scriptoris, id est, SONID peregrinus, Amen. Sanus sit qui scripserit et cui scriptum est, Amen.”* The name *Sonid* is in Ogham characters, and its precise reading cannot as yet be fixed with certainty. Dr. Todd, however, contends that the above reading is correct, and that it corresponds with the more modern name, *Sonadh*, which means “happy or prosperous.” If so, the concluding words would contain an illusion to the name, for, the Latin phrase which follows, viz., *sanus sit*, as closely corresponds to it as any other that the scribe could easily discover.

The MS. begins with a complete copy of the Gospel of St. John, illuminated according to the type of the early Irish school. Dr. O’Conor has given a fac-simile of the two first pages—one representing the Evangelist, who is surmounted by the symbolical eagle; the other giving the first verses of the Gospel. The text of the Gospel is that of the Latin Vulgate, though with many important variations, as is usual in the old Biblical MSS. of the Celtic Church.<sup>1</sup>

The Gospel of St. John is followed by the *Ordo of the Mass*, which begins with the Rubric “*Letania Apostolorum ac Martirum Sanctorum virorum et virginum incipit.*” Then follows the antiphon *Peccavimus* and the Litany. Dr. O’Conor has given a fac-simile of the page containing the antiphon :—

“Peccavimus Domine peccavimus : parce peccatis nostris et salva nos ; qui gubernasti Noe super aquas diluvi exaudi nos : qui Jonam de abiso verbo revocasti libera nos qui Petro mergenti manum porrexisti auxiliare nobis Christe.”

“We have sinned, O Lord, we have sinned : pardon our sins and save us : thou who didst preserve Noah on the waters of the deluge, hear our prayer : thou, who by thy word, didst recall Jonas from the abyss, deliver us : thou who didst stretch forth thy hand to Peter, sinking in the waves, assist us, O Christ.”

The Litany is followed by the hymn *Gloria in Excelsis*, and then several Collects are added, being prayers for the priests, the people, the universal Church, the peace and prosperity of princes and kingdoms, the givers of alms, &c. This order is very much the same as was in use in Rome in the fifth century. At a later period, probably in the ninth century,

<sup>1</sup> See “*Biblical MSS. of the early Irish Church*” in *Atlantis*, February, 1870, article 3.

the *Confiteor* took the place of the ancient Litany. The Gallican Liturgy adopted a different usage, and commenced with an antiphon, which was followed by the *Sanctus* and the *Kyrie*.<sup>1</sup>

I may here incidentally remark, that in the library of the famous monastery of St. Gall, there is still preserved one small fragment of some venerable MS. of our Celtic Church of the sixth or seventh century. It begins with the antiphon:—*"Peccavimus Domine, peccavimus, parce nobis"* . . . And on the verso begins the Litany:—

"Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis.  
Sancte Petre, ora pro nobis.  
Sancte Paule, ora pro nobis."

Westwood, in his magnificent work, "*Fac-similes, &c., of Anglo-Saxon and Irish MSS.*" (London, 1868), page 68, refers to this passage, and thinks it must have belonged to some ancient *Penitential* of our Church. From its analogy with the beginning of the *ordo* of the Mass in the Stowe Missal, I think we should rather conclude that it formed part of an Irish Missal, perhaps the very Missal used by the great missionary, St. Gall, himself.

The custom of introducing several Collects in the Mass was regarded in Gaul as in a special manner characteristic of the Irish liturgy. In a Synod held at Matiscon in the year 623, objections were raised by a monk named Agrestius, against the disciples of St. Columban on account of this peculiarity of their Missal:—"Quod a caeterorum ritu ac norma desciscerent et sacra missarum solemnia orationum et collectarum multiplici varietate celebrarent."<sup>2</sup> St. Eustasius, a disciple of St. Columbanus and abbot of the Columban monastery of Lisieux (Luxovium), who was present at the Council, admitted the fact, but added—"Orationum porro multiplicationem in sacris officiis multum prodesse quis neget? Cum et orationi sine intermissione vacari nobis ex divino praecepto incumbat et quo plus Dominus quaeritur, plus inveniatur, nihilque cuivis Christiano et maxime poenitentibus salubrius sit, quam Deum multiplicatione precum et orationum assiduitate pulsare."

One of the Collects in the Stowe Missal is entitled *Oratio prima Petri*, and runs thus:—

Deus qui culpa offenderis, poenitentia placaris, afflic-	O God, who by sin art of- fended, but art appeased by
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<sup>1</sup> *Le Brun* "Explication de la Messe" tom. 3, dissert 4, page 248 seqq : *Marchesi* "L'Antica Liturgia Gallicana," tom 1, page 362. Rome, 1867.

<sup>2</sup>  *Mabillon* "Annales ord. S. Bened," vol. i., page 320.



torum gemitus respice, et mala  
quae juste inrogas misericor-  
diter averte. Per Dominum,  
&c.

penance, look down upon the  
anguish of the afflicted, and in  
thy mercy avert the scourges  
which thy justice requireth,  
through our Lord, &c.

A lesson is added from 1, Corinthians, chapter xi., begin-  
ning—" *Fratres quotiescunque manducabitis*," with the prayer :  
"Omnipotens sempiternus Deus qui populum tuum, &c.," and  
then follows the versicle :—

"R. Quærite Dominum et confirmamini. Fortitudo mea  
et laudatio mea usque in salutem."

"Sacrificio præsentibus Domine quaesumus intende placatus, ut devotioni nostrae proficiat ad salutem."

Then follows the Rubric :—" *Deprecatio Sancti Martini pro populo incipit. Amen. Deo gracias. Dicamus omnes : Domine exaudi et miserere.*"

At page 14 of the MS., the Lesson from the Gospel of St. John, sixth chapter, is introduced with the Rubric :—

"*Lechdipech ruid. Dirigatur Domine usque vespertinum, tunc canitur. Hic elevatur linteamen de calice. Veni Domine sanctificator omnipotens et benedic hoc sacrificium præparatum tibi, Amen. Tunc canitur locus Evangelii secundum Johannem : Dominus noster Jesus Christus dixit : Ego sum panis. Et oratio Gregorii super Evangelium : Quaesumus Domine omnipotens, &c.*"

The Irish words, *lechdipech ruid*, imply *a half uncovering here*, and a corresponding phrase is met with after the Gospel of St. John, *i.e.*, *lanbpech ruid* *a full uncovering here*. This shows that the chalice was partly uncovered before, and was fully uncovered after the chanting of the Gospel. This double uncovering of the chalice is thus referred to in an ancient Irish Tract on the ceremonies of the Mass, preserved in the *Leabhar Breac*, fol. 126a :—

"The two uncoverings, including the half one, of the Chalice of the Mass, and of the Oblation, and what is chanted at them, both of Gospel and Alleluja, is the figure of the written law in which Christ was manifestly foretold, but was not seen until His birth. The elevation of the Chalice of the Mass and of the Paten, after the full uncovering, at which this verse is sung : *Immola Deo sacrificium laudis*, is the figure of the birth of Christ, and of His manifestation through signs and miracles : this is the beginning of the New Testament."

The words which follow in the Rubric are very easily explained. The *Dirigatur Domine* is still used in the liturgy, during the incensation of the Altar :—"Dirigatur, Domine,

oratio mea, sicut incensum in conspectu tuo: elevatio manuum mearum sacrificium vespertinum."

The *Veni Domine Sanctificator* agrees in substance with the prayer that follows after the Offertory in the present Roman Missal:—"Veni sanctificator omnipotens aeterne Deus, et benedic hoc sacrificium tuo sancto nomini praeparatum." The corresponding prayer in the Sarum Missal approaches still nearer to the Irish form:—"Veni sanctificator omnipotens et Domine Deus: benedic et sanctifica hoc sacrificium quod tibi est praeparatum."

Dr. Todd suggests, and probably with reason, that the prayer of St. Gregory, subsequently referred to in the Rubric, is that which occurs at the end of the *Liber Sacramentorum* of that great Pontiff:—"Quaesumus omnipotens Deus, ne nos tua misericordia derelinquat, quae et errores nostros semper amoveat et noxia cuncta depellat. Per Dominum."<sup>1</sup>

The *Creed* forms part of the order of the Mass, and agrees in substance with the Nicene Creed. The *filioque* does not form part of the original text, but was added by the more recent hand. A fac-simile of the following passage is given by Dr. O'Connor:—

"Cujus regni non erit finis. Et in Spiritum Sanctum, Dominum et vivificantem, ex Patre procedentem, cum Patre et Filio coadorandum, et conglorificandum."

Dr. O'Connor tells us that the ceremony of mixing water with the wine for the Holy Eucharist is wholly omitted, as are also the *Lavabo* and the prayer *Suscipe Sancta Trinitas*. In enumerating the orders of the Hierarchy, three only are mentioned in this Missal, viz., bishops, priests, and deacons.

The festivals commemorated are the following:—

- 1.—*Natale Domini*, Christmas day.
- 2.—*Kalendas*, the 1st of January, Feast of the Circumcision.
- 3.—*Stellae*, the Epiphany.
- 4.—*Dies Natalis Calicis Domini Nostri*, the beginning of the Passion of our Lord, *i.e.*, the First day of Lent.
- 5.—*Pasca*, Easter.
- 6.—*Clausula Pascae*, the Octave of Easter. Low Sunday.
- 7.—*Ascensio*, Ascension-day.
- 8.—*Pentacoste*, the Feast of Pentecost.

There is one common preface assigned for all these festivals, into which, on each feast-day, an additional clause might be introduced, having special reference to such festival. Hence

<sup>1</sup> Todd "On an Ancient Irish Missal," page 23.



the preface is twice interrupted by rubrics in the Irish language, which have been thus translated :—

1.—“Here the preface receives the addition, if it be followed by *Per Quem*.”

2.—“Here the preface receives the addition, if it be followed by *Sanctus*,” i.e., the special portion of the preface was to be inserted either where the *Per Quem* or where the *Sanctus* occurs in the ordinary text.

The Canon of the Mass, which is marked with the Rubric *Canon Dominicus Papæ Gilasi*, presents the following very remarkable passage, which shows that it was compiled before the total abolition of idolatry in our island :—

“Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostrae Ecclesiae sed et cunctae familiae tuae quam tibi offerimus in honorem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et in commemorationem beatorum martirum tuorum, in hac ecclesia quam famulus tuus ad honorem nominis gloriae tuae aedificavit, quaesumus Domine ut placatus suscipias, eumque atque omnem populum ab idolorum cultura eripias et ad te Dominum Patrem omnipotentem convertas.”

“We beseech, O Lord, that mercifully thou wouldst receive this tribute of our duty of the church, and of all thy people, which we offer in honour of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in commemoration of thy blessed martyrs, in this church which thy servant erected unto the honour of Thy name and Glory, and that Thou wouldst deliver him and all the people from the worship of idols, and convert them to the Lord, the Father Omnipotent.”

The form of consecration and the subsequent prayers correspond literally with those still used in the Roman Missal, down to the *Memento* for the dead, which assumes a form altogether peculiar as follows :—

“Memento etiam Domine et eorum nomina, qui nos praecesserunt cum signo fidei et dormiunt in somno pacis. Cum omnibus in toto mundo offerentibus sacrificium spirituale Deo Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto, Sanctis et venerabilibus sacerdotibus offert senior noster N. praesbiter, pro se et pro suis, et pro totius aeclesiae cetu Catholico, et pro commemorando anathetico gradu venerabilium Patriarcharum, Profetarum, Apostolorum et Martyrum et omnium quoque Scotorum,<sup>1</sup> ut pro nobis Dominum Deum nostrum recordare dignentur:—

Sancte Stefane, ora pro nobis.

S. Martine, ora pro nobis.

S. Hironime, ora pro nobis.

S. Augustine, ora pro nobis.”

<sup>1</sup> This was probably a mistake of the scribe for *Sanctorum*.

And then twenty-eight names of other saints are added by the more modern hand, which, as I have already remarked, Dr. Todd considers to belong to the eighth century. These names are, "St. Gregory, St. Hilary, St. Patrick, St. Ailbhe, two SS. Finnian, two SS. Kieran, two SS. Brendan, two SS. Columba, St. Comgall, St. Canice, St. Findbarr, St. Nesson, St. Fachtna, St. Lugid, St. Lacten, St. Ruadhan, St. Carthage, St. Coemghen, St. Mochonna, St. Brigid (written *Brigta* in the MS.), St. Ita, St. Scetha, St. Sinecha, St. Samdine."

The two SS. Finnian invoked in this Litany are St. Finnian of Clonard, who died in the year 549, and St. Finnian of Moville, whose death is recorded in our Annals in the year 579. The two SS. Ciaran, both died before the middle of the sixth century. St. Brendan, of Birr, died in 572, and St. Brendan, of Clonfert, in 577. There were many Irish saints of the name Columba; the two here referred to are probably St. Columba, *i. e.* Columbkille, of Iona, who died in 595, and St. Columba, *i. e.* Columbanus, of Bobbio, who died in 615. St. Mochonna, the latest name in the above list, died in the year 704.

This Litany is followed by the *Agnus Dei*, and then by a short prayer which is ascribed to St. Ambrose; after which another commemoration begins of all the principal saints of the Old Testament, followed by Apostles, Martyrs, &c., down to our own Apostle St. Patrick, with whom are linked forty-six names of Irish saints, the latest of whom is St. Kevin of Glendalough.

In addition to this "Every-day Mass" (*Missa Cotidiana*) there is also a special Mass for the feasts of the Apostles and Martyrs and Holy Virgins (*Missa Apostolorum et Martirum et sanctarum Virginum*), another Mass for Penitents (*Missa pro poenitentibus vivis*), and one for the Dead (*Missa pro Mortuis*).

Were no other monument of our early Church preserved to us, this Missal alone would suffice to show the conformity of the Catholic Church of to-day in doctrine and discipline with the ancient Church of our fathers. The Mass itself agrees in all essential matters with the Liturgy of the present day, and clearly sets forth in the form of consecration and following prayers, the doctrine of the Real Presence. Thus, the Irish priests, thirteen hundred years ago, when offering the Holy Sacrifice, breathed forth the same sweet prayer that is repeated by the priest of to-day: "Humbly we beseech Thee O Almighty God, direct this offering to be carried by the hands of Thy holy Angel unto Thy heavenly altar in the presence of Thy Divine Majesty, that all of us who receive



through the participation of this altar, the most holy Body and Blood of Thy Son, may be filled with every heavenly blessing and grace, through the same Christ our Lord." Again, we find the holy Apostles and Martyrs and Virgins, and other saints solemnly commemorated, and their intercession invoked that they may be mindful of us before the throne of God. A *memento* was also made every day for the repose of the faithful departed, and even a special Mass was offered up praying the Divine mercy for those who had been faithful during life, and had gone before us with the sign of Christ and slept in peace.

At page 70 of the MS. the Missal terminates, and the *Ordo Baptismi* (occupying 41 pages) begins, giving the rites and ceremonies of Baptism as practised in our early Church. The order of Baptism commences with a prayer that Satan may be banished with all his evil works from the person about to be baptised. The exorcism of the salt then follows, agreeing almost verbally with that in use at the present day. After the interrogatory *Abrenuntias Satanae?*—"Do'st thou renounce Satan?"—comes the ceremonial opening of the ears: "*Efeta, quod est aphertio in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.*" A phrase similar to that which we have already met with in the Canon of the Mass occurs in the Baptismal prayer: "*Quem liberasti de errore gentilium,*" "whom thou hast freed from the errors of idolatry," and supplies an additional proof that when this Sacramentary was compiled many of the Irish people were still heathens and unbelievers in the Faith of Christ. Then follows the first anointing, after which we have the Rubric:—

"Huc usque catachominus inceptit oleari oleo de crismate in pectus et inter scapulas (scapulas) antequam baptisaretur: deinde letania circa fontem canitur: deinde benedictio fontis; deinde duo salmi *sitivit anima mea, &c.* Deinde benedictione completa mittit sacerdos crismaria in modum crucis in fontem et quicumque voluerit implere vasculum aqua benedictionis ad domus consecrandas, et populus aspergitur aqua benedicta."

Here, again, everything serves to identify more and more the early Church of Ireland with the Catholic Church which still flourishes in our island. The anointing of the Catechumens, with chrism, on the breast and between the shoulders—the chanting of the litany around the fountain—the pouring of the sacred chrism into the font, in the form of a cross—the people bearing away with them the hallowed water to impart blessing to their homes—the aspersing of the congregation with holy water; all prove that the doctrine and practices of the Irish, as far back as the sixth century, were

in all essential matters the very same as those of the mother Church of Rome.

Immediately before the Baptism, the Catechism, or questions asked upon articles of faith, is set forth. According to the Rubric, which is added, the Priest then accompanied to the font the person or persons to be baptized, *descendit in fontem*. Some have supposed that these words imply that the Priest himself entered the fountain with the person who was about to receive baptism; but without further proof we cannot accept this as the meaning of the Rubric.

After the form of Baptism, the Ritual thus continues:—

“*Oleatur cresmate in cerebrum in fronte, et dat vestem candidam Diaconus super capite et fronte et dicitur, (a) Presbitero Domine Sancte Omnipotens, Domine noster Jesu Christe qui te regeneravit ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto, quique tibi dedit remissionem omnium peccatorum, ipse te lineat crismate salutis. Ungo te de oleo de chrismate salutis, &c., et dat vestem candidam diaconus super caput in frontem et vestitur manto candido, tegitur (a) presbitero. Tunc lavit pedes accepto linteo. Dominus et salvator noster Jesus Christus pridie quam pateretur, accepto linteo splendido et sancto et immaculato precinctis lumbis suis fudit aquam in pelvem, lavit pedes discipulorum suorum, &c.*”

This rite of washing the feet at the end of the baptismal ceremony, though not practised in Rome, was followed in many of the continental churches. At Milan, in the days of St. Ambrose,<sup>1</sup> and throughout the Churches of Gaul, the practice was universal. The Council of Elvira (a.d. 301) in its 48th canon, enacted that this ceremony of washing the feet in Baptism should be performed not by the celebrant, but by one of the assistant clerics:—“*Placuit . . . neque pedes eorum (qui baptizantur) lavandi sunt a sacerdotibus sed clericis.*”<sup>2</sup>

In the ancient Liturgy of Gaul, published by Mabillon, we have, immediately after Baptism, the Rubric—“*Dum pedes ejus lavas, dicis: Ego tibi lavo pedes. Sicut Dominus noster Jesus Christus fecit discipulis suis, tu facias hospitibus et peregrinis, ut habeas vitam aeternam.*”<sup>3</sup> In the famous Bobbio Missal, used by St. Columbanus and his disciples at Luxieu, a similar Collect is assigned to be recited whilst performing this ceremony. After the newly-baptized has been clothed in the white garment, the Rubric has “*Collectio ad pedes lavan-*

<sup>1</sup> *De Mysteriis*, cap. 6.

<sup>2</sup> A writer contemporary, with St. Ambrose, describes as follows the use of the Church of Milan:—“*Ascendisti de fonte; quid secutum est? audisti lectionem; succinctus est summus sacerdos; pedes tibi lavit.*”—*De Sacramentis* inter opp. S. Ambrosii, lib. 3, cap. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Mabillon “*De Liturg. Gallic.*” page 249, and 364.



*dos*," with the prayer : "Ego tibi lavo pedes ; sicut Dominus noster Jesus Christus fecit discipulis suis, ita tu facias hospitibus et peregrinis. Dominus noster Jesus Christus de linteo quo erat praecinctus, tersit pedes discipulorum suorum, et quod ego facio tibi, tu facies peregrinis, hospitibus et pauperibus."<sup>1</sup> St. Cesarius, Archbishop of Arles, who died A.D. 542, also makes reference in his sermons to this baptismal rite :—"Hoc itaque admoneo, Fratres dilectissimi, ut quotiens Paschalis sollemnitatis venit, quicumque viri, quaecumque mulieres de sacro fonte filios spiritaliter exceperunt, cognoscant se pro ipsis fidejussores apud Deum extitisse, et ideo semper illis sollicitudinem verae caritatis impendant. Admoneant ut auguria non observent . . . peregrinos excipiant et *secundum quod ipsis in baptismo dictum est*, hospitum pedes lavant."<sup>2</sup>

I have dwelt the more particularly on this rite, though in itself so unimportant, because it presents the only point of divergence of the Irish Baptismal Ritual from the practice of Rome. The writer contemporary with St. Ambrose, to whom we have just now referred, expressly tells us that in Rome the washing of the feet was not observed in his time, probably on account of the number of Catechumens who flocked to the sacred font in that central See of the Catholic world :—"Non ignoramus quod Ecclesia Romana hanc consuetudinem non habeat, cujus typum in omnibus sequimur et formam. Hanc tamen consuetudinem non habet ut lavet. Vide ergo ne forte propter multitudinem declinarit."<sup>3</sup> The ceremony, at all events, was an unessential one, and as it was practised in the Church of Milan, which "followed in all things the rule and example of Rome," so it might well be observed for a time at least in Ireland, without in any way lessening the ardour of the devotion and reverence of our Fathers for the Holy See.

After the *Ordo Baptismi* is inserted a tract in very ancient Irish extending over the three or four last pages of the MS. This tract is supposed by Dr. Todd to be "a general explanation of the Mass," but it has not as yet been deciphered by our antiquarians.

Such, then, is the Liturgical monument of our early Church, which from the days of St. Ruadhan, has been handed down to us with devotional reverence by our fathers. If the religious of Lothra achieved no other work than that of preserving to us this precious record of the faith of our fathers, they would yet have well deserved our gratitude. More than once that monastery was plundered by the Danes in their

<sup>1</sup> *Maillon* "Museum Italicum," tom I, page 325

<sup>2</sup> *Inter opera S. Augustini*, tom v., page 293.

<sup>3</sup> *De Sacramentis* inter opp. Ambrosii, lib. 3, cap. 1.

incursions of the eighth and following centuries. About the year 832, writes Dr. Todd (*Wars of the Danes*, xlviii), "Turgesius plundered the ecclesiastical establishments of Connaught and Meath, namely, *Clonmacnoise* in Meath; *Clonfert* of St. Brendan in Connaught; *Lothra*, now Lorrha, a famous monastery founded by St. Ruadhan or Rodan, in the county of Tipperary; *Tirdaglass*, now Terryglass, in the same county; *Iniscaltra*, an island on which were seven churches, and all the other churches of Lough Dearg in like manner." Again, in 920, new hordes returned from the Scandinavian coast and "plundered Iniscaltra, and cast into the lake its shrines, relics, and books: they plundered also Mucinis-Riagal (*i.e.*, Hog-island of St. Riagal or Regulus), and other churches on the islands of the lake: on the mainland they plundered Tirdaglass, Lothra, Clonfert, and Clonmacnoise" (*Ibid.* xciv, n. 1). It was no easy task amid such scenes of devastation, to preserve intact the precious heirloom of St. Ruadhan. Probably at that time, however, the original case in which the venerable Missal was enshrined was damaged or destroyed, and hence, when the monastery was restored to peace, it became an anxious care of the religious community to have a *cumhdach* prepared for it worthy of the precious relic to be encased.

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## THE FIRST IRISH MISSION OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.—(*Continued*).

BEFORE we quit the subject of the first Irish Mission of the Society of Jesus, we wish to append here some remarks which may serve to throw more light on the attitude of the Irish chiefs, and to show, we trust, that their conduct was not so inexcusable as, at first sight, it might appear.

The *Dublin Review* of October, 1868, says, that "even in matters of religion, Henry VIII. had, for a time, very much his own way with the Irish chieftains . . . all solemnly and severally covenanted to renounce and even annihilate the usurped authority of the Bishop of Rome. So far as the consent of their chieftains could bind them, the Irish people seemed to be more easily committed to the reformation than the English and Scotch. But happily it did not bind them, and the temporary apostacy of the chieftains was



in several cases nobly expiated afterwards."<sup>1</sup> Four years after the proclamation of Henry's kingship, the great Northern chieftains, O'Neill, O'Donnell, and O'Dogherty, commenced that series of wars against the new religion, and the new authority, which, with various intervals and vicissitudes, lasted for the next hundred years."<sup>2</sup> However, the state papers, which affirm the apostacy of the chieftains, are declared to have a Protestant bias, and their editors seemed to feel themselves bound to support what Dr. Newman has called "The great Protestant Tradition."<sup>3</sup> Hence the Irish Records, which have been preserved, are utterly unreliable, as coming not alone from an enemy, but from an unscrupulous and untruthful enemy.<sup>4</sup>

Thus we can say of those Irish state papers what the Earl of Kildare said of the writers of some of them, "I know them too well to reckon myself convict by their base words or heedless hearsays, or frantic oaths. Of my cousin Desmond, they may lie lewdly, since no man can here well tell the contrary. Touching myself I never noted in them either so much wit or so much faith, that I could have gaged upon their silence the life of a good hound, much less mine own."<sup>5</sup>

We certainly do not feel at all inclined to stake the characters of our chiefs on the veracity of the writers of the state papers, and we still cling to the old Irish Catholic tradition, that the chiefs remained always faithful children of the Church. The Four Masters, O'Daly, Fitzsimon, Lombard, and other old Irish Catholic writers say not a word of their momentary apostacy; and some of those writers give us clearly to understand that they ever remained faithful. Even according to the public records, Desmond, O'Neill, and O'Donnell did plainly declare Henry a heretic against the faith, because he obeyeth and believeth not the Bishop of Rome.<sup>6</sup> O'Neill was a mere fraudulent Irishman, a pure Geraldine. The English Deputy and Council had no confidence in him, and could not perceive that ever he would come to any honest conformity, but judge him to be the only gall and poison of the realm.<sup>7</sup> He and O'Donnell write fair letters; howbeit we have no confidence in them.<sup>8</sup> There is not under the sun a more craftier and more vipered and undermining generation than the Irish chiefs.<sup>9</sup> O'Neill reigned as chief for forty years, and during all that time, and many years previously, he was at war with the O'Donnells or with other chiefs, yet he is declared by the Four Masters

<sup>1</sup> Dublin Review, October, 1868, p. 369.

<sup>2</sup> Dublin Review, p. 370.

<sup>3</sup> Dublin Review, p. 367.

<sup>4</sup> Dublin Review, April, 1865, p. 395.

<sup>5</sup> Campion's Historie, p. 168.

<sup>6</sup> Cowley to Cromwell, S.P., cc.lxxv.

<sup>7</sup> S.P., July 25, 1540; June 28, 1541.

<sup>8</sup> Sep. 22, 1540.

<sup>9</sup> June 2, 1541.

to have "spent his age and time without blemish or reproach ; and his death would have been a great loss if he had not been broken down by age and infirmity, and if he had not left an heir worthy of him, that is, John."<sup>1</sup>

The Irish annalists mean, of course, that John hated English power and English Protestantism as much as his father did. Con O'Neill was, therefore, not an apostate even for one moment, else how could the annalists, who were not at all partial to the enemies of the O'Donnells, declare that he had lived *without blemish or reproach* ? Con was gathered to his fathers the year F. Woulfe, S.J. came as Nuncio to Ireland ; and O'Donnell, who died four years afterwards, had a visit from that father, who found him a staunch Catholic, Irish in everything—"Irois en tout," as the Frenchman said of an Irish theologian.

Of O'Donnell the annals of Ireland say :—"He never suffered the neighbouring chiefs to encroach on any of his superabundant possessions, even in the time of his infirmity. He was a fierce, obdurate, wrathful, and combative man towards his enemies, until he had made them obedient to his jurisdiction ; and a mild, benign, friendly, bountiful, and hospitable man towards the learned, the destitute, the poets, and ollaves, towards *the religious orders and the Church, as is evident* from the accounts of old people and historians. He was a learned man, skilled in many arts, and gifted with a profound intellect and with the knowledge of every science. He died at his castle of Lifford, which he had erected in spite of O'Neill, and he was interred with his predecessors and ancestors at Donegal, in the monastery of St. Francis, with great honor and veneration *after having vanquished the devil and the world.*"<sup>2</sup>

It is evident that O'Donnell was a firm Papist to the last, and that his clansmen and his historians did not suspect that he had ever renounced the supremacy of the Pope. When the annalists found that a man had betrayed his faith, they mentioned it. Thus, in 1545 they record the death of the Earl of Ormond, and add, "The death of that individual, *i.e.*, James, the son of Pierce Roe, son of Edmund Butler, would have been lamented were it not that he had greatly injured the Church by the advice of the heretics."<sup>3</sup> This unfortunate nobleman and thirty-five of his servants were poisoned by the English at a banquet in London. I suppose he was too powerful, or too Irish, or too Catholic for their tastes and interests. His grandson was a pious Catholic, as appears

<sup>1</sup> Four Masters, an. 1559.

<sup>2</sup> Four Masters, an. 1563.

<sup>3</sup> Four Masters, 1545.



from his name Earl Walter of the *Rosaries*. His son, Black Thomas, Earl of Ormond, was converted, first, it would seem, by F. Archer, S.J., while his Lordship was a prisoner of O'Moore's, and secondly and for ever, by Fathers Bryan O'Kearney, S.J., and Walter Walle, S.J., who comforted him during the last years of his long and eventful career. He spent the evening of his life doing penance for all the miseries he had brought on his country by the ruin of the Desmonds, and by his attachment to the fortunes of Elizabeth. Of this Earl some Irish poet has written lines which begin thus :

“ Strike the loud lyre for Dark Thomas, *the Roman*—  
 Roman in Faith and Hibernian in soul !  
 Him, who, the idol of warrior and woman,  
 Never feared peril and never knew dole . . . .  
 Him the great Henry gave rubies and rings to<sup>1</sup> . . .

Those Butlers, who were so loyal to Henry, were good Catholics, and even Lord James, the only Irish convert to Henry's headship, “hated the English and everything English,” as the state papers tell us. Henry had very grave doubts of even the temporal allegiance of Archbishop Butler, Ormond's son ; and in a letter to St. Leger he wrote, about the year 1541 :—

“ Consider what a multitude of things the Earl of Ormond has in his hands, and what a familiarity he hath with Irishmen and Irish fashions, and that he has the whole keys of the country. His evil company with those naughty persons, *his love of their usages*, his greediness of embracing too much, may soon influence him with folly, and he may grow to the same surqueedey and pride others have done. Wherefore, first redress the Cavenaghs, Byrnes, and Tooles ; and secondly, taking suitable time, you shall frankly move to the Earl of Ormond to yield his castles and fortresses of strength unto us upon a reasonable recompense, *whereby you shall better feel the bottom of his stomach*.”<sup>2</sup> St. Leger shared the misgivings of his royal master, for he declared that it was necessary to gain over the Earl of Desmond in order that he might be a check on the power of the Butlers. We may therefore conclude from these words of Henry and his deputy that Ormond was not attached to the spiritual or temporal supremacy, although he got the government of Kilkenny, Tipperary, Ossory, and Ormond, on the promise that he would resist the Pope and help the Deputy to reduce the Desmonds.

With regard to Desmond, there are good reasons for thinking that he never accepted Henry's supremacy.

<sup>1</sup> Mangan's Translation in “Hayes' Collection.”

<sup>2</sup> Henry to St. Leger, about 1541.

Dominick O'Daly, in his "History of the Geraldines," does not say that any of that family disgraced themselves by apostacy under Henry, but he declares that they were *at all times the pillars of the Church*. He says James FitzJohn succeeded his Father, submitted to Henry, acknowledged that the property of the Desmonds was forfeited to the crown by reason of the murder of the legitimate heir. The King, desirous to see commotion calmed in Ireland, confirmed to James his ancient patrimony, and gave him the title of Treasurer of the Kingdom and President of Munster. O'Daly would not have omitted to state Desmond's apostacy if it had taken place, for he says: "I do not know how to account for the overthrow of the Earls of Desmond, when I reflect on all that they did and endured for religion, save by attributing it to the inscrutable ways of God. Perhaps some awful delinquency of theirs brought down this vengeance. If you are curious to investigate their crime, consider how James FitzThomas Earl of Desmond was murdered, as some suspect, by his brother John, and how James FitzMaurice Earl of Desmond was killed by Maurice Desmond in the days of Henry VIII. Should this not satisfy you, I would have you ponder on all the evil acts of rapacity and bloodshed committed against the McCarthys. . . . May this history of the Geraldines serve as a warning to the greater ones of this world, teaching them to act justly."<sup>1</sup> From this extract it is evident that the learned O'Daly, who flourished over two centuries ago, did not think any of the stock to have been stained with heresy or schism. Neither did the "Four Masters" think him guilty of heresy or schism, for they thus record his death in the year 1558: "The Earl of Desmond, James, FitzJohn, FitzThomas, FitzJames, FitzGarret died. *The loss of this good man* was woful to his country, for there was no need to watch cattle or close doors from Duncoin, in Kerry, to the green-bordered meeting of the three waters on the confines of Munster and Leinster."

It is true James FitzJohn promised that he would bring to the King's hands all the abbey lands and goods of Munster, and that he and his friends (the friars?) would take them to farm.<sup>2</sup> But as we know from Mr. Froude, it is also certain that he always protected the religious houses from spoliation and supported the Religious, and consequently we may conclude that he accepted the abbey lands in order to preserve them for the monks, and to prevent English adventurers from getting them. We may explain in the same way the zeal of other chiefs to get the church property into their

<sup>1</sup> "The Geraldines," p. 122 and 53, Translated by Rev. C. P. Meehan.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Lenihan's "Limerick," p. 83.



hands, and thus what appears, at the first blush, as bad as the sacrilegious land-lust of the English lords, was mere prudent zeal for the preservation of the religious houses. Thus the very words and acts which scandalize us were meant simply to outwit and outmanoeuvre the English, and to advance the interests of the Faith. Thus, in a good cause they were fighting a perfidious foe with his own weapons, deceit and treachery. The English made peace with O'Neill in order to be able to extirpate the O'Tooles and Cavanaghs, as it was better to have their country a waste for wild beasts than to have them in it, and as thus his Majesty would have one hundred and fifty miles of coast at his command.<sup>1</sup> The Deputy wrote to Henry about the same time as did Allen, whose words we have just quoted, and he said, "I, with the rest of your army have appointed to meet O'Neill. Your army or subjects could not inhabit his country if he were clearly banished. I think it good to beat him with the same rod with which they have often beaten your subjects: *to promise fair in order to win time, what your Majesty may grant, you may take back; for they will not so sincerely keep their conditions that you will not have just cause to re seize them.* Desmond has lands of fifty or sixty miles in length, and many chief holds on the frontiers of Inishmeen. If he should swerve, it would be more hard to daunt him than it would the Earl of Kildare, who had always the Earl of Ormond on his toppe, when he would or was like to attempt anything. Wherefore I have brought Desmond round, and have that Earl your Highness's assured subject, *it will keep them both in stay.*"<sup>2</sup>

Hence we see that the Irish "promised with fair words in order to win time;" yet those fair words, such as they are given in the state papers, are so foul that we shall not outrage the common sense and the Christian feelings of our readers by attempting to palliate or excuse them. The unreliableness of the source and channel through which they have come, and the known character of the chiefs, such as O'Donnell and Desmond, tempt us to deny their authenticity. A courtier like St. Leger could well say, after the parliament of 1541: "I feel like a man risen from the grave at seeing another imperial crown placed upon the brow of your Majesty;" but our Catholic princes would have felt like men buried in hell, if they attributed spiritual supremacy to the Sassenach king. Hence it was, that "my lord of Ormond translated the supremacy bill *prudently* into Irish"<sup>3</sup> for the Celtic and Norman lords, that is, he told them it meant temporal supre-

<sup>1</sup> Allen to Henry, June 4, 1541.

<sup>2</sup> St. Leger, Letter, 1541.

<sup>3</sup> St. Leger to the King.

macy, and that meant nothing to an Irishman, except when read in the light of the Saxon sword. Hence also, Archbishop Browne explained it as granting to Henry only what "Christ granted to Caesar," what "Rome and her bishops in the fathers' days, acknowledged emperors, kings, and princes, to have, and what Bishop Eleutherius gave to St. Lucius, the first Christian king of the Britons."<sup>1</sup>

Hence, again, the Lord Deputy Crofts gives us to understand that Henry did not meddle with religion. For he says, sighing, if the lords of King Edward's council "had letten all things alone in the order in which the late king left them, *and meddled not to alter religion*, the hurley-burleys had not happened." Hence, also, Mr. Froude says: "that the reform gusts borne across St. George's Channel at the accession of Edward, swept the strings of the Irish harp and awoke the old music."<sup>2</sup>

Moore is unjust to his countrymen in saying that "they were readily converted into apostates and courtiers."<sup>3</sup> He writes, however, "that it may be presumed neither the clergy nor the laity considered the oath as seriously affecting their faith. The extent or meaning of this headship the chiefs did not understand, and the same tranquil submission would not have followed, if the renunciation of some tenet hallowed by tradition had been demanded."<sup>4</sup> Monsignor Moran says something similar to explain the conduct of some so-called bishops: "Some took the oath, which was regarded as a mere acknowledgment of fealty to their monarch, and was not supposed to involve the denial of any doctrine of faith, and was so explained by the court, as appears from Dr. Browne's words. Perhaps many never inquired into the precise terms of the oath, as when it was proposed to abandon the Catholic Church and renounce affection to the See of Peter, such proposals were rejected with disdain; and their rejoicing at the accession of Mary was a guarantee of their unswerving devotedness to the faith."<sup>5</sup>

Moreover, as Dr. Kelly has well remarked, it would require an accurate knowledge of the precise limits of spiritual and temporal jurisdiction, to enable the chiefs who took the oath at that early period to distinguish between the submission then exacted by military force, and that civil submission which had often been exacted by the armed hostings of the Pale.<sup>6</sup> Henry himself was convinced that they did not make any such distinction; for when he

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Mant, vol. i., p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Froude, vol. v., p. 409.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. vol. iii., p. 324.

<sup>4</sup> Moore, c. 46., p. 300.

<sup>5</sup> Monsignor Moran's "Archbishops of Dublin." <sup>6</sup> Dr. Kelly's "Essays," p. 193.



heard that they had bound themselves by oaths and indentures to acknowledge his supremacy, and to reject the Pope's usurpations, he wrote to his Deputy that their oaths, submissions, and indentures were not worth a farthing, since they did not give hostages.<sup>1</sup> Henry was not far astray, for the *Historiae Societates Jesu* tells us, "They took an oath to obey the King's edict, to burn the Pope's letters, to imprison the Pope's nuncios, and then to hand them over to Henry: hence they did not dare to confer with the nuncios, nor to help them to return in safety out of the Island."<sup>2</sup> But they allowed them to remain in their country for thirty-four days, and did not make any attempt to annihilate them, as the state papers say they swore to do. These words of Orlandini, the character of O'Donnell given by the Four Masters, the character of Desmond given by O'Daly and Mr. Froude, the Pope's letter to Con O'Neil, the letters of the English agents speaking of the out-and-out Popery of the chiefs, the general character and conduct of those chiefs, the evidence of Spencer, and in fine, the old Irish tradition vindicates our Irish princes from the charge of temporary apostacy levelled against them even by some Catholic writers, and annihilate the authority of records which the *Dublin Review* declares to be utterly unreliable, and which Mr. Froude somewhere calls a quaking morass on which you can never be sure of your footing. So we gladly and confidently conclude in the words of Dr. Kelly: "The Catholic may fearlessly invite attention to the sixteenth century, and contemplating the perseverance with which Ireland won and wore the martyr's palm, feel a pleasure scarcely, if at all, inferior to that with which he dwells on the aureole of peaceful learning and sanctity of her first four or five centuries."<sup>3</sup>

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#### CLAIMS OF THE IRISH COLLEGE PARIS, ON THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, IN VIRTUE OF TREATIES WITH FRANCE.—(continued.)

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IN our last number we laid before our readers the claims of the Irish College, Paris, on the British Government, in virtue of treaties with France, and we summed up our statement in the following brief propositions:

1st.—The College suffered large losses and injuries at the hands of the French Government.

<sup>1</sup> Cox's History, an. 1537. <sup>2</sup> Orlandini, Hist. S. J. an. 1542.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Kelly's "Essays," p. 286.

2nd.—The French Government acknowledging its obligation to make restitution for such losses and injuries, placed the requisite funds for so doing in the hands of the British Government, binding it by solemn treaty to fulfil this obligation.

3rd.—The British Government has withheld restitution since 1818, a period of over fifty years, on grounds as unjust as they were false, to the great detriment and injury of the College.

We finally observed, that the claims of the College in 1830, amounted, in twenty three separate items, to a total sum £103,604, to which are to be added, in the appeal now made to Parliament, the interest since accumulating, as also suitable damages for the loss and injury to the College, by withholding its rights for so long a period.

Since then, we have received an important document bearing on the same subject ; it is a Return of the British Treasury to an Address of the House of Lords, obtained by a motion of the Most Honorable The Marquis of Clanricarde, on the 9th of May last. His Lordship sees, according to the observations he made on the occasion, not only an injustice to the college, but also the violation of a solemn international Treaty, in the manner in which the British Government has treated our time-honoured institution in Paris, and, from a sense of justice as also of national honor, he has enlisted his zeal and influence in the case.

The Return is as follows:—

*“RETURN to an Address of the House of Lords, dated 9th May, 1870, for Copies of the Award made in the case of the Rev. Paul Long as Administrator-General of the Irish College at Paris, by the Commissioners appointed for Liquidation of British Claims out of Funds received from the French Government, and of the Judgment of the English Privy Council in 1832, on the Appeal from that Award: also Copy of the Judgment in 1825 in the Appeal Case of the English College at Douay.*

“No formal award was made in the case of the Rev. Paul Long, as Administrator-General of the Irish College at Paris, by the Commissioners appointed for liquidation of British claims out of funds received from the French Government, but an official communication was prepared by Mr. Baldwin, the Secretary to the Commissioners, which informed the claimant that his claims were rejected on the same grounds as those on which the claims of the Rev. John Daniel and others had been rejected in 1825.



*"Copy of the Judgment of the Lords of the Privy Council, delivered by Lord Gifford in 1825, on the Appeal of the Rev. John Daniel and others against the Award of the Commissioners for Liquidating British Claims on France.*

"LORD GIFFORD.

"This was an appeal by the Rev. John Daniel, the Rev. John Bew, and the Rev. Francis Tuite, against an award of the Commissioners appointed for the purpose of examining and liquidating the claims of British subjects on the Government of France, by which award the Commissioners have rejected the claims made by the Appellants on behalf of certain colleges or seminaries established in France, viz., the English Catholic College of Douay, the English Seminary of Paris, and the English College of St. Omer. The Appellants preferred their claims to compensation, not as individuals, for their own benefit, but as representing the colleges or establishments before mentioned, for the benefit of which the property seized by the French Government has been appropriated.

"Without stopping to inquire whether the Appellants properly represent, or are entitled to claim on behalf of those colleges or establishments, the principal question to be determined is, whether, assuming them to sustain that character, their claims have been properly rejected. In considering this question it is necessary to attend to the nature and object of these establishments and to the intent and meaning of the treaties under which the indemnity is asked. Now the institutions on behalf of which the claims are made, although their members were British subjects, and their property derived from funds constituted by British subjects, were in the nature of French corporations, they were locally established in a foreign territory because they could not exist in England; their end and object were not authorised by, but were directly opposed to, British law, and the funds dedicated to their maintenance were employed for that purpose in France, because they could not be so employed in England; and if other circumstances were wanting to fix their character it appears that these establishments, as well as their revenues, were subject to the control of the French Government, and the conduct of that Government since the restoration of the Monarchy shows that, if all had been suffered to remain entire during the period of the Revolution, the Monarchical Government would have taken the whole under its superintendence and management. We think, therefore, that they must be deemed French establishments.

"Then, are such establishments, though represented by British subjects, entitled to claim under the treaties? Treaties, like other compacts, are to be construed according to the intention of the contracting parties; and looking at the occasion and object of those treaties, we think it was not, and could not have been, in the contemplation of the contracting parties, that the British Government should demand, or the French Government grant, compensation for property held in trust for establishments in France, and for purposes inconsistent with British laws, and which were subject to the control of the French Government. We therefore think that, having regard to the nature and character of the establishments which the claimants allege themselves to represent, and to the purpose to which the property, in respect whereof compensation is claimed, was dedicated, the claimants have not brought their case within the meaning or spirit of the treaties; that the rejection of their claims therefore by the Commissioners was right, and that consequently the award must be confirmed.

"Upon the hearing of the Appeal, however, it was further insisted that the Appellants are entitled to compensation for the loss they have individually sustained, by having been deprived (in consequence of the seizure of the possessions and property of the establishments) of the salary and income enjoyed by them as members of those establishments, and that it should be referred back to the Commissioners to reconsider their award in that respect. It is to be observed, that no such claim appears to have been made before the Commissioners, and therefore, in strictness it cannot be urged in this Appeal; but, supposing that it could have been, we are of opinion that, as no compensation can, for the reasons already given, be demanded for the corpus of the property seized, no valid claim could have been sustained by any member of those bodies for the income derivable from it.

"It may be proper for me to add, that though some members of this board, particularly two holding the highest judicial stations in the country, are unavoidably absent at the delivery of this judgment, I am authorized to state that they perfectly concur in the judgment which is pronounced."

*"Copy of the Judgment of the Lords of the Privy Council, delivered by the Master of the Rolls in 1832, on the Appeal of the Rev. Paul Long against the Award of the Commissioners for Liquidating British Claims on France."*

"MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

"Since we met here on Saturday, we have had an opportunity to read these papers, and also to consult the French



law upon the subject, and there remains on our minds no doubt upon the question. I will read to you what that law is. First, with respect to individuals, Argou (whom you probably know is the Blackstone of France) says, 'Les étrangers non naturalisés, sont autrement appelés aubains. Ils sont semblables aux naturalisés en plusieurs choses, et differens en plusieurs autres. Ils sont capables de faire toutes sortes de contrats entre vifs; ils peuvent acquérir et posséder des immeubles; ils peuvent les vendre, contracter le mariage en France avec des Français et avec des étrangers, faire et accepter des donations entre vifs, même les donations mutuels, soit de la propriété soit de l'usufruit; ils peuvent emprunter; et en tous ces contrats, et plusieurs autres, ils sont considérés de la même manière que les véritables Français.' But then he proceeds to say, 'Ils ne peuvent point faire de donations à cause de mort, ni de testaments; ils ne peuvent pas même faire de legs pieux. Ils sont incapables de legs ou de donations à cause de mort. Leur parens ne leur succèdent pas; on admet aujourd'hui, par équité, leurs enfans à leur succession, pourvu qu'ils soient regnicoles, ce qui ne suffisait autrefois. La succession des étrangers non naturalisés appartient au Roi, à l'exclusion des Seigneurs Haut Justiciers. Les étrangers qui ne sont pas naturalisés, ne peuvent posséder aucuns charges, ou aucuns benefices en France, sans avoir une dispense du Roi, dont il y a peu d'exemples.'

"Thus the law of France, with respect to individual strangers, was nearly the same as the law of England, for aliens may purchase real property here, but they cannot transfer it, because it belongs to the King. There is, however, this difference between the laws of England and France, that by the law of France it seems to have been permitted to the aubains or strangers, to hold the property till their death, and their succession alone belonged to the King. It is not so here, for if it is found by an inquisition that any real property belongs to an alien, it may immediately be seized into the King's hands, without waiting for the alien's death. If, therefore, this property in question was the property of individuals, they had no right whatever to transmit it; if it was not the property of individuals, it must have been the property of a communauté.

"Now with respect to communautés, I will read to you what is said in the 8th volume of Potier, the greatest authority of French law:—

"L'Edit de 1749 a rendu les communautés absolument incapables d'acquérir aucuns héritages, comme fonds de terre, maisons, rentes foncières, droits seigneuriaux, et autres droits réels. Il leur est même pareillement défendu d'acquérir des

rentes constituées sur les particuliers même dans les coutumes où elles sont réputées meubles.' But, he proceeds, 'Le Roi permet, néanmoins, aux communautés, en certains cas, pour causes justes et nécessaires, d'acquérir des immeubles, mais à la charge d'obtenir auparavant l'acquisition des lettres patentes de sa Majesté, enregistrées au Parlement.' Therefore, no community could acquire any real property, except by letters patent of the King; and that this had been the case with regard to this community would necessarily have been inferred, had not the papers confirmed it, when they state what was done in that respect. The ordonnance of Louis 18th, which is in page 8 of the respondent's appendix, proceeds thus: 'Par notre ordonnance, du 17 Septembre, 1817, concernant l'administration des établissements dits Britanniques fondés en France, avec la permission et sous l'autorité des Rois nos prédécesseurs.' Therefore, it is plain that these communautes were formed by the permission and under the authority of the King.

"Now we are bound, of course, by the judgment in the Douay case; Lord Gifford gives two reasons for that decision: one is, that the establishments were opposed to the law of England; it is, however, questionable whether that reason ought to prevail in this case, there being (as it is argued) a difference in material respects between the law of England and the law of Ireland; and to that reason, therefore, we have not applied ourselves. The other reason is, that they were French establishments, founded under the authority and by the permission of the King of France, and that they, therefore, could not be considered within the meaning of the term 'British subjects.'

*[His Lordship here read Lord Gifford's judgment in the case of the Rev. John Daniel and others against the same Commissioners.]*

"Now it appears, by the papers before us, that the French Government, at all times, had exercised a control of these establishments. We first find the control of the Convention; we next find the control of the Consulate; we next find the control of the Empire; and lastly we find the control of the Monarchy, after the restoration, in the edicts of Louis the 18th. This case comes, therefore, plainly within the reasons given by Lord Gifford for the prior decision. These colleges were French establishments, and that fact is conclusive.

"The only possible doubt that could exist upon this case would be upon the subject whether the money in France, which is in the name of individuals, was to be considered as the property of those individuals, or as dedicated to the



establishment. Now, it is impossible here not to come to the conclusion that these funds were dedicated to the establishment, although standing in the name of individuals ; and all that the individuals retained was the right of nomination of youths for education in that particular establishment.

“ We are, therefore, most clearly of opinion, that we are precluded by the Douay case from any further consideration of the subject. The whole of this property belonged to the establishment, and the establishment must be considered as a French establishment, for the reasons given by Lord Gifford ; and if those reasons had not been previously given, we must necessarily have come to the same conclusion. It is quite unnecessary, therefore, to give any further trouble, for the case is too clear to admit of doubt. We are unanimously of opinion (and I know it is Mr. Erskine’s opinion, for I conversed with him upon the subject on Saturday), that we must follow the decision in the Douay case, and decide that these are French establishments, and within the meaning of the convention.

“ Counsel then obtained leave to re-argue the second point, viz., that the rentes inscribed in the Great Book of the Debt of France, in the names of individuals, belonged to those individuals, and not to the establishment. Their Lordships, however, after his argument, abided by their former decision, and the award of the Commissioners was affirmed.”

In the comments we proceed to make on this judgment of the Privy Council as delivered by the Master of the Rolls, it occurs to us in the first place to observe that a judicial statement, especially one deciding so momentous an issue, should be clear in its terms, precise in its views, and consecutive in the arguments by which it arrives at its conclusions. Now it is impossible to peruse the above statement, and not to see how miserably it fails in these essential elements. We hesitate not to pronounce it one of the most, if not absolutely the most, clumsy and bungling specimens of forensic reasoning that has come within our experience to consider. For the learned Judge makes himself advocate also in the case, and labours with the bias, which engages all his zeal to arrive, by a confused course of reasoning, at what would appear to be foregone conclusions, instead of attending to the clear principles and ascertained facts, which the case presented for a solid and well-matured judgment. But let us approach the terms of the judgment, and seek to analyze them. He first undertakes to dispose of the *personal* or *individual* view of the case. To understand this view we must explain that the College property, for the greater part consisted of

Burses, established by individuals for the education of Irish youths, not only for the ecclesiastical state, but also the various learned professions, or, without reference to any profession at all. These Burses were at the disposal of the founders, for the most part during their lives, and their rights, according to the acts of foundation, devolved by way of inheritance on their descendants or next of kin after their death. By this means, it will be seen that a number of *individual* or *personal* rights sprung up, as to the Burses or Foundations of the College. These rights were so clear and manifest, that the Very Reverend Dr. McSwiney, in prosecuting his appeal on behalf of the College, before the Privy Council in 1832, feared that he would not be allowed a "*locus standi*" as regarded the Burses of the College, except by putting himself in the position of the various parties, having right of presentation in virtue of the acts of foundation; and in order to place himself in this position, he was obliged to travel in every direction through Ireland, and obtain from the various parties interested, power of attorney to represent them before the Privy Council. And after all this, the Master of the Rolls ventures to repudiate all *individual* claims, and all *personal* rights as to the property of the College.

But the Master of the Rolls seeks to maintain his judgment by having recourse to a French legal authority, whom he would present to us as a second Blackstone. We will translate his quotation, that we may see how it will stand in plain English. "Strangers not naturalized, says this French authority, are otherwise called '*aubains*.' They are like to naturalized persons in several things, and different from them in several other things. They are capable of making all sorts of contracts with living persons (*inter vivos*); they can acquire and possess immovable property; they can sell it, contract marriage in France with French persons and strangers; make and accept donations with living persons (*inter vivos*), even mutual donations, either of property or its usufruct; they can borrow, and in all these contracts, and several others, they are considered in the same light as true Frenchmen."

So far, the French Blackstone would seem to be in favor of the *individual* claims in the case of the Irish College. But then he proceeds to say: "They cannot make donations with a view to death (*intuitu mortis*), nor wills; they cannot even make pious legacies; they are incapable of receiving legacies or donations *intuitu mortis*; their relations do not succeed to them; at present, by way of equity, their children are admitted to their succession, provided they be resident within the kingdom, which was not sufficient hitherto. The succession of



strangers belongs to the King, including the Lords High Justiciaries. Strangers not naturalized, can possess no post or place of emolument in France without a dispensation from the King, of which there are few examples."

Such is the authority, such the grounds, upon which the Master of the Rolls, speaking for the Privy Council of Great Britain, would annul the acts of the various Burses and foundations, and repudiate the claims and rights derived from these acts.

How is it, we would ask, that, in his reference to French law, the Master of the Rolls allowed himself to fall into so glaring an anachronism? He could not certainly have forgotten the changes that had taken place in French Law, since his authority had written his commentaries, and that the *Code Napoleon* had taken place of the previous Statute Law of the Country. That code treats of the subject in hand, article 1122, in the following manner: "One is considered to have stipulated for himself, and for his heirs and for his assigns (*against cause*), unless the contrary be expressed, or result from the nature of the agreement." This article is clear and precise. It completely overthrows the authority relied on by the Master of the Rolls, making no distinction between natives and foreigners, and therefore equally extending to both.

But passing from the region of theory and speculation to the domain of facts, the following indisputable facts place the *individual* rights, of which we are speaking, on the clearest footing.

The *first fact* consists in the instruments creating the Burses. These instruments fix and determine the *individual* rights of the founders and their successors.

*Second fact:* In order to carry out the intents and purposes of the said instruments, the accounts of the Burses were not only kept apart from the general accounts of the establishment, but a separate account was kept of each Burse in order that the administrator of the College might be in a position at all times to deal with the parties individually having claim on the Burses.

*Third Fact*—When the first storm of the revolution had passed, and the Government recognised the special position of the Irish College, according to its nationality, and restored a portion of the property which it had previously seized upon, a distinct account was taken of the Burses, and they were reinstated, each in the proportion of one-third of their original amount. This fact is of the highest significance. For, if owing a debt, you pay your creditor a part of what

you owe him, such a payment is an acknowledgment of the balance yet due, more distinct than if you paid him nothing.

*Fourth Fact*—As a consequence of the foregoing fact, when the College presented its claims for compensation to the joint Commission first appointed under the treaties between Great Britain and France, a distinct account of the Burses was put forward and was so received, together with the General account of the establishment, and duly registered, and transmitted in that form to the exclusively English Commission, subsequently appointed to carry out the said treaties.

Thus it was, that in the administration of the College, and in every instance that account was to be taken of the property belonging to it, a careful distinction was made between its property as *an institution* or *in a corporate sense*, and the property consisting of Burses, thereby recognizing, all through, the *personal* or *individual* rights involved in these Burses. These rights, it must be admitted, were not always exercised or claimed. But the Acts of Foundation made provision for such contingencies, and then their administration fell under the general government of the College, without detriment however to the rights of the parties concerned. On this account the administrator of the property of the College was constituted, by the Government, universal representative of the parties having claim to the Burses, and it was therefore a measure entirely "*ex abundantia*" for the Very Rev. Dr. McSwiney to have procured power of attorney from these parties, when preparing to appeal to the British Privy Council, but that he deemed it prudent to be armed at all points before a tribunal which, he feared, would take exception to everything they could lay hold on.

Having disposed of the *personal* or *individual* view of the case, the Master of the Rolls passed on to the *community* view, and decided against the appeal, because, as he alleged, the College was a French establishment, and that the French Government had at all times exercised a control over it. Here the question arises, does the fact of an Irish Institution existing on French soil make it a French establishment, or does it become so in virtue of any control the Government of the country may exercise over it? We say distinctly, no. Let us suppose an English Banking Company, or an English Insurance Company, having their Banking or Insurance establishment in France, or let us suppose an English Hospital or Orphanage, or any such institution, with powers to acquire and dispose of property in the country, and to sue and be sued in their corporate capacity. Such establishments could not obtain existence in the country, except by the authorization



of the Government and laws of the country, and they should be at all times liable to certain control, at the hands of the Government or Legislature for the time being. But would they for all these reasons become French Establishments so as to lose their rights as British Institutions, and in case of being seized on and confiscated by the French Government in any political disturbances that might occur in the country, to be debarred from compensation for their injuries or losses? Manifestly, no. International right protests against such a conclusion. Now, we claim nothing more, nothing less, for the Irish College, Paris. It always existed as a kind of *Corporation*, the word *Community* does not apply to it. It had under certain privileges accorded to it by the Government, the right of acquiring, possessing, and alienating property, moveable and immoveable; it had the right of making all sorts of contracts necessary for its existence and government, and of suing and being sued through its Administrator. But neither of these things, nor all these things together, made it a French Establishment, in the sense of the Master of the Rolls, nor deprived it of its national character as an Irish Institution. Nay, the direct contrary is the fact, and we are to show that the privileges accorded to it, and the control exercised in its regard, have, at all times, set it apart from French Establishments of the same nature in the country, and maintained its special character as an Irish Establishment. This will be seen in the following examples, which we select out of others that we might adduce.

1st.—When the College was seized upon, as being comprised in the decree confiscating all French Ecclesiastical property, it was immediately exempted on the remonstrance of Lord Gower, British Ambassador in Paris at the time, as being an Irish Establishment, under the protection of the British Crown.

2nd.—When, soon afterwards, war broke out between Great Britain and France, and the French Government decreed the confiscation of all property, English, Irish, and Scotch, in the country, the Irish College was seized on as belonging to the British Crown.

3rd.—It was restored, and allowed to exist at a time when no similar French Institution was permitted by the laws of the country.

4th.—It claimed compensation as a British Institution, under the Treaties for indemnifying British Subjects, after the wars between the two countries, and its claim, put forward in that character, was admitted by the first Commission *as legitimate*, and so transmitted to the English Commissioners subsequently appointed.

Finally, the ever-existing distinction stood forth prominently in the abiding fact that the Irish College was founded for the Irish nation, that the moneys that founded it and established its burses and conferred property upon it, were contributed by Irish benefactors, and that the superiors and students were always exclusively Irish, except for a brief period after the Revolution, and during the wars with Great Britain, when French students were allowed to occupy some of the burses, the disturbed state of things not allowing the Irish to occupy them all.

In presence of these facts, how can the Irish College be confounded with similar French establishments as being on the same footing, in the same category, and in every way identical with them?

But the Attorney-General appeals to precedent—the decision of the Privy Council already, in the case of the Douay and other English Colleges in France. We insist that the precedent does not hold. The cases are *toto cælo* distinct. Lord Gifford who delivered judgment in the case of the English Establishments, felt that he had not sufficient ground for rejecting the appeal merely because they had existed in France, and were subject, as necessarily every institution in the country should be subject to a certain extent, to the laws and government of the country, and, therefore, he added another reason, which was, that these establishments were contrary to British Law, and that therefore, as he alleged, “it could not have been in the contemplation of the contracting parties, that the British Government should demand, or the French Government grant, compensation for property held in trust for establishments in France, and for purposes inconsistent with British Laws.”

It is therefore clear that Lord Gifford in rejecting the appeal for the English Colleges, leaned principally on the fact of their being opposed to the Laws of Great Britain.

This allegation did not hold with respect to the Irish College, it being in perfect consonance with the Laws of England in consequence of the different state of the Law with respect to Ireland, and, therefore, the Master of the Rolls is in error in appealing to the precedent he invokes.

But, if the Irish College claims were to be decided by precedent, there was a precedent, most appropriate and relevant precedent to hand. It was that of the Religious Institutions in Canada, including the Seminary of Quebec and Convents of Ursuline and other nuns. These Catholic Establishments appealed for compensation to the English Government for injuries and losses sustained under circumstances similar to those



of the Irish Establishment, and as we see by a return to the House of Commons, July 29th, 1840, their appeal was attended to, comprising very large sums in no less than five-and-twenty different items.

But who is this Master of the Rolls, who was put forward to pronounce judgment on the appeal of the Irish College? He is, we must say, a gentleman who has left after him not a very enviable reputation in his profession. He is no other than Sir John Leach—the Sir John Leach whom Lord Campbell holds up to public reproach “as one of the most expeditious judges that ever sat on the bench;” and Sir Samuel Romilly does not hesitate to denounce publicly, what he calls “the swift injustice of Lord Eldon’s Deputy.” Thus, the Irish College had its claims cast to the winds by a functionary whose character with his professional brethren aggravates immeasurably the injustice of his award.

But there is a moral aspect, which the claims of the Irish College bear, and which makes out a case of palpable injustice against the English Government, and injustice, aggravated by the breach of solemn International Treaties. We shall put the case in a few words. The claims of the Irish College, as we have often repeated, were presented, in due form and in proper time, to the joint Commission first appointed under the Treaties in question, and were received and registered *as legitimate*. Consequently, the amount of these claims was taken account of, and included in the sum of £3,500,000, handed over by the French to the English Government, for indemnifying the injuries and losses of British subjects in France. Therefore, we must insist that, when the claims of the Irish College, so accepted and so registered as legitimate and taken account of in the above mentioned sum, were transferred to the exclusively English Commission, subsequently appointed for carrying out the Treaties, that Commission received the requisite funds for indemnifying the Irish College.

Now this state of facts forces upon us the following dilemma :—Either the claims of the Irish College were within the terms and scope of the Treaties in question, or they were not. If they were, then the Commissioners were guilty of dishonesty in withholding compensation ; if not, then, too, were they guilty of dishonesty for holding the money given them by the French Government for the purpose of such compensation. For, in the latter alternative, a mistake was committed by the French Government in giving the money, and it is dishonest to retain it.

To sum up, we are to conclude from all we have said :—

1st.—That the Master of the Rolls was in error in repudia-

ting the *individual* or *personal* rights as regards the Burses of the College.

2nd.—That he was in error, in the *community* view he took of the college, and in his allegation of its being a French Establishment.

3rd.—He was entirely at fault in invoking a precedent which had no relevancy to the case.

4th.—The precedent of the Canadian Institutions, which is exactly in point, would have led him to an opposite conclusion.

5th.—It was dishonest of the British Commissioners to withhold compensation, or withholding it, not to return the money to France, that she might herself make compensation for the losses and injuries suffered at her hands.

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## LETTERS OF BALMEZ.

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### X.—FRENCH PHILOSOPHICAL SCHOOL OF M. COUSIN.

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MY ESTEEMED FRIEND—I am now going to pay the remainder of the debt I contracted some days ago, by giving you a brief outline of a certain philosophical school which sprung up in Germany, and spread through France, committing great ravages on religion, and tending to seriously compromise the future of science. You remember what I said in my former letters about the German philosophy, which so openly professes Pantheism, notwithstanding the enigmatical forms with which it sometimes invests itself, and the unintelligible language it employs when speaking of God, of man, and of nature. I endeavoured to support this accusation by passages from the very philosopher against whom I brought it; and I hope you entertain no doubt the imputation was not calumnious. Perhaps you might find it hard to persuade yourself that like charges could be made against the French school which follows the footsteps of M. Cousin; for in all probability you will have imagined, from hearing the frequent invectives of the partisans of the University against the *intolerance* of the clergy, that the philosophy of the leader of eclecticism must be innocent in all its parts, and could only be called impious by men who are alarmed not at error, but at the light of reason itself, and condemn the human mind to eternal inaction and stupid ignorance.



It will cost me little trouble to show you your error, and to demonstrate to evidence that it was not without reason the French clergy raised their voice against the poison offered to youth in golden cups.

In the first place, then, I must tell you that even in 1819 M. Cousin held there was no demonstration, experimental or other, of the existence of God and his attributes. It is true he admitted the existence of God was a truth superior to all others—even to those principles called axioms. But he does not forget to add “that no matter what opinion may be held on the point, it is beyond doubt that neither alone, nor aided by reason, can experience prove the existence of the essential attributes of God.” What was the use of saying the existence of God was a truth superior to all others, when he immediately attacks its foundation, and declares by implication that the belief which philosophers entertained that they could come to a knowledge of the Creator from his works, was a vain illusion? Might we not suppose that in 1819 M. Cousin did not dare to manifest his whole mind, and so paid apparent homage to the truth that he might continue undermining it, without alarming too much those who would not have tolerated the teaching of Pantheism? You shall find this conjecture is not totally destitute of foundation.

Let us look at the words of his *Course* of 1818, page 55, and we shall see that the foundation of his philosophy was the same as that of the German school. “The absolute being,” he says, “containing in its bosom the finite *ego* and *non ego*, and forming, if we may use the expression, *the unvarying foundation of all things, one and many at once*—one in substance, many in phenomena, becomes revealed to itself in the human conscience.”

“There cannot,” he adds, in page 139, “be more than *one* substance—the substance of truth, or supreme intelligence. *God is the single and universal being* (page 274); God is the universal substance, whose absolute ideas form the only manifestation accessible to the intelligence of man (page 390); God is nothing but the truth in its essence (128); nothing but good itself, *moral order taken substantially*.” (Works of Plato, vol. 1, argument of the Euthyphron, page 3). “We know nothing of God but that he exists and manifests himself to us by absolute truth.” (Course of 1818, page 140). Matter, as generally defined, does not exist. It is commonly regarded as an inert mass, without organization and without rule, when in reality it is penetrated by a spirit that sustains and regulates it, and it consequently is nothing more than the visible reflection of the invisible

spirit : *the same being that lives in us lives in it—Est Deus in nobis ; est Deus in rebus* (page 265). “Study nature, ascend to the laws which govern her and make of her a living truth—a truth which has become active, sensible—in a word, *God in matter*. Dive then into nature ; the deeper you penetrate her laws, the nearer you approach the Divine Spirit which animates her. Above all, study humanity, for it is even more holy than nature, as it knows the God that animates it equally with her, while she does not. Embrace the whole aggregate of the physical and moral sciences ; separate the principles they contain ; place yourselves in presence of these truths ; refer them to the infinite being who is their origin and support, and you shall know of God all that can be known of him, within the narrow limits of our finite intelligence.” (page 141-142.)

If you reflect on these passages of M. Cousin, or rather if you merely consider the literal and obvious meaning of some of his propositions, you must discover a very thinly concealed Pantheism. According to M. Cousin there can be but one substance. God is the single and universal being ; the absolute being is one in substance and many in phenomena, and man is only a participation of that absolute being, because the being which contains in itself the finite *ego* and *non ego*, and constitutes the unvarying foundation of all things, becomes revealed to itself in the human conscience. If we study nature, if we penetrate her laws, we approach that Divine Spirit which animates her, for she is really a *living truth, a truth which has passed to the active sensible state*, in a word, we approach *God in matter*. We acquire all the knowledge we can have of God, by placing ourselves in presence of the principles of the physical and moral sciences, and referring them to the infinite being who is their origin and support. Lest there might be any doubt that M. Cousin did not understand these words in a sense in which they could be accepted by people who admit the existence of God as distinct from nature, our author took good care to explain himself elsewhere, and reveal the whole foundation of his system. Here are his words :—“God counts his adorers by the number of men who think ; as it is impossible to think without admitting some truth, even though it be but one” (ib. page 128). Here is the adoration of God reduced, according to M. Cousin, to the knowledge of one sole truth. For example, if one knows a principle of mathematics, no matter what may be his ignorance or his errors on all other points, natural or supernatural, such a one is an adorer of God ; and there can be no Atheists ; for every one will admit his



own existence at least, and thereby he admits a truth, and consequently adores God. M. Cousin saw that this was a consequence of his doctrine, and far from rejecting he accepts it in his works. He thus expresses himself on the point:—"There are no Atheists. The man who had studied all the laws of physics and chemistry, even without classifying his knowledge under the denomination of divine truth or God, would be no less religious, or rather, if you will, would know more of God than another who, after running over two or three principles, such as those of *sufficient reason* or of *chance*, would then have formed a whole and called it God. We do not want to adore the name, *God*, but to unite under this appellation the largest possible number of truths, for truth is the manifestation of God" (page 141). "When you have conceived a truth as an idea," he says in another place, "conceive its existence, and you thus unite it to substance. He who conceives truth, conceives substance then, let him beware of it or not. *If I wanted to know whether a person believed in God, I would ask him if he believed in truth*; whence it follows that natural theology is only ontology, and ontology is in psychology. *True religion is no more than a word added to the idea of truth. She is it*" (page 385).

It is clear M. Cousin's God is not the Christian's God; for according to him He is nothing but nature herself, the aggregate of the laws which govern her, and it is quite enough to know any truth to escape censure. To believe in God, according to M. Cousin, is to believe in truth; natural theology is no more than the knowledge of beings in the abstract, and religion but a word added to this truth. In such a theory Pantheism is openly proclaimed. God is all, and all is God; that is, a being infinitely perfect and essentially distinct from nature, is a chimera, for there is no other being but nature. All that exist are phenomena of the universal substance—that single being which absorbs and identifies all in itself, which is at once spirit and matter, active and inert, which has existed and shall ever exist; and consequently there is no creation, and all the transformations we see in the universe, are only the different phases of a single being modified in different ways.

Do not imagine, my friend, that these doctrines of M. Cousin were uttered without reflection or connection with other principles to sustain them. On the contrary, they are consequences of Pantheists' fundamental principle about substance. See how he defines it in his "Philosophical Fragments" (lib. 1, page 312, 3rd ed.):—"Substance is that which, relatively to existence, supposes nothing beyond itself. So

that substance must be single, as in its very essence it excludes the co-existence of other beings. Therefore, all that exists, finite or infinite, can be but one single substance; and therefore the beings which appear to us distinct, are only modifications of the universal being, which absorbs all. These corollaries do not frighten M. Cousin, but on the contrary he adopts them as the only rational doctrine. "An absolute substance must be *single* if absolute. Relative substances destroy the very idea of substance; and finite substances, which suppose beyond themselves another in connection with them, look very like phenomena" (page 63). "The substance of absolute truths," he says in another place, "is necessarily absolute; and if absolute, *single* also, for if it is not single, we may seek something else beyond it, and then it becomes a phenomenon relatively to that new being, which in its turn would also become a phenomenon if something else were supposed to exist beyond it. The circle is infinite, either there is no substance, or there is no more than one" (page 312).

The fundamental principle of the Pantheists could not be more clearly professed. It only remained to know whether M. Cousin admitted the doctrine of Spinoza's school in all its extension. Unfortunately we meet a passage in which his mind is most explicitly expressed. "The God of the conscience is not an abstract God, or solitary King, relegated to periods anterior to the Creation, and seated on the desert throne of a silent eternity, and an absolute existence which resembles nothingness itself. He is a God at once true and real, at the same time substance and cause, ever substance and ever cause. He is not substance except inasmuch as he is cause, nor cause except inasmuch as he is substance; that is to say, he is absolute cause, *one and many, eternity and time, space and number, essence and life, indivisibility and totality, beginning, end, and medium, in the perfection of being, and in its most humble grade, infinite and finite at the same time, and lastly being triple, at the same time God, nature, and humanity.* In fact if *God is not all, he is nothing*; if he is absolutely indivisible *in se*, he is incomprehensible; and his *incomprehensibility is for us his destruction.* Incomprehensible as a scholastic formula, God is clear in the world, which manifests him, and to the soul which possesses and feels him. Though existing in all things, *he returns to himself in a certain manner in the conscience of man*, whose mechanism and phenomenal triplicity he indirectly constitutes by the reflection of his virtue and substantial triplicity, of which he is the absolute identity" (lib. I, preface of 1st ed. page 76).



After so unequivocal a declaration, I think you can have no doubt about the meaning of the philosopher, and will agree with us that the professions of Christianity made by M. Cousin in other pages, are only a species of compliment to the dominant religion, and not an expression of faith, nor even of sound philosophical convictions. For my part, I cannot comprehend how Pantheism could be more openly proclaimed than by saying God is one and many, eternity and time, space and number, essence and life, indivisibility and totality, beginning, end, and medium, in the perfection of beings, and in their lowest grade ; at the same time infinite and finite—God, nature, and humanity, and concluding with these emphatic words, *If God is not all, He is nothing.*

Starting on these principles, we may guess M. Cousin's moral doctrines will not be very conformable to the Christian religion as the profession of Pantheism carries with it the annihilation of human liberty. For man being, according to its doctrines, a mere accident of the one only substance, everything he thinks, wishes, or does, will be only modifications of the universal substance ; and consequently the liberty of the individual disappears, as he has no distinct and peculiar existence, and everything in him belongs to the single being which absorbs him. And so M. Cousin does not hesitate to say that "man is not absolutely free, because this power he possesses, once brought under the influence of time and space, loses its unlimited and absolute character." (General Introduction to Course of 1820, pages 66 and 67.) In another place in explaining liberty, he says :—" *A being is free, when it has in itself the principle of its actions—when, in the exercise of its powers, it obeys only its own proper laws.*" (Course of 1818, page 40.) So that according to the philosopher, to be free, it is not necessary to have the choice between acting and not acting, or between doing this or the other, but it is quite sufficient to have in us the principle of our actions, and to obey only our own proper laws. And the brute which has in itself the principle of its actions—the madman—the imbecile—in a word, all beings which have this principle in them, will be as free as the man of sound sense and judgment !

Revelation, nay even all religions are reduced to nothing by M. Cousin's theories ; and in vain does the philosopher endeavour to show that his doctrines are not opposed to Christianity. After reading the preceding passages, you will surely consider M. Cousin's language very strange, when he dares to write the following in the preface to his "Fragments :"—"What can there be between the theological school and me? Am I, indeed, an enemy of Christianity or the Church? In the many

courses I have given, and books I have written, can there be one single word found wanting in the respect due to sacred things? Let a single doubtful or light one be pointed out, and I will withdraw and condemn it as unworthy a philosopher. Could it be that the philosophy I teach causes Christian faith to shake without my knowledge or desire? This would be unfortunate, but not very criminal, because one is not always orthodox, though he desires it. Let me see what dogma my theory endangers. Is it the Incarnation, or the Trinity, or any other whatever? Tell me, prove it, or endeavour to prove it; this at least will be a truly serious theological discussion, and I accept it beforehand, and court it."

You see now, my esteemed friend, that M. Cousin understands the Christian religion in a strange way, as he thinks to pass for a true believer after professing Pantheism, that is, after destroying the fundamental idea of all true religion. You, I am sure, who have no interest in taking a wrong view of things, will find difficulty in conceiving how a man could dare to write such words in his works, after manifesting in previous ones, his manner of thinking about these truths to which he now pays such humble homage. Your wonder will vanish when you know that M. Cousin does not admit, as he says, the tyranny of the absolute principle *that it is never lawful to deceive; and in his opinion some deceits are innocent, some useful, and others obligatory*. (Trans. of Plato, lib. 4, p. 276-277.) The unscrupulousness of legitimising a lie is not a great thing after all in one who robs God of his nature and man of his free will; the only thing strange in it is that he could expect that such a fraud in relation to his doctrine would deceive anyone. One would require to be blind not to see the contrast, or rather the palpable contradiction between the passages—a contradiction clearer than the light of day.

From this brief sketch you can form a conception of what these philosophical systems are, in which you supposed there were tendencies soundly spiritual—nay even conformable with the teaching of Christianity. You can also rectify, or rather alter the opinion you had formed of the Catholic clergy of France, when you thought their clamours against the poison of some of the chiefs of the University were fanatical declarations, which sprang from the pure spirit of intolerance, and the desire to imprison the human intellect within the limits prescribed by the will of the priests. I take the liberty of warning you, now and for ever, when you read in any of our literary and scientific publications, magisterial decrees on this class of questions, not to be deceived by the tone of security in which the writer expresses himself; for often,



instead of properly reading up the matter, he contents himself with literally translating the words of a trans-Pyrenean newspaper. And as some of those most in vogue are not much addicted to Catholic doctrine, it so happens that the decree pronounced with an air of impartiality and full knowledge of the case, is but a literal copy of the pleas of one side, without noticing the answers of the other. But enough of the philosophy of Schelling, Hegel and Cousin ; for, if I am not mistaken, you should be rather tired of the *universal substance*, and the *transformations*, and the *phenomena*, and the *single being which reveals itself to itself in the human conscience*, and the other abstractions of those wonderful philosophers, who rise to such a height above the rest of humanity, but forget to bring with them, in their daring flight, the notions of common sense. We, who cannot reach so high, will take care not to wander so far from the "beaten tracks" of sound judgment, and will feel no pain if upbraided with receiving our inspiration from a *pedestrian muse*. In the meanwhile I am at your service, and remain yours, &c., &c.,

J. B.

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## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

### I.

*The Life of St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland, by M. F. Cusack.* Dublin : 1870.

SOME months ago we introduced to our readers the first part of the "LIFE OF ST. PATRICK," by Sister M. Frances Clare, of the Convent of Poor Clares, Kenmare, and now we are happy to announce the completion of this valuable work. No pains have been spared by the indefatigable writer to render it complete, and as far as possible worthy of its subject ; and, it is not too much to say in commendation of this interesting volume that it is the best, or rather the only one that deserves the name of a Life of our great Apostle, accessible to our English-reading public.

The first nine chapters examine in detail the principal questions connected with the birthplace of St. Patrick, his mission from St. Celestine, the chief events of his missionary career, and the miracles which rendered his Apostolate so fruitful in our island. The ancient Tripartite Life is then

given in full, translated from the unpublished original Irish text, by Mr. Hennessy, one of the best Celtic scholars of the age. Subsequent chapters present the series of St. Patrick's successors in Armagh down to the present illustrious occupant of the Primatial See;—some ancient documents referring to our Apostle, viz., the Poems of St. Fiac and Secundus, &c.;—the writings of our saint, the most important of which, the "*Confessio Sancti Patricii*," was specially copied from the Book of Armagh for the present work;—and an account of his relics, as preserved either at home or on the Continent. In a word, nothing is omitted that could throw light on the Life of our Apostle, and the Catholics of Ireland owe a deep debt of gratitude to the accomplished writer who has devoted so much time and labour to so holy a cause.

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## II.

*The Diocese of Meath, Ancient and Modern, by the Rev. A. Cogan.* Vol. III. Dublin: 1870.

The third and concluding volume of this important history has just been published, and now the Diocese of Meath may justly boast that, owing to the zeal and untiring industry of its learned archivist, it alone of all the Dioceses of Ireland possesses a hand-book of its history, episcopal succession, annals, religious institutions, and ecclesiastical traditions.

We will best make known the importance of the work by giving a brief analysis of its contents. The first volume describes the origin of the eight episcopal sees which in olden times were clustered within the boundaries of the modern Diocese of Meath; the succession of bishops in these sees till all were united into one in the twelfth century; the lives of the Bishops of Meath from the twelfth century to the days of Elizabeth; and an account of the religious foundations of the diocese down to the time of their suppression and confiscation by Henry VIII. The second volume brings down the succession of the bishops to the year 1790; and gives the local history of all the prelates of the diocese, with their succession of pastors from the year 1690 to the present day. It was a task of no ordinary difficulty to write such a history accurately and faithfully. "I felt necessitated" (thus the author writes) "to inspect every registry, every old chalice, every holy well; to visit every churchyard, stone cross, mountain altar, ecclesiastical hiding place in the penal times, every monument consecrated to memory by religious association, to collect every authentic tradition, and decipher inscribed tombs over priests, in every parish throughout the diocese, from Birr to the County Cavan, from the Shannon to the sea." The



third volume is in great part occupied with the life of Patrick Joseph Plunket, whose episcopate of almost fifty years, extending from 1779 to 1827, embraces one of the most important periods in the history of our church. The original letters of that illustrious prelate, the minutes of his various diocesan visitations, the papers addressed to him by other bishops and contemporary distinguished Irishmen, almost all of which are now published for the first time, are full of the deepest interest, and cannot be neglected by those who desire to form an accurate idea of the condition of Ireland at the period to which they refer. The notices of Dr. Logan, Dr. Cantwell, and the present worthy occupant of the see, also present many interesting details, and the account of the Abbeys of Westmeath completes the history of the religious institutions of the diocese.

## MONASTICON HIBERNICUM;

OR,

### A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE ANCIENT MONASTERIES OF IRELAND.

[N.B.—The text of the “Monasticon” is taken *verbatim* from Archdall: the notes marked with numbers are added by the Editors.]

#### COUNTY OF CORK.

*Abbey Mahon*,<sup>1</sup> near Timoleague, in the barony of Barryroe, and close to the shore of the bay of Court M'Sherrie; the monks of the Cistercian order founded an abbey here at their own expense; the Lord Barry endowed it with eighteen plowlands, which constitute the parish of Abbey Mahon; but the building was never finished, for the suppression of monasteries taking place, those lands were seized by the crown. The walls of the church are yet standing. This house has been mistaken for that of de Sancto Mauro, alias de Fonte vivo.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Smith's Cork*, vol. I., p. 253.

<sup>1</sup> Abbey Mahon—The ruins of Abbey Mahon are close to the bay of Court Mac Sherry, in the parish of Abbey Mahon, in the barony of Ibane and Barryroe, to which it gives name. It is one mile and a half E. S. E. from Timoleague, in the County of Cork. This parish is situated on the north-west side of Court Mac Sherry bay on the south coast. It formerly constituted part of the parish of Lisle, from which it was separated on the erection of an abbey by some Cistercian monks, which stood close to the shore, and was endowed by Lord Barry with eighteen ploughlands, but was not entirely complete at the general suppression of monasteries when its possessions were seized by the crown and granted to the Boyle family, and are still the property of the Earl of Shannon.

*Abbey Shrowry*,<sup>2</sup> To the west of Skibbereen, in the barony of Carbury. Here are the ruins of a parish church, which is said to have been a religious house, but nothing appears of it in our authors.<sup>m</sup>

*Ballybeg*,<sup>3</sup> a small walk from Buttevant, in the barony of Orrery and Kilmore. Philip de Barry founded a priory here for regular canons following the rule of St. Augustin, and dedicated it to St. Thomas, the favourite saint of that age; he endowed it in the year 1229, in remembrance of which, his equestrian statue in brass was erected in the church. David, his grandson, enlarged the revenues belonging to the priory in the year 1235, and was made a Knight, but was killed in the year 1262.<sup>n</sup>

David de Cardigan was prior in the reign of King Henry III. and John de Barry in the following reign.<sup>o</sup>

The possessions belonging to this house were, in the 16th year of Queen Elizabeth, granted for the term of 21 years to

<sup>m</sup> *Smith's Cork*, vol. I, p. 281. <sup>n</sup> *Lodge*, vol. I, p. 194, 195. <sup>o</sup> *King*, p. 218.

<sup>2</sup> Abbey Shrewry was situated in the parish of Abbey Shrewry, on the northern bank of the river Ilen, one mile west of Skibbereen, in the eastern division of the barony of West Carbery, in the county of Cork. This parish is situated near the southern coast on the road from Cork to Baltimore, and is intersected by the river Ilen, on the north of which may be seen the ruins of this religious house from which it took its name.

<sup>3</sup> Ballybeg—The venerable remains of this monastery, known as the Abbey of St. Thomas, are situated on the river Awbeg, about one mile from Buttevant, in the parish of Ballybeg, in the barony of Orrery and Kilmore, county of Cork.

The following inquiries, showing some of the property of this monastery, are preserved in "Archdall's MS. Additions," and in the Ordnance Survey of Cork, in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy:—

"On the Thursday next after the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, XXXV. Henry VIII., the abbot was found seized of his priory with a cemetery and certain buildings on the site, containing one acre, annual value besides reprises, 6s. 8d., also sixty acres of arable land, of the small measure, and forty of pasture, being the demesne lands of the priory, annual value, besides reprises, 40s.; one hundred and twenty acres in the said townland, annual value, besides reprises, 60s.; and the following rectories appropriated to the said prior:—Ballybegg, annual value besides reprises, £4; Kilkerran, Ardsoyll, and Rathbarry, annual value, besides reprises, 100s.; Ballycloghie and Ballycastell, annual value, besides reprises, £7; Drusemallyny, in MacWilliam's country, annual value, besides reprises, £6; Carryketwohill, annual value, besides reprises, £6; Castlebeghan, annual value, besides reprises, £6; Kylcarryhyn, annual value, besides reprises, 20s.; Killnemallaghe, annual value, besides reprises, £8; and Rossaghe, Downeraghill, and Cahirdowgan, annual value £6; all sterling money. The said lands and rectories lie in the county of Cork."

"Inquisition, 5th February, III. James I., finds that 28th April, XVI. Elizabeth, a grant for a term of years was made to George Bourcher, Esq., of this priory and the demesne thereof, with certain lands in the town of Ballybeg, Ballikeran, Ardhoile, and Rathbarry, Ballyclogh and Ballycastle, Crustmalyny in MacWilliam's country, Carricketwohill, Castlebechin, Kill . . . Killnemallaght, Rosseghe, Downeraghill, and Chairedowgan, in the counties of Cork and Mayo. To hold the same at the annual rent of £41 10s. Irish money."

Archdall's MS. Additions and Ordnance Survey of Cork,

R. I. A. vol. iv, p. 7.



George Bouchier, Esq., who forfeited the same by non-payment of the rent;<sup>p</sup> those lands and tithes were granted in trust to Sir Daniel Norton, for the wife of Sir Thomas Norris, president of Munster, and were found, in the year 1622, to be of the yearly value of £260.<sup>q</sup>

Of this abbey there yet remain the east window and the steeple, which is a strong building, and by the holes in the vaulted roof it appears that they had a chime of bells; the traces of the foundation, with an high tower a considerable way to the south-west, prove it to have been a truly magnificent structure.<sup>r</sup>

*Ballymacadane*,<sup>s</sup> four miles from the city of Cork, on the high road to Bandon; Cormac M'Carthy, the son of Teige, surnamed Laidir, about the year 1450, founded an abbey here for nuns following the rule of St. Augustin,<sup>t</sup> though others say it was founded for friars.<sup>u</sup> Part of the walls of the building still remain.<sup>v</sup>

*Ballynoe*,<sup>w</sup> in the barony of Kilnataloon, and two miles south of Knockmourne; there are large ruins of an ancient building here, said to have been a religious house.<sup>x</sup>

*Ballyvourney*,<sup>y</sup> or the Town of the Beloved; is a small village six miles west of Macroomp, in the barony of Muskerry.

<sup>p</sup> King, p. 218. <sup>q</sup> Smith, vol. I, p. 323, 324. <sup>r</sup> Id. <sup>s</sup> Smith, vol. I, p. 179, and Map. <sup>t</sup> War. Mon. <sup>u</sup> Smith *supr.* <sup>v</sup> Smith, vol. I, p. 161. <sup>w</sup> Is also called *Husneagh and Borneagh*.

<sup>4</sup> Ballymacadane—"Inquisitions 1st June, XXX. Queen Elizabeth, finds that the two carrucates of land called Ballimackedane and Bally Ildy, adjacent to this abbey and with their appurtenances belonged thereto, and were of the annual value of 3*l.* 4*s.*, and that Felemy Mac Owen, and other friars of the Order of St. Francis, were in possession thereof, and that the tithes of the said lands belonged to the rectory of Iniskynie in this county."

"Inquisition 12th January, XXX. Elizabeth, finds that this religious foundation, with a carucate of land called Ballymacadane, and half a carucate called Ballelikye, adjoining the said monastery, were of the annual value, besides reprises, of 17*s.* 9*d.* Irish money."<sup>\*</sup>

"Inquisition 7th May, XXVII. Elizabeth, finds that the abbey of Ballyvaggadon, in Barret's country, containing two carucates of land, was in the possession of Cormac Mac Darby, and of the annual value, besides reprises, of 10*s.* Irish money."<sup>†</sup>

"Archdall's MS. Additions and Ordnance Survey of Cork,  
R. I. A. vol iv. p. 9.

<sup>5</sup> Ballynoe—This is probably represented by the large ruin to be seen a little to the south-east of the village of Ballynoe, supposed to have been the ruins of a religious house founded by Knights Hospitallers, to whom the place anciently belonged. This place is also called Knockmourne.

<sup>6</sup> Ballyvourney; Of the conventual church of Ballyvourney, some very extensive and interesting ruins still remain. In one of the walls is a head carved in stone which is regarded with much veneration. Near this is a holy well much resorted to on the 11th of February, the festival of St. Gobnata, the patroness, and also on Whit Monday, and near the well is a large stone with a circular basin or front, rudely excavated, the water from which is held sacred.—See "Smith's History of Cork," vol. i., p. 185.

St. Abban, who lived to a very great age, and died A.D. 650, built a nunnery at Burneach, in Muscragiamitin, and presented it to St. Gobnata, who was descended from Conor the Great, monarch of Ireland; her patron day is February 14th;<sup>7</sup> the church, which is dedicated to her, is 104 feet in length and 24 in breadth, and the steeple seems nodding to its fall.<sup>2</sup>

*Bantry*,<sup>a7</sup> a decayed town on the bay of that name, which gives name to the barony; Dermot O'Sullivan Beare built a beautiful small monastery on the sea-shore near this town, for conventual Franciscan Friars, in the year 1320, and died in the year 1466.<sup>b</sup> It is now wholly demolished.

*Bridgetown*,<sup>c</sup> on the river Blackwater, in the barony of Fermoy. Alexander, the son of Hugh, founded a priory here, in the reign of King John, which he endowed and dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and supplied it with regular canons from the priory of Newtown, in the county of Meath, and the abbey of St. Thomas in Dublin.<sup>d</sup> King Edward I. granted a confirmation of the endowment made by Alexander.<sup>e</sup> The family of Roche contributed largely to the possessions of this priory.

In the year 1375, King Edward III. directed his writ to the bishops and commons to elect chosen persons, who were immediately to repair to England, there to treat, consult, and agree with his Majesty and council, as well touching the government of this kingdom, as for the aid and support of the war his Majesty was then engaged in. Thomas, the prior of Bridgetown, was one of the persons appointed on this important business.<sup>f</sup>

Opposite the high altar is a ruined tomb of the founder. The priory was pleasantly situated at the very confluence of the rivers Awbeg and Blackwater, which glide through a deep rocky glin opposite to the ruins.<sup>g</sup>

*Brigowne*,<sup>8</sup> one mile east of Mitchelstown, in the barony of

<sup>7</sup> *Act. SS.* p. 315, 622. <sup>2</sup> *Smith.* vol. 1, p. 193. <sup>a</sup> Was called anciently Ballygobbin. <sup>b</sup> *War. Mss.*, vol. 34. *War. Mon.* <sup>c</sup> Is called in Irish Ballindroghed. <sup>d</sup> *Monast. Angl.*, vol. 2, p. 1045. <sup>e</sup> *Id.* <sup>f</sup> *Ayloff's Calendar of ancient Charters*, p. 452. <sup>g</sup> *Smith*, vol. 1, p. 349.

<sup>7</sup> Bantry.—Inquisition 12th January, XXX. Elizabeth, finds that this religious foundation, with its appurtenances and a water-mill near the monastery, were of the annual value of 12*d.*<sup>p</sup>

According to the "Annals of the Four Masters," the monastery of Bantry was built by O'Sullivan in the year A.D. 1320. It stood in the ancient diocese of Ross, about 47 miles W.S.W. from the city of Cork. It gave way to the ravages of time, war, and confiscation, and is now totally unknown.

<sup>8</sup> Brigowne. The following passage from the "Irish Life of Saint Aban," founder of Brigobban (Brigowne), shows that he founded and consecrated several other churches in this district, and that he deposited the office of the holy church



Clongibbons. St. Abban founded Brighgobban, which was once a considerable place, and called a city.<sup>h</sup> There yet remain at Brigowne the walls of a church, built of large blocks of a very fine freestone, brought with much labour from the mountains, and the ruins of a round tower, which we are informed fell about the year 1720. This church is supposed by some to have been erected by St. Finchu; his staff was kept here as an holy relique, and the adjacent country people used to swear upon it.<sup>i</sup> His festival is observed here November 25th.<sup>k</sup>

*Buttevant*,<sup>9</sup> in the barony of Orrery and Kilmore, was an ancient corporation, governed by a mayor and aldermen, but is now gone to decay. David Oge Barry, Lord Buttevant, founded a monastery here in A.D. 1290, for conventual Franciscans, and dedicated it to St. Thomas the martyr.<sup>l</sup> But this foundation must have been earlier than the time here set down; for we find that William Barry, in the year 1273, granted the whole church of Cathirdusgan to the prior of Buttevant.<sup>m</sup> Some are of opinion that this house owed its origin to one of the family of Prendergast, but the monument of the Barrys being in the centre of the choir, confirms to them the honour of this foundation.<sup>n</sup>

A.D. 1306. David was prior.<sup>o</sup>

1311. John FitzRichard was prior.<sup>p</sup>

1318. Thomas was prior.<sup>q</sup>

1330. William Ketcche was warden.<sup>r</sup>

<sup>h</sup> *Act. S.S.*, p. 627. <sup>i</sup> *Smith*, vol. 1. p. 353. <sup>k</sup> *Calendar*, vet. <sup>l</sup> *King*, p. 136. *War. Mon.*, Lodge, vol. 1, p. 196. <sup>m</sup> *King*, p. 136. <sup>n</sup> *Wadding*, vol. 5, p. 10. <sup>o</sup> *King*, p. 315. <sup>p</sup> *Id.* 136. <sup>q</sup> *Id.* p. 137. <sup>r</sup> *Id.* p. 316.

in each of them, he being this time after returning from Rome, and after having founded several churches on the Continent on his homeward journey. The passage is as follows:—

“Aban returned into Erin, bearing the blessing of those multitudes with him. Aban went into Connaught and founded three noble churches there, and he then returned into *Crioch Eachach Coincinn*, in *Crioch Corca Duibhne*, and he blessed (consecrated) Boirnech and he gave it to Gobnaid; and he blessed Cill Aithfe on Magh Concinn, and he gave it to Fionan; and Fionan foretold the coming of Aban some years before his birth. He blessed Cul Cullaing and Brigoban, and Cill Cruimpir, and Cill-na-Marb, and he blessed Cluain Aird Mobecoc, and Cluain Fionnglaise, and he left Becan there, and he left the office of the holy church in every church of them.”—“*Life of Saint Aban O’C. MS., C.U.I.*” p. 54.

<sup>9</sup> Buttevant—Inquisition 3rd of St. Hilary, XXXI. Elizabeth, finds that a grant was made to David Barry, Viscount of this friary, at the annual rent of 36s. 8d. Irish, but that the same was forfeited by non-payment of the rent.

Buttevant is situated in the parish of that name, in the barony of Orrery and Kilmore, about 22 miles N.W. from Cork. Here, too, are the remains of a sumptuous ruin of the ancient abbey of Buttevant, founded for Friars Minors by David Barry, in the reign of Edward the First. It was beautifully situated on the steep bank of the river Awbeg. See an interesting sketch of this historic place in “*Smith’s History of Cork*,” p. 112, &c.

1342. John Fitz-Richard, the prior, was indicted with some of his brethren for assaülting John Reynolds in the city of Dublin, and imprisoning the said Reynolds ; the Sheriff was ordered to take Fitz-Richard into custody to answer the said offence ; in the same term, Reynolds sued the said prior for a debt of 100 shillings, for which he was also attached.<sup>s</sup>

About the middle of the last century the following inscription was visible on an ancient stone in the wall of the chapter house :—

“Philippe de la Chapelle gift ici Dieu de s' aime ay mercy.”<sup>t</sup> The walls of the choir and nave, with several other buildings, including the steeple, which is an high square tower, erected on a fine Gothic arch, are yet entire ; to the south is the chapel of the Virgin Mary ; which, with the monastery, forms a picturesque ruin. On the north side of the monastery stands a ruined tower called Cullin, said to have been erected by one of the Earls of Desmond, who retired thither.<sup>u</sup> There were some fine paintings in fresco on the walls of this monastery, and a few of their remains are still visible.<sup>w</sup>

This house was repaired by the Roman Catholics in the year 1604.<sup>x</sup>

*Nunnery.* Near the monastery stands another ruin, which is said to have been a nunnery, under the invocation of St. Owen, or St. John the Baptist.<sup>y</sup> but we can find no account whatsoever either of its foundation or order.

*Cape Clear Island*<sup>z</sup> is the most southern part of Ireland, and contains twelve ploughlands ; on the north-west point stands a castle built on a rock in the sea, and called Dunanore ; to the east of which is the cove of Tra Kieran, or St. Kieran's strand, where we find a pillar of stone, with a cross rudely cut towards the top, supposed to have been the work of that Saint ; this stone is held in great veneration by an incredible number of pilgrims who assemble round it every 5th of March, on which day his festival is celebrated ; a church in ruins under the invocation of St. Kieran adjoins this pillar.<sup>a</sup>

St. Comgall, a disciple of St. Finbarr, was abbot of Inisdaimhle,<sup>b</sup> and we meet with a St. Killian, who was abbot here.<sup>c</sup>

820, 823, and 851. This island suffered from many devastations.<sup>cc</sup>

<sup>s</sup> King, p. 136. <sup>t</sup> War. Mss., vol. 34, p. 159. <sup>u</sup> Smith, vol. I, p. 320, 321. <sup>w</sup> O'Halloran Int., p. 119. <sup>x</sup> Cox, vol. 2, p. 10. <sup>y</sup> Smith, vol. I, p. 321. <sup>z</sup> Was called anciently Inisdaimhle and Inis Uladh, that is, Insula Ulidiorum. Act. SS. p. 629; and in the Ecclesiastical books, we find it under the name of Insula Sanctae Clarae. <sup>a</sup> Smith, vol. I. p. 286. <sup>b</sup> Act. SS. p. 597. <sup>c</sup> id. p. 330. <sup>cc</sup> Tr. Th. p. 633.









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